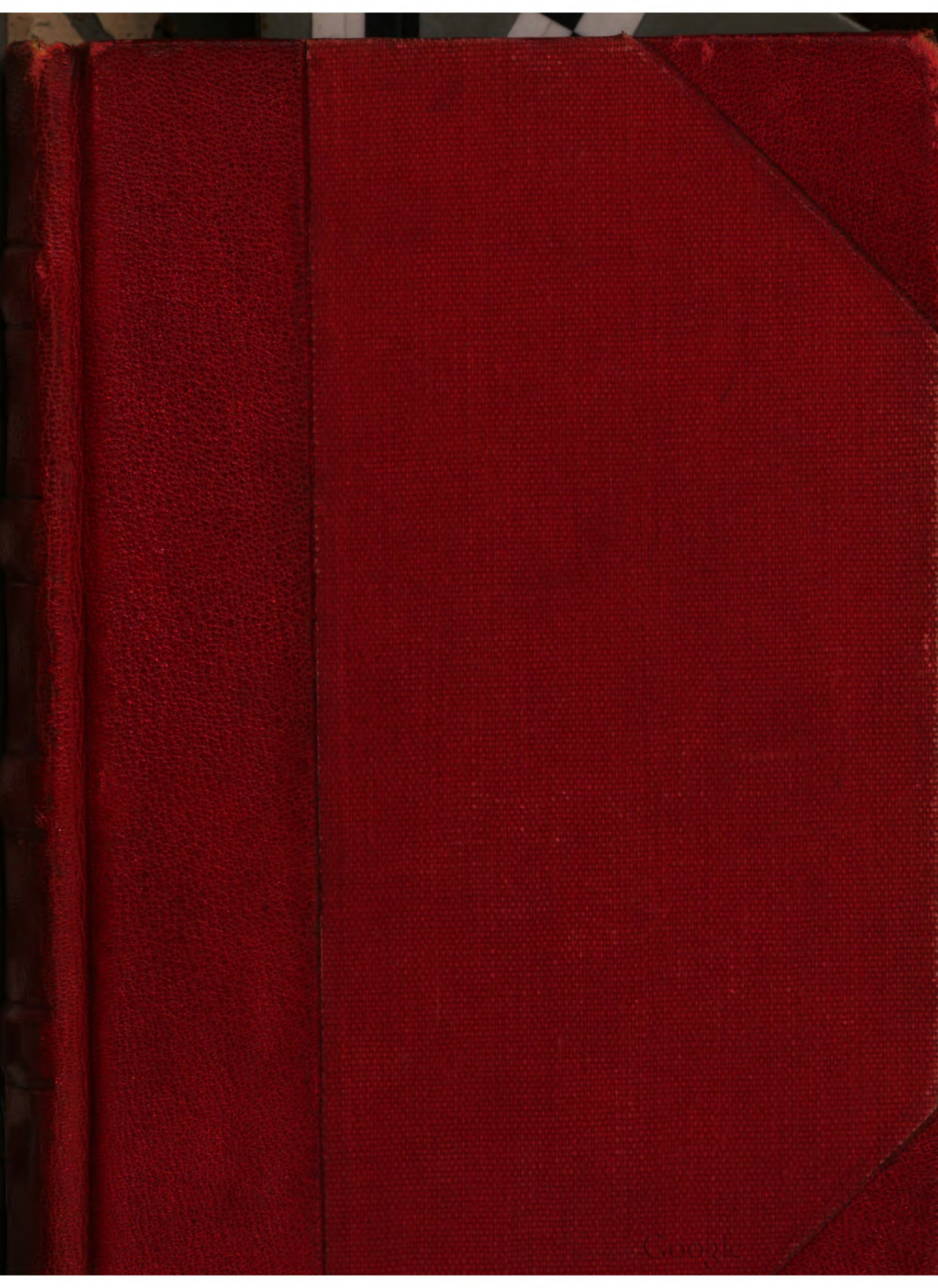
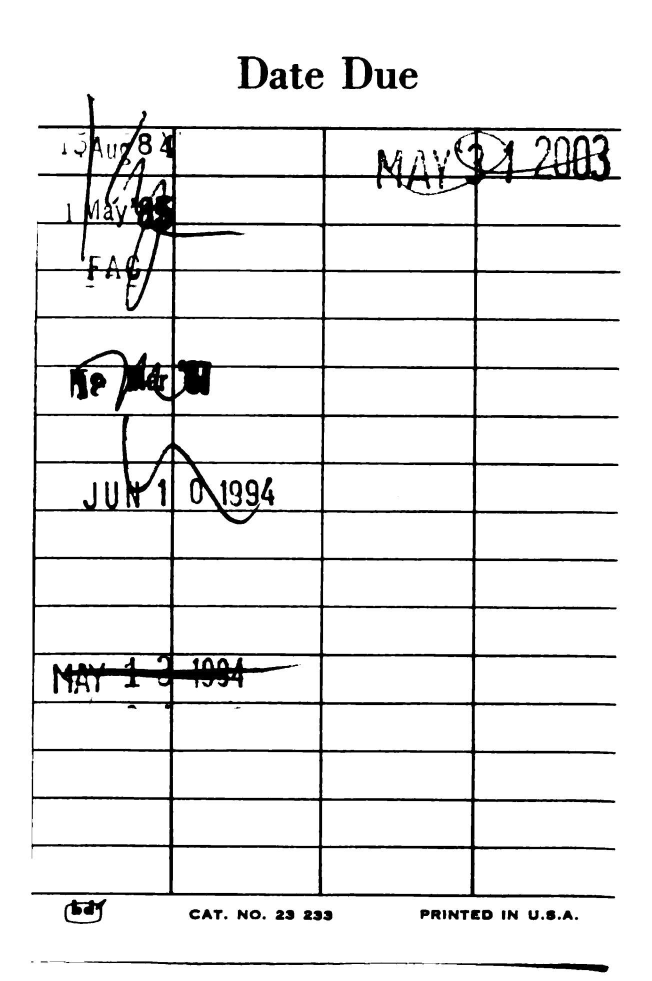




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HISTORY

OF

THE CALIPHS

BY

JALÁLU'DDÍN A'S SUYÚṬI,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARABIC

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Extensive as is the reputation of as Suyúṭi as a distinguished author and scholar, and unsurpassed for the number and range of the works which in every branch of literature known to his age, his unwearied pen never ceased to produce, we are indebted to the malice or envy of but one of his contemporaries and to his own testimony, for the few details of his life and studies that we possess. Reference to one or other of his multitudinous volumes is made by writers of his own and succeeding times where the kindred subject of which they treat naturally calls for it, but only one contemporary biographical notice of him besides his own, is extant. To these I shall presently refer.

Háji Khalífah, at the close of his Lexicon, gives a detailed list of as Suyúṭi's works, prefaced by a column of laudatory epithets which have less the ring of sincere admiration than of conventional panegyric, yet his wonder or his envy might well offer the incense of adulation to the astonishing author of five hundred and four volumes. Ḳuranic exegesis, Tradition and its cognate subjects, jurisprudence, philology, rhetoric, prose and poetical composition, the phenomena of nature, curiosities of literature, discourses on social questions, criticism, history, biography, all these were fields not too vast for his discursive intelligence and none too minute for his indefatigable industry. Some of his compositions are indeed, nothing more than pamphlets of smaller compass than many an article of a modern Review, but a considerable number, to judge from some of those, about one-fifth of the whole, that have come down to us, must have been of goodly bulk. It would doubtless have been better for his reputation as it would assuredly have been more profitable to the generality of his readers, had he confined his labours to the production of a few works of universal interest and written for posterity rather than for his day. By far the greater part of his writings were on subjects which have no interest to a European student. Two hundred and six works on Tradition and ninety-one on Jurisprudence would, it might be supposed, have been thoroughly exhaustive had not another line been previously written regarding them, yet this

was the contribution of but one author to the store of countless volumes that had already preceded his labours and had been forgotten, to be followed by others as countless and as unremembered.

However much we may regret this misapplied diligence, the age in which as Suyúṭi lived, naturally moulded his literary tastes and influenced his course of study, and he but reflected its spirit in seeking pre-eminence among the scholarly and erudite of his nation after the manner in which they had attained it. Legal studies, inseparably connected as they are with the religion of the Moslems, were of the utmost consequence from the very infancy of Islám, and at a time when the Crescent waved from the pillars of Hercules to the steppes of Tartary, they formed a necessary part of the education of all cultured minds. Every Moslem author or nearly every one with whom we are acquainted, was either a recognized doctor of jurisprudence or had studied it under some one of its famous masters. No college was founded but we read that its first chairs were those of Tradition and Law. Other branches of knowledge were indeed, far from neglected. Grammar, Medicine and the complicated problems of Inheritance were cultivated with assiduity and success, but with the exception of the first mentioned of this Eastern Trivium, which is rather an instrument of knowledge than an end in itself, they occupied, the second place. In the great Mustanṣiriyah College built on the eastern bank of the Tigris at Baghdad by the Caliph al Mustanṣir and endowed by his splendid munificence, provision was first made, as as Suyúṭi tells us, for Chairs of the four great Schools of Muḥammadan law. The next was that of Tradition, the third of Grammar, followed by professorships of Medicine and the Law of Inheritance. De Slane in his Introduction to Ibn Khalliḳán's Biographical Dictionary has described the system of education pursued during the times of which we write. The young student, he says, commenced his labours by learning the Ḳuran by heart, and as many of the traditions as he was able to acquire at his native place: to this he joined a slight acquaintance with grammar and some knowledge of poetry. On attaining the age of fourteen or sixteen, he began his travels and visited the great cities where he learnt traditions and received certificates of licence to relate them, from eminent traditionists. He then followed the courses of lectures held in the mosques or colleges, and generally attached himself to one of the professors. He there learnt by heart the most approved works on the dogmas of religion, and studied their commentaries under the tuition of his master. He acquired a knowledge of the different readings of the Ḳurán and of its orthodox interpretation, whilst he pursued the study of ancient poetry and philology, grammar and rhetoric. The secondary points of jurisprudence, forming the doctrines of the school to which he belonged, next became the object of his study and an acquaintance with

logic and dialectics completed his education. Having obtained from his professors, certificates of capacity and license to teach the works he had mastered, he was eligible for the posts of preacher, Ḳádhi, Mufti, Imám or professor.

Under a system so universal in its adoption and so rigidly upheld by learned opinion as the sole method of orthodox mental discipline, profitable as a means of worldly advancement as well as the most salutary for the soul, it is not surprising that the literary efforts of as Suyúṭi should bear principally upon those studies to which such an exaggerated importance was attached by his age. Besides the treatises on Jurisprudence and Tradition already mentioned, his commentaries and writings on the Ḳurán number thirty-five. Philology, Grammar and Rhetoric claim sixty-three of his volumes. Seventy-six were his contribution to general literature, and thirty-three were devoted to history and biography. For this classified list of his writings, we are indebted to his own autobiography in his well-known work entitled Ḥusn al Muḥádhirah fi akhbár i'l Miṣr wa'l Ḳáhirah *(agreeable colloquy on Miṣr and Cairo)*. This autobiography has been published with a Latin version by Albert Meursinge in the Prolegomena to his edition of as Suyúṭi's Tabaḳát u'l Mufassirin (*Classes of the Interpreters of the Ḳurán)*. But as it is a work not easily accessible and no English translation of the original has as yet appeared I cannot more fitly introduce the author to those interested in his life, than in his own words.

"The author of this work," he writes, "is Abu'l Fadhl A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-u'l Kamál Abu Bakr-b-Naṣiri'ddín Muḥammad-b-Sábiḳi'ddín Abi Bakr-b-Fakhr Othmán-b-Naṣiríddín Muḥammad-b-Sayfi'ddín Khidhr-b-Najmi'ddín Abi's Ṣaláḥ Ayyúb-b-Náṣiri'ddín Muḥammad-b-i's Shaykh Humámi'ddín al Khudhayri al Usuyúṭi.*

In recording the narrative of my life in this book, I have but followed the example of recent writers, for it is rarely that any of them has published a history without introducing therein his own biography.† Regarding my ancestor Humámu'ddín, I have to observe that he was one of the masters of the spiritual life and of the doctors of the mystics. Mention of him will follow in the section treating on the Ṣúfis. The others who came after him were men of position and authority. Of these, one exercised judicial functions in his own city, another held the office of inspector of markets, another accompanied the Amír Shaykhú‡ and

* The name is written Usuyúti or Suyúṭi indifferently.

† I here omit a list of authors and their works, as irrelevant to the main subject of the writer's life.

‡ See page 529. Further particulars of him are furnished by Weil. Gesch. Abb. Cal. Eg. pp. 475, 477, *seq.*

founded and endowed a college at Suyúṭ;* another was a wealthy merchant, but I know of none who altogether devoted himself to the acquisition of learning except my father, a notice of whom will occur in the section treating of the Sháfi'ite jurisconsults.

As regards our connection with the name of Khudhayri, I do not know to what it can refer save the Khudhayri quarter of Baghdad, and in fact, a person whom I can implicitly trust, told me that he heard my father—may God have mercy on him—say, that his ancestor was a Persian or from the East. The connection therefore is apparently with the quarter above mentioned.

I was born after sunset on Saturday night the 1st Rajab, 849 (*3rd October*, 1445), and I was carried, my father being then living, to the Shaykh Muḥammad the recluse, a man eminent for sanctity, near the Nafísi† tomb, who gave me his blessing. I grew up an orphan and I learnt the Ḳurán before I was eight years of age. I next got by-heart the U'mdah, the Minháju'l Fiḳh wa'l Uṣúl and the Alfi'yah of Ibn Málik. From the beginning of year 64 I began to devote myself to learning. I studied jurisprudence and grammar under a number of doctors and read the law of inheritance with the learned and most distinguished professor of his age in that science, the Shaykh Shihábu'ddín as Shárimsáḥi who used to say that he had arrived at a great age and had passed a hundred by many years. God knows best. I read with him his commentary on the Majmúu',‡ and received a certificate of licence to teach the Arabic language in the beginning of the year 66. In this year I became an author. The first work I composed was an exposition of the formula اعوذ بالله§ and بسم الله which I submitted to my master the Shaykh u'l Islám A'lamu'ddín al Bulḳini|| who wrote to me in praise of it. I continued to study jurisprudence with him till his death. I also read with him from the beginning the Tadríb,¶ by his father, up to the chapter on

* In Upper Egypt on the western bank of the Nile about 27° lat. Yaḳúṭ speaks of it as having contained 75 Christian churches and a large Christian population.

† See Note ‡ page 509.

‡ Al Majmúu' fi i'lm i'l Faráidh, by A'bdu'llah Shamsu'ddín Muḥammad-b-Sharaf al Killái as Shafi'i: died 777 (1375). H. K.

§ My MS. has استعاذة and omits the second word. The work referred to will be found in his list under the first heading.

|| Abu'l Baḳá Ṣáliḥ-b-Omar-b-Raslán A'lam u'ddín al Bulḳíni was born 791 (1388) and died 868 (1463). Meurs. He was named Bulḳini after Bulḳínah in Egypt in the district of Ḥauf.

¶ تدريب في الفروع (Exercitatus de partibus juris specialibus) auctore Siráju'ddín Omar-b-Raslán Bolkeini Shafi'ita, anno 805 (1463) mortuo. H. K.

Procuration. I heard his lectures on the Ḥáwi as Ṣaghír* from the beginning, to the chapter de Statibus Mulieris; and on the Minháj from the beginning, to the chapter on the Poor-rate: and on the Tanbíh† from its commencement nearly up to the chapter on the Poor-rate; likewise a portion of ar Raudhah‡ from the chapter on the Judicial office: a portion of the supplement to the commentary on the Minháj by az Zarkashi;§ and from the chapter on the Cultivation of Waste lands, to the chapter on Testaments or thereabouts. In the year 67 he granted me a license to teach *jurisprudence* and to decide on cases *proposed to me* and was present at my inauguration.||

When he died in the year 68, I resorted to the Shaykh u'l Islám Sharafu'ddín al Munáwi¶ and read with him a portion of the Minháj. I heard his Expositions on Partition except a few lectures which I missed and I attended his readings from the commentary al Bahjah,** and its marginal notes by him, and from the commentary on the Ḳurán by al Baydhâwi. For traditions and the Arabic language, I read with our Shaykh the learned Imám Taḳi'uddín as Shumunni the Ḥanafite and continued with him for four years. He wrote to me in praise of two of my compositions, a commentary on the Alfiyáh of Ibn Málik and the Jama'u'l Jawámi'†† on the Arabic language, and he gave verbal and written testimony of my proficiency in the sciences on more than one occasion. He once acquiesced in my bare statement regarding a tradition, for verily he adduced in his marginal gloss on as Shifa,‡‡ the tradition of Abu'l Ḥamra on Captives and alleged its citation by Ibn Májah. I had occasion to quote it with its ascriptions and I therefore searched Ibn Májah in the place where it was supposed to be, but I did not find it. Then I went through the whole book but did not light upon it. Suspect-

* See p. 514.

† There are many works of this name as well as that of Minháj in H. K.

‡ الروضة في الفروع see H. K.

§ See D'Herb. art. Zerkeshi.

|| Reference is made to this in the list of his works under the heading "Commentaries and works on the Ḳurán."

¶ Abu Zakariya Yahya-b-Muḥammad Sharafu'ddín al Munáwi, died 871 (1466). Meurs.

** Al Bahjah al Wardíyah a commentary on the Ḥáwi u's Ṣaghír by Zaynu'ddín Omar-b-Mudhaffar-b-i'l Wardi: died 749 (1348). H. K.

†† جمع الجوامع في اصول الفقه by Táju'ddín A'bdu'l Wahâb as Subki: died 771 (1369). H. K.

‡‡ الشفا في تعريف حقوق المصطفى by the Imám Ḥáfidh Abu'l Fadḥl I'yádh-b-Músa Yahsabi: died 544 (1149). H. K. notes on this book at some length and mentions the gloss of as Shumunni.

ing an oversight, I read it through a second time and again found it not. I returned to it a third time but did not discover it. I saw it, however, in the Catalogue of the companions by Ibn Ḳáni', upon which I went to the Shaykh and informed him. On hearing this from me, he at once took up his manuscript and taking a pen, he struck out the name of Ibn Májah and wrote Ibn Ḳáni' in the margin. I was distressed at this and dismayed, on account of the great veneration in which I held the Shaykh, and the contemptuous opinion I had of myself and I said "will you not wait a little, perhaps you may consult the work yourself?" He replied: "No, I relied for Ibn Májah on the authority of Burhán al Halabi." I did not quit the Shaykh until his death, when I attended our Shaykh the learned and most eminent master al Kafíaji* for fourteen years. I studied under him various branches of knowledge such as Ḳuranic exegesis, the fundamentals of doctrine, the Arabic language, rhetoric and others and he gave me a high diploma. I next attended many lectures of the Shaykh Sayfu'-ddín Ḥanafi† on the Kashsháf,‡ on the Taudhíḥ with his gloss thereon, the Talkhi'ṣ u'l Miftáḥ and the A'dhud, and I began to write works in the year 66. My writings up to this time numbered 300 works exclusive of those I obliterated and left unfinished, and they penetrated, praise be to God, the countries of Syria, Ḥijáz, Yaman, India, Mauritania and Takrúr.§ When I made the pilgrimage, I drank of the water of the well Zemzem with various intentions: among others that I should arrive in Jurisprudence to the eminence of Shaykh Siráju'ddín al Bulḳíni, and in Tradition to the distinction of the Ḥáfidh Ibn Ḥajr. From the beginning of the year 71 I gave decisions on points of law and I employed myself in writing traditions from the beginning of the year 72. I acquired a profound knowledge of the seven sciences of Exegesis, Tradition, Jurisprudence, Grammar and the three branches of Rhetoric after the manner of the Arabs and the rhetoricians, and not after the fashion of the Persians and philosophers. What I am conscious of is this, that the proficiency I attained in these six sciences (save jurisprudence) and the writings thereon which I perused, none of my Shaykhs ever reached therein nor were therewith

* So Meurs. points the name محمد بن سليمان المحيوى الرومي الحنفي و يعرف بالكا فياجي born 790, died 879. According to the Lubbu'l Lubáb his name refers الي كافية بن الحا (الحاجب .ا) لكثرة قراته و اقرائه لها.

† Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad-b-Omar-b-Ḳeṭlu Bogha al Yektamri, died in 881. As Suyuṭi wrote an elegy on him recorded in the Ḥusn al Muhádḥ. Meurs.

‡ The famous commentary of Zamakhshari. The Talkhi's is a work on rhetoric by Ḳazwíni. H. K. mentions several Taudhíḥ. The A'dhud is a work on grammar by Abu A'li al Fárisi composed for A'dhud u'd Dawlah. H. K.

§ In the extreme south of al Maghrab, according to Yaḳút, probably in the Saudán.

acquainted, still less those inferior to them I do not say the same, by Allah, of jurisprudence, for my Shaykh has a deeper insight and a larger grasp of the subject. After these seven branches of knowledge comes in a lower degree my acquaintance with the fundamentals of jurisprudence, with dialectics and grammatical inflexions. Below this, composition and epistolary style and the law of inheritance. Below this, the various readings of the Ḳurán which I did not study under any Shaykh* and next Medicine, but Arithmetic I found the most difficult to me and the most remote from my inclination, and when I apply myself to a question appertaining thereto, it is as though I strove to support a mountain.

I have now completely acquired, praise be to the Most High, the means of diligently investigating and determining cases referred to me. I say this in acknowledgement of the favour of God and not in vain-glory, for what is the world that one should strive to gain it in glorying, now that the time of departure from it is approaching, and hoariness hath begun, and the best part of life hath passed. And now if I wished to write on every question, a dissertation with its statements and proofs, whether cited or reasoned from analogy, the perceptions of it by the mind, its refutations and vindications, and a comparison between the contrary opinions held regarding it, I should be able to do so by the grace of the Most High, and through Him; not of my own strength and ability, for there is no power or virtue but in God. Whatever God willeth, there is no power *to accomplish it* save in God Himself.

At the commencement of my studies, I read somewhat of the science of logic, but subsequently the Lord put a dislike of it into my heart, and hearing that Ibn u's Ṣaláḥ† had decided a reference to him on the subject by interdicting it, I abandoned it for that reason, and the Lord supplied its place to me with the science of tradition which is the noblest of all studies. As for my Shaykhs in the relation of traditions whom I heard, or from whom I received certificates of licence, they were numerous. I have adduced them in my Catalogue‡ to the number of about 150. I did not however, devote myself much to the hearing of traditions as I was employed on what was of more *importance, viz.*, the study of their critical examination."

With these words concludes the autobiography which is followed by a catalogue of the author's works. I have now to notice the only other memoir of him which we possess, and to which I have already alluded. This is furnished to us by his contemporary Muḥammad-b-Abdi'r Raḥmán-

* لم اخذها عن شيخ , these words are in Meursinge, but not in my MS.

† See page 431.

‡ There are two of these, called the Greater and the Lesser Mua'jam which are given in his list of works.

b-Muḥammad Shamsu'ddín as Sakháwi, and is given by Meursinge in his Prolegomena and translated by him into Latin. This fragment, he states, is taken from the Leyden Codex 518. (*Catal N.* 1876.) entitled البدر الطالع من الضوء اللامع (*Luna oriens ex lumine micante*) by Aḥmad-b-Abdi's Salám Ḳádhi of Manúf. It contains an excerpt of the principal work of as Sakháwi called الضوء اللامع لاهل قرن التاسع (*lumen micans hominibus sæculi noni*) and gives amongst the celebrities of that age, the following notice of as Suyúṭi:

"He was born on the first night of the month of Rajab 849, his mother being a Turkish slave, and he was reared an orphan. He learnt by-heart the Ḳurán, the U'mdah, the Minháj both the section on the derivative and part of the fundamental principles, and the Alfi'yah on grammar. Having proved his capacity in the year 64, he studied grammar under Shamsu'ddín Muḥammad-b-Músa al Ḥanafi Imám of the Shaykhúniyah College, and under al Fakhr Othmán al Maḳsi,* as Shams al Bámi,† Ibn u'l Faláti,‡ Ibn Yusuf one of the most eminent doctors of the Shaykhúniyah, al Burhán al A'jlúni, and according to some, under an Nua'máni, with some of them, jurisprudence, with some, grammar. He progressed until he read some works on jurisprudence under al A'lam al Bulḳini. He then read with al Munáwi for a very short time who gave him a lesson in good manners when, pained at his taking a seat at the head of the assembly, he said, "when we were young, we never sat save behind the circle of distinguished personages such as these." On this he broke off§ from him and read altogether with as Sayfu'ddín, as Shumunni and al Kafiyáji the Ḥanafites, somewhat of the sciences, and also, as he asserts, with as Shiháb as Shárimsáḥi a part of his commentary on the Majmúu' of al Kallái: likewise under al I'zz al Miḳáti his treatise on the Mikát,|| and under Muḥammad-b-Ibráhím as Sharwáni ar Rúmi¶ the phy-

* Othmán-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Othmán al Fakhr Abu A'mr al Maḳsi born 818 (1415), died 877 (1472). Maḳs is a village on the Nile adjacent to Cairo.

† Muḥammad-b-Aḥmad as Shams al Bámi, born 820 (1417) died 885 (1480). Meurs.

‡ Muḥammad-b-A'li al Ḳúṣi as Sháfi'i, born 824, died 870. Ibid.

§ I do not follow Meursinge in his translation of انقطع—"tum vero totum se scientiis vovit." This form of the verb bears the meaning of devoting one's self to a thing, but the object is not mentioned and the ordinary signification of the word is here most applicable. The preceding passage is also misunderstood. The speaker is al Munáwi not as Suyúṭi.

|| The Miḳát is an appointed place of rendezvous for pilgrims proceeding to Mecca where they first enter into the state of Iḥrám or prohibition from lawful acts which are at that period unlawful. These stations will be found mentioned in the Jámi' Rumúz by Shamsu'ddín Muḥammad al Kohistáni. Meursinge's translation of Miḳát "horologia" is quite untenable.

¶ Born 778 (1376), died 873 (1468). Meurs.

sician at Cairo, two abridgments on medicine by Ibn u'l Jamáa'h,* and under al I'zz al Ḥanbali some studies in the fundamental principles of jurisprudence from the Jama' u'l Jawámi.'

Here ends what he asserts to have done. He attached himself to me for some time and wrote to me in a long prose epistle *the following words*, "and verily we presented ourselves uninvited to the feast of his comprehensive bounty, and we made the camel of our affliction kneel in the spacious courtyard of his affluence."† Moreover he praised me on other occasions in verse and prose as I have elsewhere shown. In the same way, for a very short period he frequented the lectures of az Zayn Ḳásim al Ḥanafi and al Bikái'i. He also practised himself in poetry under as Shiháb al Manṣúri,‡ and he heard traditions from the compilers of tradition then living such as al Ḳammási, al Ḥijázi, as Sháwi, al Muktúmi Nashwán and Hájir, and some doctors of Aleppo gave him certificates of licence to relate traditions, among them Ibn Muḳbil. The last who gave him a certificate was as Ṣaláḥ-b-Abi Omar, but nevertheless he had made no profound study of all that I have alluded to. He then travelled to Fayyúm, Damietta, al Mahallah and other places and took down in writing what he had heard from those who professed versification, as al Muhyi'd-dín-b-Saḳi'yah and al A'la-b-u'l Janadi al Ḥanafi. Thence to Mecca by sea in Rabii' II, 69 and studied a little under al Muhyi'ddín A'bdu'l Ḳadir al Máliki and profited by the assistance of our friend Ibn Faḍhl§ among others, and more than one granted him a licence to teach and instruct. Al A'lam al Bulḳi'ni granted him his encouragement until he obtained the chair of jurisprudence in the Shaykhúniyah mosque which had come down to him from his father and was present with him at some conferences therein.

Then he held himself aloof|| and affected the airs of a Shaykh and applied himself to the sciences suitable to that profession. Moreover at the time when he used constantly to visit me, he carried off many of my compositions such as الا سما النسوية - الخصال المرحيه للضلال موت الابنا - الصلاة علي النبي, and others I need not enumerate. Nay he took

* I'zzu'ddín Muḥammad-b-Sharafu'ddín Abi Bakr, born 759 (1358), died 819 (1416). Ibid.

† As Suyúṭi means to say that he owed much of solace in his toil to the bounty of as Sakháwi.

‡ Aḥmad-b-Muḥammad, born 798, died 887. Meurs.

§ The Ḥáfidh, author of a work entitled Durrar as Sunniyah wa Bahiyah, a treatise on Muḥammadan law, composed 855 A. H. D'Herb.

|| Meursinge does not find the 7th form this verb انجمع and translates it 'omnes collegit vires suas.' Lane gives the form and example انجمع عن الناس 'he withdrew himself from men.'

from the books of the Maḥmúdi'yah College and elsewhere, many ancient compositions which were unknown to many of his contemporaries, on various sciences, altered them slightly, transposed them and gave them out as his own, and prefaced them with pretentious introductions from which the unlearned reader might expect much, but not a part of which was fulfilled. The first he produced was a paper on the interdiction of the science of logic which he had extracted from a work of Ibn Taymiyah and in the greater part of it he was indebted to my assistance. Upon this many eminent scholars opposed him and even al A'lam al Bulḳini rejected him and took from him what he had dictated to him in his lectures on this question, and had it not been for my good offices with a number of these, such as al Anbási,* Ibn u'l Faláti and Ibn Ḳásim,† the result would have been disastrous.

He also lectured to a number of the common people in the mosque of Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlún; moreover he acquired a predominance‡ over some who were themselves good for nothing, so that this was the means of his being favoured by his executor Shiháb-u'ddín-b-u't Ṭabbákh who provided for his being brought up under Barsabai§ Comptroller of the Household. After this he attached himself to Inál al Ashḳar,|| president of the order of prefects¶ until that personage appointed him professor of tradition in the Shaykhúniyah College after the death of the Shaykh Othmán al Maḳsi, notwithstanding he had left a son. He was also appointed to the post of lecturer *on the Ṣaḥiḥayn of al Bukhári and Muslim* although he was unable to fulfil the condition attached to those offices by the endower,**

* A'bdu'r Raḥím-b-Ibráhím-b-Ḥajjáj Zaynu'ddín al Anbási, as Sháfi'i, born 829, died 891. M.

† Muḥammad-b-Ḳásim-b-A'li Shamsu'ddín al Maḳsi as Sháfi'i, born 817, died 893.

‡ I differ from M. in the translation of this passage. He would omit the second علي in صارعلي على بعضهم. I would retain it and read the first عليّ or perhaps اعلى His rendering of وصي as "pupillus" is, I think, inadmissible.

§ Probably Barsabai al Bajáshi. See Weil. Gesch. Abb. Cal. Eg. II, p. 313.

|| Inál al Ashḳar az Záhiri. Mention of him is made by Weil first in the reign of Sulṭán Khush Ḳadam in 867 (1462) when he was Atabek of Aleppo. In the reign of al Malik al Ashraf Kaitbai, he was transferred from the government of Malatiyah to that of Aleppo, pp. 307, 333.

¶ See Carlyle's edit. of the Maured allatáfat *(Cantabrig* 1792) for this title. Note 7, p. 41.

** What those conditions were is mentioned in the Ḥusn al Muḥádḥirah in describing the foundation of the Amír Shaykhu. It was begun in Muḥarram 756 (*Jan. Feb.* 1355). Chairs were appointed for the four orthodox doctrinal schools, a chair of Tradition, of Ḳurán reading, lectures (اسماع) on the Ṣaḥíḥayn and the Shifa'.

and to lecture on Mysticism at the Mausoleum of Barḳúḳ* governor of Syria, which is by the gate of al Ḳaráfah *at Cairo*, through the favour of his townsman Abu Ṭayyib as Suyúṭi, and to other posts. All this, though he was not fitted for those offices nor nearly so, and for this reason it was said proverbially, that he undertook what he was not qualified to perform. He then gave a loose to his tongue and his pen against his Shaykhs who were his superiors, even to saying of Ḳádhi Adhud that he was not of as much consequence as a prick in the foot of Ibn u's Ṣaláḥ, and for this he was reproved by one of the Ḥanabalite vice-presidents in the presence of their Ḳádhi. He also disparaged as Sayyid† and ar Rádhi on a point of grammar without sufficient foundation, so that he withdrew his statement to a stranger who, when he met him, said, "verily thou assertest that the Sayyid al Jurjáni maintains that a letter (حرف)‡ intrinsically hath no meaning either inherent in it or otherwise, but this statement of the Sayyid's testifieth to the falsehood of what thou dost allege." He replied, "verily I have seen no statement of his to that effect, but when I was at Mecca, I conversed with a distinguished person on this subject, he told me what I have asserted and I relied upon his authority." The other answered, "it is strange how any one who is an author himself could depend upon such a statement in connection with such a master." Thus far this assertion. He also said that any one who read with ar Radhi and his grammatical teaching, had never reached such a degree of proficiency as to entitle him to be called moderately acquainted with grammar.

He continued thus displaying his presumption till he declared himself profoundly versed in the seven sciences.§

He further maintained that if all the learned men of the time were to propound thousands of questions to him, he could answer them all by the sole exercise of his reasoning powers, and were he to set them but a tenth part of the same, they would be unable to solve them. He likewise elaborated a work to facilitate the acquisition of the degree of Mujtahid‖

The head professor who lectured on Mysticism and the Ḥanafite theology, was required to be the most learned Ḥanafite in Egypt, and to be profoundly versed in exegesis and the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and was *not* to be a Ḳáḍhi, and this condition was a general one for all the salaried College officials.

* Consult D'Herb. art. Barkok, and Weil. Gesch. Abb. Cal. Eg. 510 *seq.*

† Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad Zaynu'ddín al Ḥusayni al Jurjáni known as as Sayyid as Sharíf, died 816. Meurs.

‡ حرف has two senses grammatically speaking, one a letter, the other a particle, *i. e.*, what is used to express a meaning and is not a noun or a verb. See Lane.

§ Here follows an extract from as Suyuṭi' which has already been translated in the preceding autobiography.

‖ This term is employed to denote a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question. The title was common in

in order to assert his own claim to it. And how well spoke one of the professors of arithmetic,—"that which he hath confessed* regarding himself in order that it might be inferred that he was impartial, is a proof of his dullness and lack of understanding from the testimony of masters of this science that it is one needing quick intelligence."

And similar to this is the saying of some one that he claimed the rank of Mujtahid to hide his own errors. And to this effect also, are his own words when a certain distinguished person met him and desired to confer with him on some point, "it cannot be that my store of knowledge in scholastic theology is of small account."

The following speech was made to him by another—"inform me regarding the means of acquiring the degree of Mujtadhid. Is there any one living conversant with them?" He replied, "Yes, there are those who have some knowledge of them, but they are not collectively united in one person but dispersed *among a number*." The other rejoined, "tell me who they are, and we will bring them together for thee, and thou shalt speak with them, and if each one of them confesseth that thou hast a knowledge of his subject and noteth thee as distinguished therein, it is possible that we may allow thy claim." And he was silent and uttered not a word.

He mentions that his compositions number more than 300 volumes, but I have seen some of them consisting only of one page, and those that are less than a "kurrásah"† are numerous. He mentions amongst them a commentary on the Sháṭibíyah‡ and the Alfiyah on the readings of the Ḳurán, notwithstanding his own confession, as has already gone before, that he had studied them under no Shaykh.

Among his writings, the following were fraudulently appropriated from the compositions of our Shaykh.§
لباب النقول في اسباب النزول ـ عين الاصابه في معرفة الصحابه ـ النكت البديعات علي الموضوعات ـ المَدرَج الي المُدرِج ـ تذكرة الموتسي بمن حدث ونسي ـ تحفة النابة بتلخيص المتشابه ـ ما رواه الواعون في اخبار الطاون ـ الاساس في مناقب بني العباس جزء في اسما المدلسين ـ كشف النقاب عن الالقاب ـ نشر العبيرفى تخريج احاديث الشرح الكبير ٭

the first ages of Islám, but the principal points having been fixed by the great doctors, the exercise of private judgment in legal questions soon ceased to be recognized. Some later doctors like as Suyúṭi claimed the title and the right, but both were refused to them by public opinion. See De Slane I. K. I. p. 201.

* Alluding to as Suyúṭi's disinclination to that study.

† A "kurrásah" according to De Slane (Vol. II, p. 98) generally contains 20 pages.

‡ See Note, p. 503.

§ Meursinge understands him to mean here, al Bulḳíni, as as Sakháwi speaks of him under this title (شيخنا) in his biography.

All these are the dissertations of our Shaykh, and would that he had not altered them when he appropriated them, for if he had given them as they were, it would have been more profitable. The works belonging to other authors also, among his compositions are numerous. This would be seen were all the works named at hand, but in any case, he was given to much arrogant boasting. He came to me once and asserted that he had read the Muṣnad of as Sháfi'i with al Ḳammási, and of his own accord communicated to me what contained a falsehood in every part of it. In the same way he related on the authority of al Kamál brother of al Jalál al Maḥalli, a dream in which al Kamál proved his untruth. Al Badru'ddín the Ḥanbalite Ḳádhi said to me, "I never saw him reading the Jama' u'l Jawámi' with my Shaykh notwithstanding my constant zeal in attendance on him (*the Shaykh*); but indeed Khayru'ddín ar Ríshi the Naḳíb studied it under him." I said, "perhaps he used to come at the same time." He replied, "I never observed it."

He asserted that he composed the Nafhat u'l Miskíyah wa'l Tuḥfat u'l Makkíyah (*The Musky Fragrance and the Meccan gift*) in one 'kurrásah' when he was at Mecca after the manner of the U'nwán u's Sharaf of Ibn u'l Muḳri* in a single day, and that he wrote an Alfíyah on tradition superior to the Alfíyah u'l I'ráḳi† and other things which it would be tedious to mention. Similar to this is his saying (which verifies the adage that forgetfulness is the undoing of falsehood) in one place that he knew by heart a part of the Minháj on Fundamentals, and in another that he knew the whole of it, and that the course of Dictation was discontinued after the death of our Shaykh until he reinstated it. So too his assertion that the first who was appointed to the Shaykhúníyah College was al Kafiyáji, and his remarking to me several times, "by Allah, if the Turkish Superintendent had not appointed him, or had I alone to do in the affair, I would not have preferred him from my knowledge of the special claim of another." Add to all this the inversions and solecisms in pronunciation that fell from him and what arose from his misapprehension of meaning, through his not frequenting the lectures of the learned nor attending their evening and nightly assemblies, instead of which he worked alone, deep among codices and tomes, and relied upon what had not secured the approval of accurate scholars; moreover he was opposed by all men universally when he claimed the degree of Mujtahid. He composed the following works: — اللفظ الجوهري في رد خباط الجوجري الكرعلي عبد البر - عضب الجبار علي ابن الابار - الصارم الصقيل في قطع الطويل - القول المجمل في رد علي المهمل -

* See note, p. 540.

† Alfíyah u'l I'ráḳi fi Uṣu'l u'l Hadíth by the Ḥáfidh Zaynu'ddín A'bdu'r Raḥím-b-i'l Ḥusayn al I'ráḳi: died 806 (1403). This and its commentaries are noticed at some length by H. K.

All this during his stay at Mecca, treating discourteously therein the people of Ḥijáz for which he richly deserved severe reproof, some of these compositions being more foul than others. Of these I have seen only the first which contains great disparagement of al Jaujari and much arrogance which in parts shows his folly, nay his rabid rage. The fourth is in refutation of al Burhan an Nuámáni* where he reads the words of the Kádhi I'yádh at the close of the Shifá وبخصنا بخصيصي in the dual number, after he had written him a paper containing hard and coarse language not proper to be addressed to scholars, which induced al Burhán to procure learned opinion upon it and those who wrote agreeing with his reading were al Amín al Iksirái, al U'bbádi, al Bámi, az Zayn Kásim al Ḥanafi, al Fakhr ad Dayyimi and the writer of this memoir. Al Burhán wrote a pamphlet which he entitled al Kaul al Mufassal fi radd a'la'l Mughaffal. *(A clear tractate in refutation of the imbecile)*; moreover one of the disciples of al Jaujari wrote also in support of him but al Jaujari† was incensed against him who undertook this on account of the praise of the person eulogized that his work contained. As Suyúṭi also wrote a letter to al Kamál-b-Abi Sharíf‡ and filled it with unworthy attacks on al Kirmáni. Al Khaṭíb al Waziri sent his son to him at Raudhah§ to exhibit his proficiency in study, but he sent him back, alleging as an excuse that he did not fulfil his father's description|| of him on certain points and that his letter for other reasons, likewise, was not satisfactory to him.

* The Imám Ḥáfidh Abu'l Fadhl I'yádh-b-Músa Yaḥsabi, called as Sabti because he was a native of Ceuta. He was born in 470 (1077) died in 544 (1149). Among his best known works are a history of Cordova, a devotional work called Azhár u'r Ryádh, and the Shifa (Note ‡ p. vii). See his life in D'Herb. The words at the close of the Shifá alluded to are, (*teste Meurs.*) وبخصنا بخصيصي زمرة نبينا و جماعته Et peculiarem nobis facere volet (*Deus*) peculiarem favorem turbæ Prophetæ nostri ejusque agminis. خصيصي is here an inf. n. of خص like دليلي and خيرى Burhánu'ddín took it as a dual number. Weijers' note on this in Meurs. is remarkable. Quo modo vero Burhanoddinus iste ibi in duali numero ... legere ... equidem plane non intelligo; et magis etiam miror partium studium eorum eruditorum, qui nudâ, ut videtur, Sojúti invidiâ ducti, Borhannodino illi adversus hunc adstipulati, aut certe illi non plane oblecuti sunt.

† Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'l Muni'm Shamsu'ddín al Jaujari al Káhiri as Shafi'i: born 822 (1419) died 889 (1484). M. He was the author against whom was directed the first treatise mentioned in the last page.

‡ Abu'l Haná Muḥammad al Kamálu'ddín-b-Abi Sharíf as Sháfi'i: born 822 Meurs.

§ A place, according to Meursinge where as Suyúṭi had an estate.

|| I must differ from Meursinge's rendering of this, "non posse se patri ejus (in responso suo) omnes quos oporteret titulos dare."

When a certain student once spoke of the impiety of Ibn u'l A'rabi,* he replied, "verily war is announced† that shall come upon him from God, though the judge can find nought against him and he himself deprecates examination of his writings for points which he judges orthodox in which the believer and discerner of true doctrine cannot concur with him." Moreover he reported of him that he said, "it is forbidden to examine my words." As Suyúṭi was one of those who adopted this tenet *(of Ibn A'rabi's)* from A'bdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Omar al Maghrabi who lived near the Karákiḥa al Ḥasani College whose lectures he attended for some time. More might be said, but were I to discuss all that regarded him, I should transgress due limits. To be brief, he wrote hastily‡ *without reflection:* I never knew him to be anything but vain and overweening, even towards his own mother, so that she used constantly to complain of him, and his conduct continued to grow worse in this respect,—may the Most High inspire him with rectitude.

The Caliph favoured him and appointed him Shaykh of the Baybarsiyah College in succession to al Jalál al Bakri,§ after which his zeal abated, nay became congealed, so that he sought retirement from the world according to what he himself says, "I gave up lecturing and resolving cases of law and turned myself to the Most High." Before this time he asserted that he had a dream in which the prophet upbraided him, and his Vicegerent as Ṣiddíḳ ordered him to be imprisoned for a year, that he might revert to lecturing and expounding the law when he took it upon himself to abandon them, and that he asked pardon and desisted from his purpose: so that if any one came to him with a case, though he were

* Muhyiddín-b-A'li a most voluminous writer on Ṣufiism, a native of Murcia: born 560 (1165), died 638 (1240). Consult Haj. Khal and the Ṭabaḳát al Mufass. of as Suyúṭi, edit, Meurs. also De Slane. I. K. Vol. IV, p. 351. In Suyúṭi's notice of him it is stated that some of his expressions were not altogether orthodox and that though outwardly confirming to the faith, he had some peculiar views on doctrine, but ad Ḍahabi excuses him on the ground that his writings on Sufiism and his austerities, had disturbed his intellect, and he imagined things that had no existence. See also D'Herb. art. Arabi.

† Referring to Kur. II, فاذنوا بحرب من الله ورسوله *(be apprized of war that shall come upon you from God and his apostle.)* Meaning, "you threaten him with war from God on account of his impiety, though the temporal judge can find nothing to substantiate the charge; and he himself deprecates examination of his writings to prove him unorthodox by wresting his words from their proper sense." The Arabic of this passage is obscure and probably corrupt.

‡ I cannot concur in Meursinge's translation "Et hoc celeriter describi potest."

§ A'bdu'l Baḳa Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán ad Dahrúti, known as Jalálu'ddín al Bakri; born 807 (1404), died 891 (1486). M. The Caliph who appointed him must have been al Mutawakkil 'ala'lláh Abu'l I'zz who died in 903.

about to drown at the time, he would take it to write his decision thereon. It was not long after this, that he said what has gone before.

Al Muḥyi'ddín-b-u'l Mughayzil left him when he experienced from him great ill-treatment, after he had acted towards him previously with generosity and he has related instances of his extravagant pretensions which the circumstances themselves verify. As an example, he requested al Burhánu'ddín al Karaki to appoint him to conduct a judicial case which was under his charge. The latter complied and on his own part furnished in addition a duplicate of the original process. As Suyúṭi went to him accompanied by al A'lamu'ddín Sulaymán al Khalifáti to take it, and he never thanked him nor uttered a word expressive of his obligation. He on one occasion related to Muhyi'ddín after as Sunbáṭi's death, a circumstance showing his injustice. He said, "why hast thou told me of this only after his death?" As Suyúṭi replied, "that thou mayest know the hearts of men." And this notwithstanding his great kindness to him, especially during the time of the high prices when there was a dearth of bread and food in the Shaykhúniyah, and he used to give him a dinár weekly as he states himself. In the same way a certain Turk left him, whom from a Ḥanafite he had made a Shafi'ite, notwithstanding that as Suyúṭi had begun by showing great kindness and courtesy towards him. Al Maghrabi likewise abandoned him, the same who used to assert his great sanctity, and also al Fatḥ al Ḳarni.*

An instance of his arrogance, is his saying to one of his attendants, "when I receive the office of Ḳádhi, I will appoint thee to such and such a thing, nay thou shalt obtain every thing."

Subsequently in the year 898, the Shaykh Abu'n Najá son† of Shaykh Khalaf opposed him and publicly exposed his deficiencies and faults, and he was humbled by him and greatly abased. The Imám al Karaki spoke highly of Abu'n Najá as I have fully shown in the Ḥawádith.‡ Previously to this as Suyúṭi wrote a work entitled, "the Cautery in refutation of as Sakháwi," in which he opposed what is affirmed in the Ṣaḥiḥ,§ although I never touched upon the subject save some time before,

* Meursinge conceives that these were all instances of persons who were at first attached to as Suyúṭi but were afterwards driven from him by his violence and harshness.

† Abu'n Najá-b-Khalaf al Miṣri as Sháfi'i, born 849. He used to hold assemblies in the mosques and other public places to which he drew large numbers even from the quarters where as Suyúṭi lived, and even lectured in Suyúṭi's own college the Baybarsíyah. M. note 183, p. 43.

‡ Meursinge supposes that this is the name of a book (*De rebus gestis*) by as Sakháwi but of which no mention is made by Ḥáji Khalífah.

§ Meursinge translates في الصحيح "inter vera." I understand Ṣaḥíḥ to signify the authentic traditions that are known under that name.

nay my course towards it having been to speak neither in affirmation or denial. Let us praise God the Distributer of understanding."

The Compiler* adds, "The Sulṭán al A'ádil Ṭúmáni Báit† removed him from the post of professor of the Baybarsíyah on Monday the 12th Rajab 906 (*1st February* 1501) when a number of the Ṣufi Shaykhs of the Madrassah held a meeting against him on account of his niggardliness with them and his hostility to them by depriving many of them of their stipends and appointing others thereto. He received many humiliations such as judicial mandates, annoyances, interdictions: and other similar things occurred. In the professorship after him was appointed Laishín al Bilbísi, known as Ibn u'l Ballán, on Monday the 26th of the said month, although there were others superior to him in desert, but fortune prevails over merit. Yet he was in no way at ease, fearful lest Jalálu'ddín (*as Suyúṭi*) should disturb him by asserting that al A'ádil had forced him publicly to forego his right. And indeed this move of al Jalálu'ddín actually took place though not persisted in, and thus the position of al Bilbísi was insecure. After this Jalálu'ddín's affairs became tranquil and he turned aside from this office and that of professor of tradition in the Shaykhúniyah with a view to a life of withdrawal from worldly affairs, and he broke off all connection with society by residing at Raudhah, and I have heard that a number of the principal nobles used to visit him whom he did not rise to greet.

The professorship of the Baybarsíyah was offered to him on the death of al Bilbísi on Saturday the 25th of Ḍúl Ḥijjah 909, but he declined it and al Kamálu'ddín at Ṭawíl assumed it on Monday the 27th of the said month after he had expended largely, it is said, on that account. Jalálu'ddín continued in retirement till he died on Thursday the 18th Jumada I, 911 (*17th October* 1505). May the Lord have mercy upon him and upon us."

Having now given as Sakháwi's strictures on as Suyúṭi, I cannot in justice refrain from presenting to the reader the latter's opinion of his critic, and for this I am indebted to Meursinge who has extracted the following notice from a work of the historian's, entitled اعيان الاعيان و ابناء زمان (*the choicest of the great and sons of the Age*), Cod. 416th, p. 94.

"Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán-b-Muḥammad-Abi Bakr-b-Othmán-b-Muḥammad as Sakháwi Shamsu'ddín, the traditionist, the historian, the calumniator, was born in 831 (1427-8) and attended while he was yet young, the dictations of the Ḥáfidh Ibn Ḥajr who fostered in him a love of the science of tradition. He frequented his classes and wrote out

* The word قلت here indicates the termination of as Sakháwi's narrative and that what follows is by the author who has extracted it.

† One of the Circassian Mamelukes who reigned three years and a half, 906-9 (1501-3). M.

many of his compositions with his own hand. He studied under very many collectors of traditions in Egypt, Syria and Ḥijaz and he selected and extracted them for himself and for others, notwithstanding his misreading of them and his being destitute of all knowledge, so that he was good for nothing but in the mere science of tradition. Then he fell upon history and dissipated his life therein and devoted all his efforts to it, and lacerated therein the reputations of men and filled it with their misdeeds, and all that had been imputed to them whether true or false, and asserted that he was thus doing a necessary duty, *viz.*, apportioning blame or praise, whereas this is manifest folly and error and blasphemy against God.

Moreover he was guilty of a fragrant violation of right and was under the burden of many sins, as I have shown in the preface to this book. I mention this only that no one may be seduced by him or trust to any thing that is in his historical writings defamatory of men, especially the learned, or pay heed thereunto. He died in Shaa'bán 902." (*April* 1497.)

The Leyden copy of the work from which this is taken, Meursinge believes to be the only one existing in Europe, and he proposed to himself to treat further of it on some future occasion as it contains memoirs more or less full, of the distinguished men of as Suyúṭi's age. Whether he ever fulfilled his intentions I do not know, and am therefore unable to give further particulars regarding the irregularities alluded to at the close of the above extract. This is, however, of little importance. The recriminations of authors are little to their credit, and are read with indifference when the passions and jealousies which evoked them are hushed and forgotten. The supplement to as Sakháwi's narrative bears unwilling evidence of the reverence in which as Suyúṭi was held at a time when, retired from the world, he still received the unsolicited visits of the great. His petulant notice of the historian's just criticism of Burhánu'ddín's reading of the Shifá of Ḳádhi I'yádh, and the evident jealousy which induced the learned referees to side with Burhán, his hints of the disapproval with which Bulḳíni and Munáwi regarded our author who nevertheless speaks of them in his Ḥusn al Muḥádhirah in terms of unqualified esteem, sufficiently prove the unfairness and suggest the untruthfulness of the writer. His rancour against the historian was probably caused by as Suyúṭi's criticism of his work the Dhu'l Lámi', in his pamphlet entitled the Cautery, and the name not indistinctly hints that the iron was applied red hot. Possibly previous differences may have made his duty a grateful one, and a critique undertaken in this spirit, would not be altogether just. The angry retort of his patient, however, inflicted as keen a wound as he received and the passing satisfaction of an incisive and now forgotten criticism, was more than avenged by the immortality of his victim's reply.

The length to which these hitherto little known particulars of as Suyúṭi's life have unavoidably led me, precludes any extended notice of the work which is here presented to the public. The sources whence the author derived the materials for his history are indicated by him at its close, and if their treatment does not discover any evidence of originality of design, it has at least the merit of condensing into a readable compass, not only the principal events which occurred during the reign of each Caliph, but the personal details and sketches of court life and manners which are often wanting in Abu'l Fida but which lend their chief interest to the lively narrative of Masa'údi. To the dignity of a history according to the European acceptation of the term, it has indeed no pretensions. To investigate the relations of cause and effect, to trace the growth and development of communities and assign the reasons of their arrestation or decline, to discuss the social, political and religious questions which disturb the tranquillity or affect the fortunes of states, to analyze the characters of public men and the influences which bear on their conduct; to paint vivid descriptions of battle-scenes and pageantries of state; to survey the arts, manufactures, trades and products of a country and all that constitutes and adorns its national life, this ideal epic of poetry and philosophy, no Eastern historian has ever attempted. Historical science in its infancy among the Moslems as De Slane has shown, began with oral traditions transmitted from one Ḥáfidh to another, together with the series of authorities for each independent fact, till their accumulated store became too burdensome for retention by memory. They were then committed to writing in the form of a collection of statements supported by lines of ascription reaching to the original narrators who were in most cases eye-witnesses of what they related. A subsequent writer suppressed the ascriptions to a large extent, marshalled the facts and blended the disconnected traditions into one continuous but bulky history. Such were Ibn u'l Athír and at Ṭabari. Then came the abridger who condensed the work of his predecessor into a simpler and smaller volume while the greater work was consigned to veneration and decay in some public library. Such were Abu'l Fida and as Suyúṭi. De Slane has, I think, unfairly censured these last-mentioned writers. He considers them to have done nearly as much injury to their predecessors as Justin and Florus have done to Livy and Tacitus. I do not admit the justness of the parallel nor perceive its relevancy. Justin's history, is a compilation of extracts rather than an abridgment of the lost books of Trogus Pompeius whose guides were exclusively Greek, and who treated in the main but with voluminous digressions, of the rise, decline and fall of the Macedonian monarchy. Though Justin has been censured for omitting much from his original that was worthy of record, yet that original was professedly not Tacitus, whose

Histories and Annals are concerned with the period between the second consulship of Galba and the death of Domitian, and from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero. It is true that the Editio Princeps of Florus published about 1471, bore the title, "Titi Livii Epithoma," but it is not regarded by modern scholars as an abridgment of Livy, but a compilation from various authorities epitomizing the leading events from the building of the city to the rise of the Empire. The Epitomes of the books of Livy have been ascribed to Florus, and with equal probability to Livy himself. There is no internal testimony in favour of either conclusion, and external evidence is altogether wanting.* It is difficult, therefore to perceive in what way the assumed injury has been affected. The parallel applied to the Easterns fails in a similar manner. Their merit would perhaps be slight, were it confined to their condensation, however judicious, of a single work, but this is far from being the case. Abu'l Fida cites no less than fourteen authors, and as Suyúṭi, twelve, to whose voluminous pages they are indebted for their materials. The greater number of the works which they mention have perished, and it is to their labours we owe the preservation of much that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Reiske's eloquent commendation of Abu'l Fida is a just and sufficient testimony to his eminence, and his concluding words will suffice me for any panegyric of as Suyúṭi,—ipse usus eum commendabit, quare laudibus ejus celebrandis parcam.

The MSS. from which the text of this work was edited, which is but one among the many services of the accomplished Orientalist Colonel Nassau Lees to the world of letters, were the following—

MS. belonging to Maulvie Muḥammad Wajíh, Head Professor of the Calcutta Madrassah: this copy is now missing.

„ the property of Maulvie Abd'us Shukúr of Jounpore. Likewise missing.

„ in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This latter is the only one with which I have been able to collate the text. Another MS. is mentioned by Weil in his history of the Abbaside Caliphs in Egypt (note, p. 122, Vol. II,) and numbered Cod. Goth. N. 321, which I have not seen.

The system of transliteration of Arabic proper names adopted by me, is the same now in general use throughout India. The following letters alone present any difficulty, and are thus represented:

* Consult. Ramsay's art, on Livy in William Smith. Cl. D.

ح	is written	ḥ
ذ	"	ḍ
ص	"	ṣ
ض	"	dḥ
ط	"	ṭ
ظ	"	dh
ع	"	with a comma over the vowel.

Some proper names of persons, such as Omar and Othmán, and those of certain towns and countries, the corrupt spelling of which has been consecrated and fixed by custom, are left unaltered.

In concluding, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Maulvie Kabíruddín Aḥmad whose wide range of reading and intelligent acquaintance with the historical, philosophical and doctrinal literature of the Arabs have been of great service to me. In what pertains to the accuracy of the translation and the manner of it, I must leave to the criticism of the learned, the correction and removal of defects in both, of which I am only too conscious, but which with the best endeavours, I have failed to amend.

H. S. J.

HISTORY OF THE CALIPHS,

BY

JALÁLU'DDÍN A'S SUYÚṬI.

After the praises of God, of Him who promises and performs, and who threatens and forgives,—and blessings and peace upon our Chief, Muḥammad, Prince of the nobly born, progenitor of the Caliphs—and upon his family and Companions, the possessors of magnanimity and good faith, I proceed to give in this slight historical sketch, a biographical account of the Caliphs, the Princes of the Faithful, who have stood in authority over the people from the age of Abu Bakr the Witness to the Truth—may God approve him—up to this my time, according to the order of their reigns one after another. And I have mentioned in the lives of all them, the remarkable occurrences which happened during the reign of each, and the chief doctors of the faith, and the illustrious personages who lived during their time.

Many circumstances instigated the composition of this work: among them, that a collection of the biographies of the chiefs of the faith, and those endowed with virtue, was desirable and would be welcome, and in truth, there are those who have compiled histories in which they have introduced these distinguished men, but unsystematically, and without giving a full account of them, and their completion would entail prolixity and weariness. For this reason I was desirous of separately detailing each class of men in a work *apart*, which would be more advantageous for those who wished for particulars of any one class, and easier to consult. Thus I have set apart one book for the prophets—upon whom be the benediction and peace of God,—and another for the Companions of the Prophet; abridged from the "Iṣába" of the Shaykhu'l Islám Ibn Hajr;—and another comprising the various commentators of the Ḳurán; and an

abridged work on the lives of the Huffádh,* epitomized from the Ṭabaḳát of aḍ Ḍahabi; and a voluminous work on the grammarians and philologists, any similar to which had not been before composed; and a book on those learned in the fundamentals of the faith,—and a voluminous work on those famed for sanctity; and another on the doctors of the Law of Inheritance; and another on Rhetoricians; and another on Writers, that is, authors of prose composition; and another on those celebrated for calligraphy;† and another on the Arab poets whose works are authorities in the language, and these comprehend the greater number of eminent men of the nation.

I rest satisfied, regarding doctors of Law, with what other men have written on that subject, on account of its abundance, and independence of *any further information* thereon,—and I have likewise contented myself with what the Ṭabaḳát of aḍ Ḍahabi‡ contains on the Readers of the Ḳurán. The Káḍhis are included among the preceding, and therefore, among personages of distinction, ***the history*** of the Caliphs alone remains ***unwritten***, notwithstanding the eagerness of men for accounts of them. I have therefore set apart this book for them but have not included in it, any who disputed the Caliphate by force of arms, and did not succeed to power, such as many of the descendants of A'li and a few of the House of A'bbás: neither have I made mention of any of the Caliphs, the descendants of U'bayd-u'llah,§ because their authority was illegal for many reasons—among them—this, that they were not of the tribe of the Ḳuraysh, and although the ignorant vulgar have named them Fatimites,

* A Háfidh or one who remembers what he has heard or read, is of the 3rd grade of the Traditionists. Of these there are five. The Háfidh must know 300,000 traditions by heart, and be able to name the lines of authorities of each.

Consult Ibn-Ṣaláḥ on tradition.

† The Khattu'l Mansúb is a species of handwriting, the invention of which is attributed by Ibn Khall (see life of al-Bawwáb) to Abu A'bdullah al-Hasan brother of Ibn Muklah, while aḍ Ḍahabi (Tarikhu'l Islám) gives the credit of it to the latter. See De Slane's notes on this handwriting. Art. Ibn al A'ámidi the Ḳádhi.

‡ Abu A'bdu'llah Muḥammad a doctor of the Sháfií school, surnamed the 'sun of religion' born at Damascus A. H. 673, (1275) but his ancestors were Turkomán. He was the chief Háfidh and Ḳurán reader of Syria. His works are very numerous. The Ṭabaḳát there mentioned is a biography of the Readers of the Ḳurán. See Ibn Khall.

§ The founder of this house was U'baydu'llah al Mahdi who assumed the Caliphate in 296 A. H. (A. D. 908). At the same period A'bdu'llah was Caliph in Spain, and Al Muḳtadir at Baghdad: "In the 10th century" says Gibbon "the chair of Mahomed was disputed by three Caliphs who reigned at Baghdad, Cairoan and Cordova, excommunicated each other and agreed in a principle of discord that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever."

nevertheless their ancestor was a worshipper of fire. Káḍhi Abdu'l Jabbár of Basrah says that the name of the ancestor of the Egyptian Caliphs was Saíd and his father was a Jew blacksmith of Salamiyah.*

The Káḍhi Abu Bakr al Bákilání† says that al Ḳaddáḥ the grandfather of Úbaydu'llah, called al Mahdi, was a fire-worshipper, and Úbaydu'llah went to Africa and asserted that he was a descendant of Áli; none of the genealogists recognised him as such, but ignorant people called them Fatimites.

Ibn Khallaḳán remarks that most of the learned did not hold as valid, the pedigree of Úbaydu'llah al Mahdi, the ancestor of the Egyptian Caliphs, insomuch that when al Áziz bi'lláh son of al Múizz in the beginning of his reign, ascended the pulpit on a Friday, he found there a piece of paper, and in it these lines—

"We have heard a false pedigree
Read from the pulpit in the mosque.
If thou art truly what thou assertest,
Then name *thy* ancestor up to the fifth‡ generation.
And if thou mean to verify what thou sayest
Then give us thy pedigree like that of at Ṭaiá.§
If not, then leave thy pedigree in obscurity
And enter with us into a common ancestry
For the genealogies of the sons of Háshim
To them aspires not the desire of the ambitious.

Al Áziz wrote to the Umayyad,‖ then ruler of Spain, a letter in which he reviled and satirized him, whereupon the Umayyad replied, saying, "After the usual greetings, verily thou knewest me, therefore hast thou satirized me, and surely if I knew thee, I would answer thee:" and this came sorely upon al Áziz and silenced him from reply, for it meant that he was an impostor and his family unknown.

* The printed edition has نشابة an arrow-maker—the MS. has سليمية of Sulaymiaḥ—the latter is probably a copyist's error for سلمية a small town in the district of Enessa where according to Ibn Ḳhallaḳán Al Mahdi was born—I have preferred the latter reading.

† Called Báḳiláni or vendor of beans. He was of Basrah but long resident in Baghdad and celebrated as a doctor of scholastic theology a voluminous author, died A. H. 403 (1013 A. D.). Ibn Khall.

‡ The text and MS. have سابع instead of رابع . It is clear from Ibn Khallaḳán that the former is incorrect as al Áziz was fifth in descent from al Mahdi.

§ A cotemporary of al Áziz. At Táiali'lláh reigned as Caliph at Baghdad in A. H. 363 (A. D. 913) a lineal descendant from Háshim great-grandfather of Muḥammad.

‖ This must have been either Ḥakam or Hishám called al Mustanṣir. Ḥakam died one year after the accession of al Áziz and was succeeded by Hishám al Muayyad.

Aḍ Ḍahabi says that authorities are agreed upon this, that Ubayd-u'llah al Mahdi was not a descendant of Áli; and how well spoke his grandson al Múízz, the ruler of Cairo, when Ibn Ṭabaṭaba,* the descendant of Áli questioned him regarding their origin! He half drew his sword from the scabbard and said "This is my pedigree," and scattering gold among the nobles and those who were present, said "here *are the proofs of* my nobility."

And among *the reasons aforesaid is this*, that the greater number of them were Magians, beyond the pale of Islám; and there were of them, some who reviled the prophets, and among them some who held the use of wine lawful, and some of them commanded worship unto themselves, and the best of them were heretics, unclean and base, who directed the execration of the Companions *of the prophet*—may God approve them—and to such as these, homage is not binding and their headship is illegal. And Abu Bakr al Báḳiláni says that Ubaydu'llah al Mahdi, was a vile Bátini,† eager for the subversion of the orthodox faith. He persecuted learned men and doctors of law, that he might be able to seduce the people, and his descendants followed his ways. They gave a license to wine and fornication and promulgated heresy. Aḍ Ḍahabi says that al Ḳáim the son of al Mahdi, was more wicked than his father, an accursed Magian, who openly reviled the prophets, and he adds that the House of Ubaydu'llah was more malevolent towards the Orthodox faith than the Tartars.

Abu'l Hasan al Ḳábasi‡ says that Ubaydu'llah and his descendants put to death four thousand of the learned and pious, seeking to turn them from acknowledging the Companions *of the prophet*, but they preferred death—then, well indeed, had he been only a heretic but he was a Magian. (Zindíḳ.)§

The Ḳádhi Iyádh tells *us* that|| Abu Muhammad al Kayruwáni, al

* Abu Muḥammad Abdu'llah 9th in descent from Áli, a native of Hijáz but an inhabitant of Egypt. He was a Sharíf noted for the nobility of his character, his vast possessions and the style in which he lived, born A. H. 286 (A. D. 899) and died 4th Rajab at Cairo A. H. 348 (September A. D. 959). Ibn Khall.

† This is the same sect as the Assassins so often mentioned in the history of the Crusades, founded by Hasan Saba, known as the Old Man of the Mountain. The word signifies possessing inward light and knowledge. See Von Hammer-Gesch-der Assassinen.

‡ A doctor of the Máliki school. A great Traditionist—died A. H. 403, (A. D. 1012.) Ibn Khall.

§ This term primarily implies an assertor of the doctrine of Dualism, but it is also used to signify an atheist or one who denies the world to come and maintains the eternity of the present. Consult. Lane. art زندق De Sacy, Chresth. Ar. 2nd Ed. II. p. 274.

|| Abu'l Fadhl Iyádh a traditionist—the greatest authority of his age on Arabic history and literature. He was educated at Cordova and died in Morocco—A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150). Ibn Khall.

Kízáni, one of the doctors of the Máliki school was asked as to the case of one compelled by the House of U'bayd, namely, the Caliphs of Egypt—to acknowledge their claims or die. He replied " he must choose death and no one can be excused in such an instance : their assumption of authority at first took place before their pretensions were understood, but afterwards flight was imperative and no one through fear *of death* could excuse his *voluntary* abiding, forasmuch as residence in a place, the people of which are required to abandon the religious precepts of *Islam* is not permissible; nevertheless some few doctors of law did remain exceptionally for them, lest *a knowledge of* their religious ordinances might be wanting to the Muslims and *the rulers* seduce them from their faith."

And Yusuf ur Ruáyni says that the learned of Kayruwán were agreed that the House of U'bayd were in the condition of apostates and Magians, for they declared openly against the law. Ibn Khallakan remarks *as follows:* "Verily they laid claim to the knowledge of hidden things, and accounts of them regarding this are well-known, for when al A'zíz one day, ascended the pulpit, he observed a piece of paper in which was written—

Verily we are patient under tyranny and oppression
But not under infidelity and folly ;
If thou art gifted with the knowledge of what is hidden
Reveal to us the writer of this letter.

A woman, also, *once* addressed to him a petition in which was written: "By Him who hath exalted the Jews through Mísha* and the Christians through Ibn Nastúr, and hath disgraced the true believers in thee, see that thou look into my case," and Mísha the Jew was intendant of the finances in Syria and Ibn Nasṭúr in Egypt.

Among other *reasons* is this, that their assumption of the *Caliphate*, occurred at a time when an A'bbási Imám was already in possession with priority of allegiance ; it was therefore illegal, for a covenant of fealty to two Imáms at the same time cannot be justified, and the first is the rightful one. And again there is a tradition to this effect, that this authority when it shall come into the possession of the children of A'bbas, shall not depart from them, until they themselves shall resign it unto Jesus the Son of Mary, or al Mahdi.† It is therefore ascertained that whosoever assumes the Caliphate during their incumbency is a schismatic *and* a rebel.

For these reasons therefore, I have made no mention of any of the House of U'bayd, nor of other schismatics but only of the Caliphs who unite orthodoxy of headship and a covenant of allegiance.

* The readings of the MS. vary in both places where this name occurs.

† The last of the Imáms who it is believed, will appear before the Day of Judgment, to overthrow Dajjál—the Man of Sin that is to come.

I have prefaced the beginning of the book with a few chapters, *containing* observations of importance and what I have introduced of strange and remarkable occurrences, is taken from the history of the Háfidh-aḍ Ḍahabi, and the responsibility for his own work is upon him, and the Lord is *my* helper.

In explanation of how the prophet *left no successor and the mystery of this.**

Al-Bazzár† in his Musnad (collection of traditions) states on the authority of Huḍayfah‡ that *the Companions of the prophet* said: O! Apostle of God, wilt thou not appoint a successor unto us?" He replied, "Verily did I appoint a successor over you, and were you to rebel against the successor appointed by me, punishment would come upon you."

The two Shaykhs§ have recorded regarding Omar that he said when he was stabbed. "Were I to name a successor, then, verily, he named a successor, who was greater than I," (meaning Abu Bakr,) "and were I to leave you *without one*, then, verily, he also hath left you so, who was greater than I," (meaning the Apostle of God).

Aḥmad and al Bayhaḳi|| in their Proofs of Prophecy, have related on good authority from Ámar-b-Sufyán, that when Áli was victorious on the day of the Camel,¶ he said, "O! men, verily the Apostle of God hath committed nothing unto us in regard to this authority, in order that we might of our own judgment approve and appoint Abu Bakr, who ruled and so continued until he went his way; then Abu Bakr thought fit to nominate Omar who ruled and so continued until the right became estab-

* As the mention of the lines of authorities for each tradition is of no profit to the general reader, they will be omitted, the first and last alone being given.

† Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ábdu'l Báḳi, surnamed the Ḳádhi of the infirmary, a great traditionist—flourished about A. D. 1123. The MS. has al Bazzáz of whom I can find no notice as traditionist but only as a teacher of Ḳurán reading. Another al Bazzár is Abu Bakr Muhammad Abdu'llah-b-Ibrahím—a Sháfiite doctor, author of the Ghiláníyát, died A. H. 354.

‡ Abu Ábdu'llah-b-u'l Yaman, one of the companions died A. D. 656. *Ibn Hajar.*

§ Al Bukhári and Muslim, the two greatest of the six highest authorities on tradition—the other are at Tirmiḍi, Abu Dauúd, an Nasái and Ibn Májá.

|| Abu Bakr-b-al-Husayn called al Bayhaḳi from his birthplace near Naysabúr an eminent traditionist born 384 (994) died 458 (1066). Ibn Khall.

¶ The battle so called from the camel ridden by Aysha when defeated and taken prisoner by Áli under the walls of Basrah A. D. 66. See Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 275. Ed. Mil.

lished.* Then the people sought worldly advantages and events occurred regarding which may the Lord determine." Al Ḥákim† in his Mustadrak has recorded, and al Bayhaḳi has confirmed it in his "Proofs" on the testimony of Abu Wáil, that it was asked of Ali. "Wilt thou not appoint a successor unto us?" He replied, "The Apostle of God appointed none, shall I therefore do so? but if God desireth the good of the people, He will unite them after me upon the best of themselves, as He united them after their prophet upon the best among them.

Aḍ Ḍahabi remarks that among the heretics there are some idle traditions that *the prophet* bequeathed *the Caliphate* to Ali, and verily Huzayl-b-Shuraḥbíl‡ says, "Did Abu Bakr obey Ali, the legatee of the apostle of God? Abu Bakr would have been glad to have received the bequest from the apostle of God, for then he would have forced Ali to submit."

Ibn Saád§ has recorded on the authority of Ḥasan that Ali said, "When the apostle of God died, he deliberated upon our mode of government, and we found that the prophet had made Abu Bakr take the lead in public prayers. We approved, therefore, for our temporal affairs one whom the apostle of God approved for our spiritual concerns. We thus gave precedence to Abu Bakr." Al Bukhári says in his history that it is related on the authority of Safínah|| that the prophet said of Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmán—"these shall be the Caliphs after me," but this is not to be followed, says al Bukhári, because Omar Ali, and Othmán have asserted that the prophet did not appoint a successor.

Ibn-Habán¶ has recorded the above tradition and relates on the authority of Safínah that when the apostle of God built the mosque *at Medina*, he laid a stone on the foundation and said to Abu Bakr, "Lay thy stone

* For this curious meaning of ضرب بجرانه see Lane art. جرن.

† Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad born at Naysabúr 321 A. H. (933) and held the office of Kádḥi under the Samáni rule, and died there A. H. 405 (A. D. 1014). He was the most eminent traditionist of his time. The Mustadrak ala's Sahíhayn (Supplement to the two Sahíhs of al Bukhári and Muslim) is the work alluded to. He composed numerous others, on the sciences connected with tradition. Consult, Ibn Khall.

‡ Of the tribe Aud. He was what is called a Tábi or one next in time to the Companions. An Nawawi.

§ Abdu'llah Muḥammad, b. Saạd of Baṣrah called Kátib-i-Wákidi from having transcribed and completed the works of that historian. Also author of the Tabaḳáti Kabír, died 845 A. D. Ibn Khall.

|| Abu Abdu'r Raḥmán Mihrán surnamed Safínah by Muḥammad whose freedman he was, on account of his having carried across a stream some of the Companions with whom Muḥammad was one day walking, Safína signifying a boat. An Nawawi.

¶ Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Yahya-b-Habán, died at Medina A. D. 739, at the age of 74 An. Naw.

by the side of my stone;" then he said to Omar "lay thy stone by the side of the stone of Abu Bakr;" then he said to Othman, "lay thy stone by the side of the stone of Omar." Then he said "These shall be the Caliphs after me."

Abu Zaráh says that his authorities are not unreliable, and indeed al Ḥákim has recorded it in his Mustadrak and al-Bayhaḳi has confirmed it in his "Proofs" and others besides these two. I remark that there is no contradiction between it and the saying of Omar and Ali that *the prophet* did not name a successor, for the meaning of these two is that at the time of his death, he did not lay down an authoritative injunction for the succession of any *particular* one, and this other refers to what occurred at a period antecedent, for it is similar to a saying of the prophet in another tradition, "Obey my law, and the law of the Caliphs after me, the orthodox, the rightly guided," and to his saying, "Follow those after me Abu Bakr and Omar" and others from among the traditions referring to the Caliphate.

On the Imáms being of the Ḳuraysh, and the Caliphate being the prerogative of these.

Abu Dauúd at Ṭayálisi* in his collection of traditions has recorded from Abu Barzah† that the prophet said—"The Imáms *shall be* of the Ḳuraysh, as long as they shall rule and do justice and promise and fulfil, and pardon is implored of them and they are compassionate." And at Tirmiḍi‡ from Abu Hurayrah§ that the apostle of God said; "the sovereignty shall rest in the Kuraysh and judicial authority with the Auxiliaries, and calling to prayers with the Abyssinians." And Imám Aḥmad in his Musnad from U'tbah-b-A'bdán that the prophet said: "The Caliphate *shall rest* in the Ḳuraysh and judicial authority with the Auxiliaries and the office of calling to prayer with the Abyssinians." His authorities are trustworthy. Al Bazzár has recorded from A'li Ibn Abi Ṭálib that the apostle of God said: "The princes *shall be* of the Ḳuraysh; the just among them rulers of the just, and the wicked, rulers of the wicked."

* Abu Dauúd Sulaymán a Persian by birth resident at Basrah, died A. D. 818. Ibn Khall.

† Abu Barzah Nazlah-b-U'bayd one of the Companions who fought by Muḥammad's side in seven engagements, died during the campaign in Khurasan 684. Ibn Hajr.

‡ Abu I'sa Muḥammad called after his birthplace Tirmiḍ on the banks of the Oxus. He is one of the six great traditionists, died A. D. 892.

§ A well-known Companion of Muḥammad, his real name is a subject of dispute Ibn Hajr places his death in A. H. 59.

The Imám Aḥmad* has related on the authority of Safínah that he heard the Apostle of God say; "The Caliphate *shall last* for thirty years and after it, shall follow a monarchy." The learned say that in these thirty years are included only the four Caliphs and the reign of al Ḥasan. And al Bazzár from Abu U'baydah-b-u'l† Jarráḥ that the prophet said "Your religion began with the prophetic mission and in clemency: it shall continue with the Caliphate and in clemency; then shall follow monarchy and despotism." A reliable tradition. A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad records on the authority of Jábir-b-Samurah from the prophet that he said; "This rule shall continue in honour, *its holders* overcoming all that oppose them therein, up to twelve Caliphs, all of them of the Ḳuraysh." The two Shaykhs and others have recorded this and there are other lines of ascription and readings of it; among them—"this rule shall continue secure," and "this rule shall remain in force"—and, according to Muslim, "the rule over the people shall continue in force until twelve men shall have ruled them;" and also according to him "this authority shall not come to an end until twelve Caliphs shall have passed away in it from among the people;"—and "Islám shall continue revered and unassailable until *there shall have been* twelve Caliphs;" and according to al Bazzár, "the sway of my people shall continue to abide until twelve Caliphs, all of them of the Ḳuraysh shall have passed away"—and according to Abu Daúd there is an addition; "and when he returned to his house, there came to him the Ḳuraysh and they said, "then what will follow?" He replied, "there will follow sedition." And also according to him, "This faith shall continue to abide until twelve Caliphs shall have been over you, upon all of whom the people shall be gathered together:" and according to Aḥmad and al Bazzár from Ibn Masa'úd who was asked, "How many of the Caliphs shall rule this people?" He replied: "We asked the Apostle of God concerning them, and he answered "Twelve, like unto the number of the chiefs of the children of Israel." Ḳádḥi I'yáḍḥ says that the meaning of the twelve Caliphs in this tradition and in those resembling it, is perhaps this, that they would flourish during the period of the glory of the Caliphate and the vigour of Islám, and the integrity of its government, and the gathering of the people around him who assumed the vicegerency, and

* The Imám Abu A'bdu'llah Aḥmad as Shaybáni-al-Marwazi (native of Marw) was the son of Muḥammad-b-Hanbal, born at Baghdad A. H. 164 (A. D. 780), a traditionist of the first class. It is said he knew by heart a million of these traditions, al Bukhári and Muslim were his disciples. His persistence in refusing to declare the Ḳurán created is well-known. He died at Baghdad A. H. 241 (855).

† Abu U'baydah commonly called the son of al Jarráḥ—but incorrectly according to Ibn Hajr and an Nawawi who maintain that his father was A'bdu'llah and his grandfather al Jarráḥ.

these *conditions* were found in those round whom the people gathered until the sway of the children of Umayyah was troubled and discord fell among them in the reign of Walíd-b-Yazíd, and thus it continued among them until arose the Abbaside power and they overthrew their sovereignty."

The Shaykh u'l Islám Ibn Ḥajr in the "Commentary on al Bukhári says;"—the words of the Kádhi I'yádh are the best that have been uttered on this tradition, and the most important, on account of their confirmation of his remark on some of the lines of ascription of the authentic tradition, "upon all of whom the people shall be gathered together:" and the elucidation of this is, that the meaning of gathering together, is their submission to do him homage, and this very thing came to pass, for the people gathered round Abu Bakr, then Omár, then Othmán, then A'li until occurred the affair of the "two Arbitrators" at Siffín,* and Mu'áwiyah assumed the Caliphate from that day.

Then the people gathered round Mu'áwiyah at the time of the treaty with al Ḥasan: then they united upon his son Yazíd and the authority of al Ḥusayn was never established—nay—he was killed before its accomplishment. Then when Yazíd died, discord fell among them until they gathered round Abdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, after the death of Ibn uz Zubayr. Then they gathered round his four sons, al Walíd, and Sulaymán, and Yazíd and Hishám; and between Sulaymán and Yazíd, there intervened Omar b-A'bdi'l A'zíz. These, therefore, are seven, after the orthodox Caliphs, and the twelfth is Walíd-b-Yazíd b-A'bdi'l Malik, round whom the people gathered when Hishám, his father's brother died. He reigned about four years. Then they rose up against him and slew him and dissension prevailed and things were changed from that day, and it never happened after that, that the people gathered round any Caliph, for the reign of Yazíd-b-Walíd, the same who rose against his cousin al Walíd-b-Yazíd, was not long: for there marched against him before he died, the son of his father's uncle, Marwán-b-Muḥammad-b-Marwán. When Yazíd died, his brother Ibrahím reigned but Marwán slew him; thereupon the sons of A'bbás made war upon Marwán until he was slain. Then the first of the Caliphs of the children of A'bbás was as Saffáḥ, but his reign was not protracted by reason of the multitude of those who went out against him. Then his brother al Manṣúr held sway, and his reign was long, but the remote west passed away from them through the conquest of Spain by the

* Abu Músa Asha'ri on the part of A'li and A'mr b-u'l A'áṣ on the part of Mu'áwiyah. The plain of Siffín, says Gibbon, which extends along the western bank of the Euphrates, is determined by D'Anville (l' Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.

descendants of Marwán, and it continued in their hands predominant over it, until they afterwards assumed the Caliphate—and things came to such a pass that nothing remained of the Caliphate in the provinces but the name, after it had been that in the time of the children of A'bdu'l Malik b-Marwán, the Khuṭbah was read in the name of the Caliphs in all the regions of the earth, the east and the west, the right hand and the left, wherever the true believer had been victorious, and none in any one of all the provinces, was appointed to hold a single office, except by order of the Caliph.

Regarding the immoderate lengths to which things went, verily in the fifth century in Spain alone, there were six persons who assumed the title of Caliph and together with them, a descendant of U'baydu'llah ruler in Egypt and an A'bbási in Baghdád, exclusive of those who claimed the Caliphate in the regions of the earth, of the descendants of A'li and the schismatics." He adds, "perhaps this interpretation is the meaning of the *prophet's* words "there will follow sedition," that is, slaughter arising from sedition openly occurring and continuous, and such actually occurred. And it has been also said that the meaning of it is, the appearance of the twelve Caliphs during the whole duration of Islám until the day of judgment, acting according to the truth, although their reigns may not follow in succession one after another; and this confirms what has been recorded by Musaddad in his Musnad-i-Kabír from Abu'l Khuld who says, "This people shall not perish until there shall have been from among them, twelve Caliphs, all of them labouring in the way of salvation and the true faith, and among them, two shall be of the family of Muḥammad." According to this, therefore, the meaning of his words "there will follow sedition" is, the troubles foretelling the resurrection by the coming of Dajjál and the issue thereof—(here he ends)." I observe that according to this, of the twelve Caliphs, are accounted for, the four and al Ḥasan and Mu'áwiyah and Omar Ibn A'bdi'l A'zíz: these are eight and it is probable that there may be added to them, al Muhtadi of the House of A'bbás, for he is among them what Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz is, among the children of Umayyah, and in the same way, ad Dháhir,* on account of what was vouchsafed unto him of rectitude of conduct, and there remain two who are to be awaited, one among them *being* al Mahdi, for he is of the family of Muḥammad, upon whom be the blessing and peace of God.

* Ad Dháhir bi'amri'lláh.

On the traditions premonitory of the Caliphate of the children of Umayyah.

A't Tirmiḍi relates on the authority of Yusuf-b-Saa'd that a man stood up before al Ḥasan the son of A'li, after he had sworn allegiance to Mu'áwiyah, and said, "Thou hast blackened the faces of the true believers," and he replied "Reproach me not, may the Lord have mercy on them, for the prophet saw the children of Umayyah on his pulpit, and it troubled him: then was revealed to him "Verily we have given thee al Kauthar"* and there was *also* revealed to him—"we sent down *the Kurán* on a night of power and what shall make thee understand *how excellent* the night of power *is:* the night of power is greater than a thousand months"† "in which the children of Umayyah shall possess the Caliphate, O Muḥammad." Al Ḳásim says, "I have computed and lo! it is a thousand months, no more and no less." At Tirmiḍi says "this but once recorded tradition, I know only from the tradition of al Ḳásim who is reliable but his master is unknown." Al Ḥákim has given this tradition in his Mustadrak *(Supplement)* and Ibn Jarír in his Commentary—but the Háfidh Abu'l Hajjáj and Ibn Kathír say that it is unreliable.

Ibn Jarír‡ in his Commentary has related on the authority of the grandfather of Abu Sahl that he said, "the Apostle of God saw the children of al Ḥakam-b-Abi'l A'áṣ leap upon his pulpit with the leap of apes, and that troubled him and he never brought himself to smile until his death, and God revealed to him concerning it, "We have appointed the vision which we showed thee only for an occasion of dispute unto men."§ The authorities are weak, but there are concurring testimonies from the traditions of A'bdu'lláh-b-Omar, and Ya'la-b-Murrah, Ḥusayn-b-A'li and others. I have quoted it with its authorities in the Commentary and Musnad, and alluded to it in my work, the "Reasons of Revelation.

* Kur. VIII.—Al Kauthar is a stream in Paradise—the word signifies "abundance of good." Hence the gift of wisdom. See Sale.

† Kur. XVIII—the concluding sentence is not in the Ḳurán.

‡ Abu Jaa'far Muḥammad-b-Jarír at Ṭabari is the author of a great Commentary on the Ḳurán and a famous history. He was a master of the highest authority (Imám) on various branches of knowledge, such as tradition, jurisprudence and the like—born A. H. 224 (838-9) at Amul in Tabaristán and died at Baghdad A. H. 310 (A. D. 923) Ibn Khall.

§ Kur. XVII. This verse is generally supposed to refer to the prophet's journey to heaven, which was the occasion of much dispute amongst his followers until confirmed by the testimony of Abu Bakr. See Sale.

On the traditions annunciatory of the Caliphate of the children of A'bbás.

Al Bazzár has related from Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said to A'bbás—" in ye shall rest prophecy and sovereignty :" and at Tirmiḍi from Ibn A'bbás, that the Apostle of God said to A'bbás, " when it shall be the morning of the second day, come to me, thou and thy son, that I may invoke upon *thy descendants* a blessing by which, may God profit thee and thy son ;" and he went at dawn and I went with him and he clothed us with a mantle ; then he said, " O Lord! vouchsafe unto A'bbás and unto his son, an outward and inward mercy ; leave them not in sin ; O Lord, preserve him in his son." Thus has at Tirmiḍi quoted it in his " Jámi'," and Razín* al A'bdari has added to the end of it, "and make the Caliphate abiding in his posterity." I observe that this tradition, and that which precedes it, are the best that have come down on this subject.

At Ṭabaránī† records that the Apostle of God said, " I saw *in vision* the children of Marwán taking possession of my pulpit, one after another, which troubled me, and I saw the children of A'bbás taking possession of my pulpit one after another and that gladdened me ;" and Abu Nua'ym‡ in his Ḥuliyah, from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God came forth, and there met him A'bbás and he said, " Shall I not give thee good tidings, O father of excellence ?" who replied ' Yea, O Apostle of God," and he said. " Verily God hath begun this authority with me and will fulfil it in thy posterity." (The ascription is unreliable.) There has also come down a tradition of A'li's on authorities still weaker than this, quoted by Ibn

* Abu'l Ḥasan Razín-b-Mu'áwiyah-b-A'mmár a member of the tribe of A'bdu' d Dár, a native of Saragossa in Spain, was Imám to the Maliki school at Mecca. His work is generally designated Kitáb-i-Razín, in which he assembled and classed all the traditions contained in the Saḥíḥ of al Bukhári, and Muslim, the Muwaṭṭa of Málik, the Jámi' of at Tirmiḍi and the Sunan of Abu Dauúd, died at Mecca A. H. 525 (A. D. 1130.) Ibn Khall. De Slane.

† Abu'l Ḳásim Sulaymán b-Aḥmad of the tribe of Lakhm, the chief Háfidh of his time—born at Tabariya in Syria and having settled at Ispahan continued there till his death on Saturday 28th of Ḍu'l Ḳa'adah A. H. 360 (September A. D. 971) at the age of about one hundred. His Dictionary (Mu'jam) of the traditionists is the best known of his works, the large (kabír), small (ṣaghír) and medium (ausaṭ) editions of which are frequently alluded to. Ibn Khall.

‡ Háfidh Abu Nu'áym Aḥmad b-A'bdu'llah author of the حلية الاولياء or ornament of the Saints " containing the lives of the principal Muslim Saints, born in Rajab 336 (A. D. 948) and died at Ispahan in Safar 430 (A. D. 1038). Ibn Khall.

A'sákir* from the ascription of Muḥammad-b-Yunas al Karími (and he was a fabricator of traditions) up to A'li, that the Apostle of God, said to A'bbás. "Verily God hath begun this authority with me and will fulfil it in thy posterity." And the same has been handed down in the tradition of Ibn A'bbás quoted by al Ḳhaṭíb† in his history, and the reading of it *as follows:* "With ye shall begin this authority and in ye shall it be fulfilled," and this will appear with its ascription in the life of al Muhtadi bi'lláh. It has also come down in the tradition of A'mmár-b-Yásir, quoted by al Khaṭíb, and Abu Nua'ym records in the Ḥuliyah on the authority of Jábir-b-A'bdu'llah, that the Apostle of God said; "there shall be kings of the posterity of A'bbás, who shall be the rulers of my people; may God glorify the faith through them." Also in his "Proofs" from Ummu'l Fadhl‡ who said "I was passing by the prophet when he exclaimed— "verily thou art pregnant of a boy and when thou givest him birth, then bring him to me," and when I gave birth to him, I went to the prophet and he called out the Aḍán in his right ear, and the§ Iḳámáh in his left, and he made him drink of his spittle and named him A'bdu'llah and said *to me* "depart with the Father of the Caliphs." I made this known to A'bbás and he spoke of it to the Apostle who said, "he is what she told you; he is the Father of the Caliphs among whom shall be as Saffáh and among whom shall be al Mahdi, and among whom shall be one who shall pray together with Jesus the Son of Mary, upon Him be peace."

Ad Daylami|| in his Musnad u'l Firdaus has related from Aysha a tradition ascribed to the prophet—"It shall come to pass that the children of A'bbás shall possess a standard, and it shall not depart from their hands

* Abu'l Ḳásim A'li, surnamed Ṭhikatuddín, a native of Damascus and chief traditionist of Syria who acquired a superiority in that science that no other had ever attained, born A. H. 499, (1105) died at Damascus A. H. 571, (A. D. 1176). Ibn Khall.

† Háfidh Abu Bakar Aḥmad-b-A'li known as Alkhaṭíb or the preacher, a native of Baghdad who composed a history of the city and is the author of nearly one hundred works. Though a doctor of law, he made tradition his principal study, born A. H. 392 (A. D. 1002) and died A. H. 463 (A. D. 1071). Ibn Khall.

‡ The "Mother of Excellence," the name of the wife of A'bbas and also of his daughter, the former is here meant.

§ The Ikámah is a sentence which is said after the conclusion of the Aḍán or call to prayer and which announces that prayers have begun. This ceremony is still occasionally performed at the birth of a child—but is not obligatory.

|| Abu Shujáá Shirúyiah-b-Shahrdár-b-Shirúyiah-b-Fanna Khusrau of Hamadán ad Daylami. He was the author of a history of Hamadán and the "Musnad u'l Firdaus." Háfidh Yahya-b-Mandah says of him that though fairly well read, his knowledge of traditions was imperfect, and he could not distinguish between good and untrust-worthy ones and therefore his Firdaus is full of idle tales, died A. H. 509. Bustán u'l Muḥaddithín.

as long as they shall uphold righteousness." And Darakutni* in his "Afrád" from Ibn A'bbás that the prophet said to A'bbás, "When thy posterity shall inhabit the Sawwád† and clothe themselves in black and their followers shall be the people of Khurasán, dominion shall not cease to abide with them until they resign it unto Jesus, the Son of Mary." Ahmad b-Ibrahím is a worthless authority and his master is unknown and the tradition is so little reliable that Ibn u'l Jauzi‡ has mentioned it in his "Fabrications"—but there is evidence for it in a tradition ascribed to the prophet, quoted by at Tabaráni in the "Kabír"—"the Caliphate shall abide among the children of my paternal uncle, and of the race of my father, until they deliver it unto the Messiah." (A'd Daylami has quoted it from Ummi Salimah§ with a different ascription).

Al U'kayli|| records in his book of "Invalid authorities," a tradition ascribed to the prophet "the children of A'bbás shall reign two days for every day in which the children of Umayyah shall reign, and two months for every month." Ibn u'l Jauzi has quoted this in his 'Fabrications' and has invalidated it on account of *the untrustworthiness of* Bakkár,¶ but it is not as he has said, for verily, Bakkár should not be accused of falsehood nor fabrication; moreover Ibn A'di says of him, that he is among the doubtful authorities whose traditions are recorded, and has added 'I hope there is no harm in *accepting* him *as an authority*;" and on my life, the purport of this tradition is not far *from the truth*, for the Abbaside

* Abu'l Hasan A'li-b-Omar. A Hafidh of great learning and a Sháfii doctor, was a native of Baghdad—the name Darakutni means belonging to Daru'l Kutn (cotton house) a quarter of Baghdad, born A. H. 306 (A. D. 919) and died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995).

† The towns and villages of Babylonian I'rák.

‡ Abu'l Faraj Ibn u'l Jauzi a celebrated preacher and doctor of the Hanbalites. His compositions are so numerous that it is said (with some exaggeration) that he wrote 180 pages a day; and the parings of his pens were gathered up into a heap and in pursuance of his last orders, were employed to heat the water with which his corpse was washed. Born about A. H. 508 (1114-5), died at Baghdad A. H. 597 (A. D. 1281). His "Fabricated Traditions"—is in 4 Vols. Ibn Khall. Sáadi of Shiráz mentions him in the Gulistán as having counselled him to forego profane music, the neglect of which advice was avenged on the sensitive ears of the poet, at a convivial meeting as therein related.

§ One of the prophet's wives.

|| De Slane so writes the name, but in a note (Vol. IV, p. 199,) he remarks that according to Ibn Duraid, عقيل should be pronounced A'kíl. This is so in respect of the son of Abu Tálib and Akíl-b-Mukarrin the Companion, but U'kayl was the eponymous ancestor of a branch of the Hawázin who were of the tribe of Kays. See the Muntaha'l Arab.

¶ One of the authorities in the line of ascription.

rule, at the time of its splendour, and the extension of its authority throughout the countries of the earth, towards the rising and the setting sun, besides the remote west, may be placed between the year one hundred and thirty and odd and the year 290 when al Muḳtadir reigned, and in his time, its organisation was broken up, and the whole west seceded from its sway: then followed dissension and trouble in his government and after him, as will appear. Thus the period of the glory of their sovereignty and their dominion was about 160 years, and that is double the reign of the illustrious children of Umayyah for that lasted 92 years, from which *must be deducted* nine years, during which, the authority was vested in Ibn u'z Zubayr: thus there remains 83 years and a fraction and that is a thousand months exactly and so I have afforded confirmation of the tradition.

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár* records in his 'Muwaffakiyát, from Ibn A'bbás, that he said to Mu'áwiyah "ye shall not reign a day, but we shall reign two, and not a month but we shall reign two months, and not a year but we shall reign two years:" and, "the black standards shall be for us, the people of the *prophetical* House," and, "their overthrow shall not come save from the side of the west." Ibn A'sákir relates in his history of Damascus from Ibn A'bbás† that the Apostle of God said to him "O God, defend A'bbás and the son of A'bbás," and he said this three times: then he exclaimed, "O uncle, dost thou not know, that al Mahdi shall be of thy descendants,—the prospered of God, happy, and approved." (al Karími‡ is a fabricator). Ibn Saa'd records in his Ṭabaḳát (classes) from Ibn A'bbás, that al A'bbás the son of A'bdu'l Muṭtalib, sent to the children of A'bdu'l Muṭtalib, and he gathered them together about him and A'li held a place in his estimation which no other possessed, and al A'bbás said—"O son of my brother, verily I have formed an opinion and I do not wish to determine anything regarding it until I have sought counsel of thee;" then A'li said—"What is it?" He replied. "Go to the prophet and ask of him, in whom shall rest this authority after him and if it rest in us, we

* Abu A'bdu'lláh az Zubayr, a member of the tribe of Ḳuraysh. He was Kadhi of Mecca and composed the genealogies of the Ḳuraysh, a standard authority on the subject. He also taught traditions and died at Mecca A. H. 256 (A. D. 870) aged 84. Ibn Khall. He named the book mentioned in the text after his son al Muwaffaḳ to whom he dedicated it. Masúdi Tome VII. p. 91.

† Abu'l A'bbás A'bdu'llah son of A'bbás uncle of Muhammad, born three years before the Hijrah. He was considered the ablest interpreter of the Korán of his day and the most learned in the traditions, the legal decisions of the first three Caliphs, the law, and the sciences of poetry and arithmetic. Appointed governor of Basrah by the Caliph A'li, died at Ṭáif A. H. 68 (A. D. 687) aged 70. Ibn Khall. De Slane.

‡ Al Karími is one of the authorities in the line of ascription.

shall not resign it, by Allah, while there remaineth of us a chief upon the earth, and if it rest in other than us, we shall never seek it." A'li said, "O uncle, in whom shall abide this authority save in thee, and will any contend with you regarding this authority?"

Ad Daylami in his Musnad u'l Firdaus, records a tradition ascribed to the prophet "When God willeth to form any one for the Caliphate, he toucheth his forehead with His right hand."

On the dignity of the prophetic mantle which the Caliphs wore in succession to the very last.

As Silafi,* in his Ṭuyúriyát, has quoted, with its ascription to al Aṣma'í,† on the authority of Ibn A'mr-b-i'l A'la, that when Kaa'b b-uz Zubayr read out before the prophet his poem *beginning* Bánat Su'ád,‡ he threw to him the mantle that was upon him; and when Mu'áwiyah reigned, he wrote to Kaa'b *saying*, "sell me the mantle of the Apostle of God for ten thousand dirhams," but he refused, and when Kaa'b died, Mu'áwiyah sent to his children *an offer* of twenty thousand dirhams, and he received from them the mantle, the same which was in the possession of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás, and this has been related by others. But ad Ḍahabi says in his history; "regarding the mantle in the possession of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás, verily Yúnas-b-Bukayr relates from the account of the expedition of Tabúk of Ibn Iṣháḳ, that the prophet gave a mantle to the people of Aylah,§ with his letter, the same that he wrote

* Abu'l Ṭáhir Aḥmad, called as Silafi after his grandfather, from the Persian (Seh lab) three lips—he received this name as one of his lips was split and appeared double. He was a Háfidh and taught traditions and was appointed President of the College called after him, founded in A. H. 546 (1151) by al A'ádil as Sallár at Alexandria; born at Ispahan 472 A. H. (1079) and died A. H. 576 (1180). Ibn Khall. The printed edition has Turyát for Tuyuriyát.

† Abu Sa'íd A'bdu'l Malik the celebrated philologer, a native of Basrah, but removed to Baghdad in the reign of Harún u'r Rashíd. He was a complete master of the Arabic language and was consulted by al Mamún on all doubtful points of literature; for his numerous treatises, consult Ibn Khall, born A. H. 122 (740), died at Baṣrah 216 (831).

‡ This well-known poem was recited before Muḥammad on the poet's embracing Islám. He had written some satirical verses on the prophet, who in consequence ordered his followers to put him to death if they caught him. Kaa'b not caring to indulge his wit at the expense of his life, made his submission. The poem begins with the praise of his mistress Su'ád and ends with an entreaty of pardon.

§ On the Red Sea, the Elana of Ptolemy.

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to them granting them immunity and Abu'l A'bbás as Saffáḥ purchased it for 300 dinárs." I remark that that which Mu'áwiyah bought was lost in the decline of the House of Umayyah. The Imám Aḥmad b-Ḥanbal records in his "Zuhd" from U'rwah-b-uz Zubayr* that the garment in which the Apostle of God went out to meet deputations was a mantle from Hadḥramaut, its length four cubits, and its breadth two cubits and a span, which was in the possession of the Caliphs, and it became thread bare, and they lined it with stuffs *and* it used to be worn on the festivals of Adḥa and Fiṭr. Verily this mantle was in the possession of the Caliphs, and they inherited it in succession, and wore it upon their shoulders, on state occasions, *whether* in assembly or mounted cavalcade, and it was upon al Muḳtadir when he was slain, and was stained with his blood, and I think it was lost during the irruption of the Tartars—"for we belong to God and unto him shall we return." (Ḳur II.)

On some observations which occur scattered throughout these biographies, but the mention of which here in one place is most suitable and advantageous.

Ibn u'l Jauzi narrates that according to as Ṣúli,† it is said that every sixth *Caliph* who ruled over the people was deposed, and adds "I reflected on this and observed it with wonder. The supreme authority was vested in our prophet; then there arose Abu Bakr, and Omar and Othmán, and A'li and al Ḥasan—and he was deposed. Then Mu'áwiyah and Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah and Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd and Marwán, and A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán and Ibn u'z Zubayr and he was deposed. Then al Walíd and Sulaymán and Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and Yazíd and Hishám and al Walíd and he was deposed. After this the dominion of the House of Umayyah ceased, and as Saffáḥ reigned, and al Manṣúr and al Mahdi and al Hádi and ar Rashíd and al Amín and he was deposed. Then al Mámún and al Mua'taṣim and al Wáthiḳ and al Mutawakkil and al Muntaṣir and al Musta'ín and he was deposed. Then al Mua'tazz and al Muhtadi, and al

* Abu A'bdu'llah, one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina. His father az Zubayr b-A'wwám was one of the ten Companions to whom Muḥammad promised Paradise. His mother was Asma-d. of Abu Bakr—born A. H. 22 (642-3), died A. H. 93 (711-2). Ibn Khall.

† Abu Bakr as Ṣúli known as the chess-player. He was an accomplished scholar and traditionist. He became one of the Caliph ar Rádḥi's boon companions and was intimate with al Muktafi and al Muḳtadir. He composed numerous works; the chief science he cultivated was biography, died at Baṣrah A. H. 335 (A. D. 986-7). Ibn Khall.

Mua'tamid, and al Mua'tadhid and al Muktafi and al Muktadir and he was deposed, and again a second time and then put to death. Then al Káhir and ar Rádhi and al Muttaki and al Mustakfi and al Mutíi' and at Táii' and he was deposed. Then al Kádir and al Káim and al Muktadi and al Mustadhir and al Mustarshid and ar Ráshid and he was deposed." This is the end of the narration of Ibn u'l Jauzi Ad Dahabi says that what al Jauzi has mentioned is defective in several points. One of them is his statement, that A'bdu'l Malik was succeeded by Ibn u'z Zubayr, but this was not the case, for Ibn u'z Zubayr was fifth and after him came A'bdu'l Malik. Either both of them must be fifth, or one was the true Caliph and the other a rebel, for unto Ibn u'z Zubayr was sworn a prior allegiance, and therefore the Caliphate of A'bdu'l Malik was legally established only from the time when Ibn u'z Zubayr was killed. The second point is, his omitting to count Yazíd An Nákis and his brother Ibrahím who was deposed and Marwán; for thus computing them, al Amín would be the ninth. I remark that it has already been said, that Marwán falls out of the account, because he was a rebel, and also Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd, for allegiance was sworn to Ibn u'z Zubayr after the death of Yazíd, and Mu'áwiyah opposed him in Syria: these two are therefore one, and the authority of Ibrahím, he who succeeded Yazíd An Nákis was not completely established, for some acknowledged him as Caliph, and others did not so acknowledge him: and there were some who claimed for him the supreme power, but not the Caliphate, and he ruled but for forty or seventy days. Therefore according to this computation, Marwán the Ass,* was the sixth, for he was the twelfth from Mu'áwiyah, and al Amín after him, the sixth. Thirdly, the deposals are not confined to every sixth, for al Mua'tazz was deprived of office and likewise al Káhir, al Muttaki and al Mustakfi. I reply that *his statement* is not affected by this *objection* because the meaning is, that as regards every sixth, the deposal is undoubted, but he does not deny that there were others besides them who were deposed as well. He adds in addition to what Ibn u'l Jauzi has stated, that after ar Ráshid, reigned al Muktafi and al Mustanjid and al Mustadhii, and an Násir and al Dháhir and al Mustansir who was the sixth but was not deposed. Then al Musta'sim, and he was the same whom the Tartars slew, and was the last of the sovereign Caliphs. The Caliphate was interrupted subsequently for three years and a half; then al Mustansir afterwards was elected,

* "Before his accession to the throne" says Gibbon "he had deserved by his Georgian warfare, the honorable epithet of the Ass of Mesopotamia. He had been governor of Mesopotamia and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (Iliad λ 557) and both will silence the moderns who consider the ass a stupid and ignoble emblem."

but he did not actually assume the Caliphate, for he was acknowledged in Egypt and he marched into I'rák and encountered the Tartars and was killed likewise, and the Caliphate remained in abeyance a year. Then it was established in Egypt, and the first of the Caliphs was al Hákim, then al Mustakfi, then al Wáthik, then al Hákim, then al Mua'tadhid, then al Mutawakkil who was the sixth and was deposed. Then reigned al Mua'-tasim but he was deposed after fifteen days and al Mutawakkil recalled. He was again deposed and al Wáthik acknowledged: then al Mua'tasim and he was deposed, and al Mutawakkil recalled who continued to reign until his death. Next al Musta'ín, and al Mua'tadhid and al Mustakfi, then al Káim, who was the sixth from al Mua'tasim the first (who was also al Mua'tasim the second) and he was deposed. Then al Mustanjid the reigning Caliph, the fifty first of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás.

Note. It is said that the House of A'bbás is *distinguished by* a beginning, a middle, and an end—The beginning was al Mansúr, the middle al Mámún and the end al Mua'tadhid. The Caliphs of the House of A'bbás, were all of them the children of concubines, except as Saffáh, al Mahdi and al Amín, and no Háshimite, the son of a Háshimite woman, ever ruled the Caliphate except A'li-b-Abi Tálib and his son al Hasan, and al Amín (so says as Súli)—and no one whose name was A'li ever held the Caliphate except A'li the son of Abu Tálib and A'li al Muktafi (ad Dahabi). I remark that the greater number of the names of the Caliphs occur but once, and few twice, and those most frequently recurring *are* A'bdu'llah, Ahmad and Muhammad,—and all the surnames of the Caliphs occur singly up to al Musta'sim, the last of the Caliphs of I'rák—Then recur the surnames of the Caliphs of Egypt—thus al Mustansir recurs, and al Mustakfi, and al Wáthik, and al Hákim, and al Mua'tadhid, and al Mutawakkil, and al Mua'tasim,* and al Musta'ín, and al Káim, and al Mustanjid. All of these recur but once, except al Mustakfi and al Mua'tadhid which recur once oftener, for among the A'bbaside Caliphs, three are called by those two names.

Not one of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás is distinguished by a surname of the House of U'bayd, except al Káim, al Hákim, ad Dháhir and al Mustansir, but *as regards* al Mahdi and al Mansúr, the assumption of these surnames by the House of A'bbás preceded the rise of the House of U'bayd. And some writers have mentioned that none surnamed al Káhir was prosperous, either among the Caliphs or the temporal sovereigns, and I add also, al Mustakfi and al Musta'ín, by which *surnames* two of the House of A'bbás were distinguished, and those two were deposed and expelled but al Mua'tadhid is among the most glorious of surnames and the

* The text has Musta'sim incorrectly. The MS. is accurate in the name.

most blessed for him who was called by it. No one held the Caliphate after the son of his brothers, except al Mustakfi after ar Rashíd, and al Mustanṣir after al Mua'taṣim. Aḍ Ḍahabi states this, and adds that no three brothers possessed the Caliphate, except the sons of ar Rashíd, *viz.*, al Amín, al Mámún, and al Mua'taṣim, and the sons of al Mutawakkil, *viz.*, al Mustanṣir, al Mua'tazz and al Mua'tamid, and the sons of al Muktadir, *viz.*, ar Rádhi, al Muktafi and al Mutíi'. He continues, that four of the sons of A'bdu'l Malik governed the state, and that no parallel to this is to be found, except among temporal sovereigns. I remark that a parallel case to it occurs among the Caliphs after the prophet, for four, nay five of the sons of al Mutawakkil Muḥammad, held the Caliphate, *viz.*, al Musta'ín, and al Mua'tadhid, and al Mustakfi, and al Ḳáim and al Mustanjid the reigning Caliph. No one ruled the Caliphate during the lifetime of his father except Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ, and Abu Bakr at Ṭáii'-b-ul Mutíi', whose father was struck by paralysis and who voluntarily abdicated in favour of his son.

The learned say that the first who governed the Caliphate while his father was alive, was Abu Bakr, and he was the first who appointed a successor, and the first who instituted a public treasury and the first who named the Ḳurán al Musḥaf. The first who was called, prince of the Faithful, was Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb, and he was the first who made use of the scourge, and the first who established the date from the Flight, and the first who ordered the prayers called at Tarawíḥ,* and the first who established the public registers.

The first who interdicted pasturage from encroachment, was Othmán, and he was the first who assigned lands on feudal tenure, that is to say, the first who did so to any extent, and the first who made the addition of the call to prayer on Fridays, and the first who sanctioned a stipend for the criers to prayer, and the first who was confused in speech while reading the Khuṭbah, and the first who appointed a chief Officer of Constabulary.

The first who during his lifetime named an heir to succeed him, was Mu'áwiyah, and he was the first who introduced eunuchs into his service. The first who ever caused the heads *of criminals* to be brought before him was A'bdu'llah-b u'z Zubayr. The first who caused his name to be struck on the coinage, was A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán. The first who prohibited his being addressed by name was al Walíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik.

The first introduction of surnames, was by the House of A'bbás. Ibn Fadhli'llah says that some think that the House of Umayyah had sur-

* A form of prayer performed at some period of the night, in the month of Ramadhán, after the ordinary prayer of nightfall consisting of twenty or more re'kahs, according to different persuasions. Lane's Lex. Art. ترويحة

names similar to those of the House of A'bbás. I remark that certain writers assert the surname of Mu'áwiyah to have been an Násir li díni'lláh, and the surname of Yazíd, al Mustansir, and that of Mu'áwiyah his son, ar Ráji' ili'l Hakk, and that of Marwán, al Mútamin bi'lláh and that of A'bdu'l Malik, al Muwaffak li' amri'lláh, and that of his son al Walíd, al Muntakim bi'lláh, and that of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, al Ma'súm bi'lláh, and that of Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik, al Kádir bi Sana' i'lláh, and that of Yazíd an Nákis, as Shákir li anu'mi'lláh.

The first time that public opinion became conflicting and disunited was in the reign of as Saffáh. The first Caliph who gave access to astrologers and acted according to the judgments of the stars was al Mansúr, and he was the first who employed slaves in offices of trust and gave them precedence over Arabs. The first who ordered the composition of polemical writings to refute the enemies *of the Faith* was al Mahdi. The first before whom men walked with swords and maces, was al Hádi. The first who played at polo in the open plain was ar Rashíd. In the reign of al Amín, the Caliph was first addressed by word and in writing, by his surname. Al Mua'tasim was the first who employed Turks in the office of the public registers. Al Mutawakkil was the first who ordered a distinguishing garb for Jews and Christians. The first whom the Turks adjudged to death was al Mutawakkil: and from this is seen the confirmation of the prophetical tradition as quoted by at Tabaráni by a respectable line of ascription, from Ibn Masa'úd who stated that the Apostle of God said, "Molest not the Turks, as long as they leave ye unmolested, for verily they who shall first take from my people their kingdom and the things which the Lord hath conferred upon them, are the sons of Kantúra."*

The first who invented large sleeves and diminished the size of the head-dress was al Musta'ín. Al Mua'tazz was the first Caliph who introduced ornaments of gold on riding animals. Al Mua'tamid was the first Caliph treated with severity and kept under restraint and guarded. The first who ruled the Caliphate among minors was al Muktadir. The last Caliph who kept the troops and public effects under his personal direction was ar Rádhi, and he too was the last Caliph, whose poems were collected into a Díwán, and the last Caliph who uniformly read the Khutbah and prayed before the people, and the last Caliph who sat in company with boon companions, and the last Caliph whose expenses and gifts and rewards, retinue, and stipend, and treasury and meats and drinks and festal assemblies, and chamberlains, and *other* affairs *were conducted* after the manner of the

* Banu Kantúra, Turks or Nubians according to the Muntahal u'l A'rab, or as some say Kantúra was the name of a slave of Abraham's, from whom the Turks are descended.

early Caliphate; and he was the last Caliph who went journeying in garments like unto the Caliphs of former times.

The first time that surnames recurred was after the reign of al Mustanṣir, he who ruled after al Musta'ṣim. (*This is mentioned* in the Awáil of al A'skari*). The first Caliph who reigned during his mother's lifetime, was Othmán-b-A'ffán, then al Hádí, and ar Rashíd, and al Amín and al Mutawakkil, al Mustanṣir, al Musta'ín, al Mua'tazz, al Mua'tadhid and al Mutíi'. No one held the Caliphate during the lifetime of his father, except Abu Bakr as Siddík, and to him may be added at Táii'.

A's Ṣúli says: "I know of no woman who gave birth to two Caliphs, except Wiládah, the mother of al Walíd and as Sulaymán, the two sons of Abdu'l Malik; and Sháhín, the mother of Yazíd an Nákiṣ and Ibrahím, the two sons of al Walíd; and Khayzurán, the mother of al Hádi and ar Rashíd." I remark, that there may be added, the mother of al A'bbás and Hamzah, and the mother of Dauúd and Sulaymán, the children of the last Mutawakkil.

Those who assumed the title of Caliph, of the House of U'bayd, were fourteen: three in Africa, al Mahdi, al Ḳáim, and al Manṣúr, and eleven in Egypt, al Múi'zz, al A'zíz, ad Dháhir, al Mustanṣir, al Musta'li, al A'mir, al Háfidh, ad Dháfir, al Fáiz and al A'ádhid. The beginning of their rule was in the year two hundred and ninety and odd, and its extinction in the year 567.

Ad Ḍahabi says that this may be called the Magian or the Jewish dynasty, but not *that* of the descendants of A'li, or the Báṭinite† not the Fáṭimite, and they were fourteen violaters of covenants not successors to the vicegerency, (here he ends).

Those who assumed the title of Caliph among the descendants of Umayyah in the West,‡ were in a better position than the descendants of

* Al Ḥasan-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Sáhl. Abu Hilál al A'skari, a disciple of Abu Aḥmad al A'skari; author of a Commentary on the Ḳurán in 5 Vols.: the Awáil (Initions): a work on prose and verse, and another on Proverbs. A scholar of exemplary life. Died subsequently to the year 400 A. H. (1009). Tabaḳát u'l Mufassirín, as Suyúṭi Edit. Mearsinge. No. 29.

† U'baydu'llah, the founder of this dynasty, claimed descent from Ismáíl-b-Jaa'far the seventh Imám of the posterity of A'li, and his descendants are termed by the Oriental writers, the Ismailites of the West to distinguish them from another branch of the same race, the Ismailites of the East. These latter were the famous assassins, called also Bátinis from their mystical interpretation of the Ḳuran, under whose terrible daggers, the East crouched for two hundred years.

‡ The Arabs termed Spain and Africa, indifferently, the West (Al Maghrab)—The word "Afrikíya," which they sometimes use, is not the whole but only a portion of al Maghrab. For its divisions, consult D'Herbelot.

U'baydu'llah in many ways, *as regards* orthodoxy, and tradition and justice and merit, and knowledge, and battling and warring with infidels, and they were many in number, so that there were together at one time in Spain, six persons, each of them calling himself Caliph.

Some former writers have compiled histories of the Caliphs: among them, that by Nifṭawayh the Grammarian, in two volumes, up to the reign of al Ḳáhir, and the Aurák of as Ṣúli, in which he has mentioned the A'bbasides only up to*—with which I am acquainted, and the history of the Caliphs by Abu'l Faḍhl Aḥmad-b-Abi Ṭáhir al Marwazi, al Kátib one of the most excellent of poets who died in the year 280 A. H.; and the history of the Abbaside Caliphs by Amír Abu Músa Harún-b-Muḥammad al A'bbási.

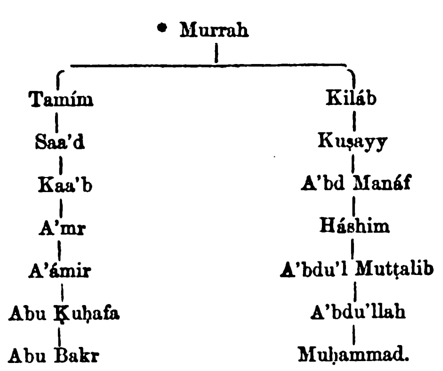
Al Khaṭíb in his History, records with authorities from Muḥammad b-A'bbád that none of the Caliphs knew the Ḳurán by heart, except Othmán-b-A'ffán and al Mámún. I remark, that that restriction is not to pass unchallenged, for Abu Bakr knew it accurately also, and several *authors* have made this clear, among them an Nawawi in his Tahḍib u'l Asmá; and of A'li likewise it is handed down by one line *of tradition* that he had the whole of it by heart, after the death of the prophet. Ibn u's Sáa'i says—" I was present at the ceremony of allegiance sworn to the Caliph ad Dháhir, and he was seated at the window of a chamber in a white robe, and about him a cloak of camel's hair, and upon his shoulders, the mantle of the prophet: the wazír was standing in front of him upon a pulpit, and the Comptroller of the Household upon a step below him, and he was taking the covenant from the people: and the words of the covenant were, "I do homage to our lord and master the Imám, to whom obedience is a bounden duty upon all men, Abu Naṣr Muḥammad an Dháhir bi'amr'illáh according to the book of God, and the law of the prophet and the decision of the prince of the faithful, and verily there is no Caliph but he."

* The MS. has here a blank—the text inserts الي قاهر. As Ṣúli died in A. H 335 and as his History professes only to relate what he had himself seen (see Kashfu'd Dhunún), the blank might be filled up with the name of al Mutíi li'lláh who succeeded to the Caliphate in A. H. 334.

Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík.

Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík, the vicegerent of the apostle of God whose name is A'bdu'llah-b-Abi Ḳuḥáfah Othmán, b-A'ámir, b-A'mr, b-Kaa'b, b-Saa'd, b-Taym, b-Murrah, b-Kaa'b, b-Luwayy, b-Ghálib, al Kurayshi, at Taymi, unites with *the genealogy* of the Apostle of God in Murrah."*

An Nawawi in his Tahḍib says " What I have stated regarding the name of Abu Bakr being A'bdu'llah, is correct, and well known. It is said also, that his name was A'tíḳ (*the Liberated*), but the truth upon which all the learned are agreed is, that al A'tíḳ was his surname, not a name, and he was surnamed al A'tíḳ on account of his exemption from hell fire† as has come down in the tradition given by at Tirmiḍi: and it is also said, on account of the " itáḳat" of his countenance, that is to say, its comeliness and its beauty. It is said likewise that there is nothing in his genealogy which can be found fault with. Muṣa'b-b-uz Zubayr and others say, that the people concurred in naming him as Ṣiddík (*Witness to the Truth*), because he hastened to testify to the Apostle of God, and steadfastly adhered to truth, and there never escaped from him on any one of the *many* events of *his life* any remissness or hesitation, and he held exalted positions in Islám. Among those *events*, were his conduct regarding the Nocturnal journey, and his steadfastness and reply to the unbelievers regarding it, and his flight with the Apostle of God, and his forsaking his family and children, and his being with the Apostle in the cave, and throughout the whole journey: then his exhortations on the day of Badr, and the day of Hudaybíyah‡ when the delay in entering Mecca, was the occasion of grave



† Nine others are included by Muḥammad as sharing this distinction, Omar, Othmán, A'li, Ṭalḥah, az Zubayr, Saa'd Ibn Abi Wakkaṣ, Sa'íd, Abu U'baydah, and A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf.

‡ "Muḥammad" says Sale "when at Hudaybíyah sent Jawwás-b-Ommeyya the Khozaíte to acquaint the Meccans that he was come with a peaceable intention

doubts to others: then his weeping when the Apostle of God said "Verily, God hath given his servant a choice between this world and the next:" then his firmness on the day of the death of the Apostle of God, and his reading the Khuṭbah to the people and consoling them: then, in the contention regarding the oath of allegiance, his undertaking *the charge* for the good of the true believers: next, his diligence in despatching the army of Usámah-b-Zayd to Syria, and his determination regarding it: then his rising up to oppose the apostates, and his dispute with the Companions, until he overwhelmed them with arguments and God opened their hearts as He had opened his heart to *the understanding* of the truth, *viz.*, to do battle with the apostates: then his fitting out the army for Syria for his conquests and sending it succour: lastly the conclusion of this *career* by an important action which was among the best of his good deeds, and the most glorious of his titles to honor, and that was, his appointing Omar as his successor over the true believers: and what virtues, and dignities, and excellencies without number belong not to the Witness to the Truth?" (an Nawawi). I add that I am desirous of enlarging upon the biography of as Ṣiddíḳ to some extent, mentioning therein much of what I know of him regarding his life, and I shall arrange this in sections.

Regarding his name and surname an allusion to which has already preceded.

Ibn Kathír* says, that all admit that his name was A'bdu'llah-b-Othmán, except the narration of Ibn Saa'd on the authority of Ibn Sírín,† which *asserts* his name *to have been* A'tíḳ whereas the truth is that it was his surname. Then there is some disagreement as to the time of his being so surnamed, and the reason of it: for some say that it was on account of

to visit the temple, but they refusing to admit him, he sent Othmán whom they imprisoned and a report ran that he was slain whereupon, Muḥammed called his men about him and they took an oath to be faithful to him even to death."

* The Háfidh I'mádu'ddín Isma'il-b-Abdu'llah ad Damashḳi died in 774 A. H. The name of his well known history is the "Bidáyah wa'l Niháyah fi't Tárikh"—"the beginning and the end of history." Consult. Háj. Khal.

† Abu Bakr Muḥammad a native of Basrah. He was born A. H. 33 (A. D. 653 4) two years before the death of the Caliph Othmán and died at Basrah A. H. 110 (A. D. 729). He was a draper by profession, delivered traditions on the authority of Abu Hurayra and others and was skilled in the interpretation of dreams. Ibn Khall.

the "i'tákat" of his countenance that is, its beauty—but Abu Nua'ym al Fadhl-b-Dukayn says, that it was on account of his priority* in merit—and also it is said, on account of the nobility of his pedigree, that is its purity, as there is nothing in his lineage that can be accounted a stain, and it is said too that he was first so named and afterwards called A'bdu'llah. At Ṭabaráni relates from al Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad† that he questioned Ayesha as to the name of Abu Bakr, and she replied, "A'bdu'llah;" then he said that the people called him A'tíḳ; she answered that Abu Ḳuḥáfah had three sons whom he named A'tíḳ, Mua'taḳ, and Mua'ytaḳ.

Ibn Mandah‡ and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Músa-b-Ṭalḥah that he said, "I asked my father Ṭalḥah, why Abu Bakr was called A'tíḳ;" he replied, "his mother had no son surviving and when she gave him birth, she took him to the temple and exclaimed, 'O God! if this one is granted immunity from death, then bestow him upon me.'" At Ṭabaráni records from Ibn A'bbás, that he was called A'tíḳ from the beauty of his countenance, and Ibn A'sakir from Ayesha that she said "the name of Abu Bakr, that by which his family called him, was A'bdu'llah, but the name of A'tíḳ superseded it"—and in one reading, "but the prophet named him A'tíḳ."

Abu Ya'la§ records in his Musnad (likewise Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim) and confirms it on the testimony of Ayesha, that she said. "By Allah verily I was in my house on a certain day and the Apostle of God and his Companions were in the courtyard, and a curtain between me and them, and lo! Abu Bakr came up, and the prophet said, "he who would rejoice in looking upon one exempted from hell fire, let him behold Abu Bakr," and verily his name, that by which his family called him was A'bdu'llah but the name of A'tíḳ superseded it." And at Tirmidi and al Ḥákim from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr went to the Apostle of God and he said. "O! Abu Bakr, thou art exempted by the Lord from hell fire," and from that day, he was called A'tíḳ. Al Bazzár and at Ṭabaráni record on good authority from A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, that the name of Abu Bakr was A'bdu'llah, and the Apostle of God said to him "thou art exempted by the Lord from hell fire;" thus he received the name of A'tíḳ.

* A'tíḳ signifying also ancient, noble.

† Grandson of Abu Bakr one of the most eminent of the Ṭábi'is and of the seven great jurisconsults of Medína. Ibn Khall.

‡ Abu A'bdu'llah-b-Mandah a celebrated traditionist and a Háfidh of high authority, author of a history of Ispahan, died A. H. 301, (A. D. 913-4). Ibn Khall.

§ Háfidh Abu Ya'la Aḥmad author of a well known collection of traditions and of works on ascetic devotion and other subjects, born at Mosal A. H. 210 (826) died A. H. 307, (919-20). De Slane, I. K.

As regards as Ṣiddiḳ, it is said that he was so called in the time of ignorance, because he was distinguished for his *love of* truth. (Ibn Mandah*) ; and also because he hastened to certify to the truth of the prophet with regard to what he announced.

Ibn Isḥáḳ† records on the authority of Hasan al Baṣri‡ and Ḳatádah,§ that the first time he was known by it was the morning after the "Nocturnal Journey." Al Ḥákim relates in his Mustadrak (Supplement) on the authority of Ayesha, that the idolaters went to Abu Bakr and said "What dost thou think of thy companion, who pretends that he was borne by night to Jerusalem?" He replied, "and did he say that?" They answered "yes;" then he said "Verily he hath spoken the truth, and indeed I would testify to him in more than that, even to the announcement of *his journey to* Heaven, going in the morning and returning in the evening," and for this he was called the Witness to the Truth. (The authorities are good).

Sa'íd-b-Manṣúr narrates in his "Traditions" from Ibn Wahab, the freedman of Abu Hurayrah that when the Apostle of God returned on the night of his Nocturnal journey, he arrived at Ḍu Ṭúa|| and said, "O! Gabriel, verily my people will not believe me." He replied "Abu Bakr will testify to thee, for he is a Witness to the Truth."

Al Ḥákim in his Mustadrak, (Supplement) records on the authority of Nazál-b-Sabrah that he tells us, "I said unto 'Ali, O Prince of the Faithful tell me of Abu Bakr." He replied "The Lord named that man as

* So the MS.; the text has Ibn Masada who was one of al Mamún's vizirs, an elegant writer but not stated by Ibn Khallaḳán to be a traditionist.

† Muḥammad-b-Isháḳ-b-Yasár the freedman of Ḳays-b-Makhramah. Yasár was one of the prisoners taken al A'ynu't Tamr, sent by Khálid-b-Walíd to Abu Bakr at Medina. He is held by the majority of the learned to be a sure authority on tradition and his work the "Magházi wa's Siyar (conquests and expeditions) bears a high character. He went to the Caliph Abu Jaa'far al Manṣúr at Híra and put the Magházi in writing for his use and the learned of Kufa heard him read and explain that work; died at Baghdád A. H. 151, (768). Ibn Khall.

‡ Abu Sa'íd al Ḥasan of Basrah one of the most eminent of the Ṭábi'ís, his mother was a slave of Umm Salimah one of the prophet's wives. He was born at Medina two years before the death of the Caliph Omar and died al Basrah A. H. 110 (728). Ibn Khall.

§ Ḳatádah-b-Dyáma as Sadúsi, a native of Basrah and one of the Ṭábi'ís, blind from birth, but of the greatest learning, much consulted by the Ummyyad family on points of history, genealogy and poetry, born A. H. 60, (679-80), died at Wásiṭ A. H. 117, (735-6). Ibid.

|| A village near Mecca, not to be confounded with the valley of Túa or Tawa, according to Sale, where Moses saw the burning bush, (Ḳur xx.) consult Yáḳúṭ Mua'j. Bul.

Ṣiddiḳ by the tongue of Gabriel and by the tongue of Muḥammad. He was the vicegerent of the Apostle of God in public prayers. He approved him for our spiritual concerns, and we have acquiesced in him for our worldly government." (The authorities for this are good). And Dara-ḳuṭni and al Ḥákim from Abu Yahya.* "It is beyond computation how often I have heard A'li say upon the pulpit that the Lord named Abu Bakr, as Ṣiddiḳ upon the tongue of Gabriel;" and at Ṭabarani on good unexceptionable authorities from Ḥákim-b Saa'd, "I have heard A'li declare and confirm by oath, that God undoubtedly revealed from Heaven, the name of Abu Bakr as as Ṣiddíḳ.

In the tradition relative to the Battle of Ohud, *the prophet said,* "Be at peace, for verily unto you there is *given* a prophet, a witness to the truth and two martyrs."

The mother of Abu Bakr was the daughter of his father's uncle. Her name was Salma, the daughter of Sakhar, b-A'ámir, b-Kaa'b and she received the surname of the "mother of goodness" (Ummu'l Khayr).

On his Nativity and place of birth.

He was born two years and some months after the birth of Muḥammad for he died when he was sixty-three years of age. Ibn Kaṯhir says, that what is recorded by Kẖalífah-b-u'l Khayyáṭ,† on the authority of Yazid-b-u'l Aṣamm, *viz.*, that the prophet said to Abu Bakr "Verily am I the greater or art thou?" and he replied "thou art greater, but I am older in years," is a tradition of an imperfect line of ascription and cited but by one authority, for the contrary is notorious, and indeed confirmed on the authority of Ibn A'bbás.

His birthplace was Mecca which he never left except to trade, and he was the possessor of great wealth in his tribe, and a man of perfect generosity, courtesy, and beneficence among them; as Ibn u'l Dughannah says, "Verily thou art affectionate to thy kindred and speakest the truth in what thou narratest, and acquirest what others are denied and givest help in worldly troubles, and art hospitable to the stranger." An Nawawi says that he was one of the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh in the time of Ignorance, and one of their councillors, and beloved among them, and the wisest in

* The MS. has Abu'l Hayya. There are no less than eleven of this name given by Ibn Hajr as being acquainted with Muḥammad.

† Abu A'mr surnamed Shabáb a native of Basrah and author of the Tabakát, was a Háfidh versed in history and of great talents. Al Bukhári gives traditions on his authority, died A. H. 240, (A. D. 854-5). Consult. Ibn Khall—who omits the def. article before Khayyáṭ.

the direction of their affairs; and when the true faith came, he chose it above all things and entered it with the most perfect submission.

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Ma'rúf-b-Kharrabúḍ, that Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ was one of ten amongst the Ḳuraysh to whom attached pre-eminence both in the time of Ignorance, and Islám: for upon him lay the settlement of blood-money and fines, and that was because the Ḳuraysh had no king upon whom the direction of all affairs might devolve: moreover in each tribe there existed a general jurisdiction exercised by its several chiefs, and to the Banu Háshim pertained the right of Siḳáyah and Rifádah,* the meaning of which is, that no one might eat or drink except of their food and their drink; and to the Banu A'bdu'd Dár, the office of door-keeper and guardian *of the Kaa'bah*, and the Banner and the Council, that is to say, no one might enter the Kaa'bah except with their permission, and when the Ḳuraysh fastened on the banner of war, the Banu A'bdu'd Dár bound it for them, and when they assembled together for any purpose either to confirm or to annul, their gathering could not take place except in the Hall of Council and nothing could take effect, save *done* therein and it appertained to the Banu A'bdu'd Dár.

Abu Bakr was the most abstinent of men in the time of Ignorance. Ibn A'sákir records with accurate authorities from Ayesha; "by Allah, Abu Bakr never recited poetry,† whether in the time of ignorance or Islám, and indeed he and Othmán forbore from wine *even* in the time of Ignorance;" and Abn Nua'ym records from her on excellent authority, "Verily Abu Bakr denied himself wine in the time of Ignorance;" and Ibn A'sákir from A'bdu 'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, "Abu Bakr never recited a *verse*;" and from

* Rifadah was a contribution which the tribe of the Ḳuraysh made in the time of Ignorance, for the purpose of purchasing for the pilgrims, wheat and raisins for the beverage called نبيذ. Each gave according to his ability, and thus they collected a great sum in the days of the assembling of the pilgrims. And they continued to feed the pilgrims until the end of those days; the "Siḳayah" was the supplying this beverage and Rifádah, these provisions. Lane.

† The Kurán though not directly forbidding yet discredits the profession of verse making. ما علمناه الشعر ولا ينبغي له "We have not taught (Muhammad) the art of poetry nor is it expedient for him," Kur. XXXVI. Sale remarks that this was in answer to the infidels who pretended that the Ḳurán was only a poetical composition. Again الشعرا يتبعهم الغاوون Kur. XXVI. "Those err who follow the steps of the poets." But the learned have determined that moral, didactic and religious poetry is permissible. There are verses imputed to the great Sháfi'i in which he declares that were not men of his cloth prohibited from writing poetry, he would have surpassed Labíd.

Abu'l A'áliyah ar Riáḥi, that it was asked of Abu Bakr in an assembly of the Companions of the Apostle of God " didst thou ever drink wine in the time of Ignorance ?" he replied " God forbid," and they said, " why not ?" He answered, " I sought to preserve my reputation and retain my decorum, and verily he who drinketh wine destroyeth his reputation and his decorum." The narrator says that when this reached the apostle of God, he said," Abu Bakr hath spoken truly Abu Bakr hath spoken truly," twice. *This tradition* is wanting in regularity of transmission and is cited but by one authority *both as regards* authorities and the text.

On his outward description.

Ibn Saa'd relates on the authority of Ayesha that a man said to her, " describe to me Abu Bakr,' and she replied, " he was a man of a very fair complexion, of slender build, thin cheeked and with a stoop ; he could not keep up his lower garments from slipping over his loins ; he was lean, with eyes deep set, his forehead prominent, and the backs of his hand fleshless. Such is his description. He states also on her authority, that Abu Bakr made use of the tinctures of hinna* and katam ; and on the authority of† Anas, that when the apostle of God went to Medina, there was none among the companions with grizzled hair, except Abu Bakr, and he dyed it with hinna and katam.

On his embracing the faith.

At Tirmiḍi, and Ibn Ḥabán in his Ṣaḥíḥ, (authentic traditions) record on the authority of Abu Sa'íd‡ al Khudri, that Abu Bakr said " Have not I the greatest claim among men to it," that is, the Caliphate ; " was not I the first to embrace the faith ? was it not I who did such a thing ? was it not I who did such *another* thing ?" And Ibn A'sákir on the ascription of al Ḥáriṭh from A'li, that he said, " the first who embraced the faith

* Lawsonia inermis,—the Katam is a herb which mixed with cypress is used as a tincture.

† Abu Sulayt Anas b-Abi Anas, one of the Banu Najjár, he was a companion of Muḥammad and fought on his side at Badr. De Slane I. K.

‡ Abu Sa'íd Saa'd b-Málik of the tribe of Khudra a Companion and an Anṣár of the third class. At the age of 13, he accompanied his father to Ohud who fell at that battle. The son accompanied Muḥammad in twelve expeditions, died at Medína A. H. 74 (693-4). De Slane I. K.

among the men was Abu Bakr"; and Khaythamah* on accurate authorities from Zayd-b-Arḳam,† "the first man who prayed with the prophet, was Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ" and Ibn Saa'd on the authority of Abu Arwa ad Dausi the Companion, that the first who embraced Islám was Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ.

At Ṭabaráni in his Kabír, and 'Abdu'llah b-Aḥmad in the "Zawaidu' Zuhd," record on the authority of as Shaa'bi‡ that he said, "I asked Ibn A'bbás what man was the first *to embrace* Islám?" he replied, "Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ. Hast thou not heard the words of Ḥassán§ where he says?

"When thou rememberest the affliction of a faithful brother,
Then remember too thy brother Abu Bakr and what he hath done.
The best of men, the most pious and most just of them
Save the prophet and the most faithful in performing what he hath undertaken.
The second,|| the follower, the place of whose witnessing is extolled
And the first among those who have borne witness to the prophets."

Abu Nua'ym records on the authority Furát-b-Sáib that he said, "I inquired of Maymún-b-Mihrán saying, 'is Ali the most excellent in thy opinion, or Abu Bakr, or Omar?'" He trembled so that the staff fell from his hand and then replied "I never thought that I should live to the time when *any one* should be compared to those two—to God be attributed their good deeds—they two were the chief in Islám." I said "then was Abu Bakr the first to embrace Islám or A'li?" he answered "By Allah, verily Abu Bakr believed in the prophet in the time of Buḥáyra, the monk¶ on

* Abu Khaythamah Zuhayr an eminent traditionist of Nasá who settled at Baghdad and died A. H. 234 (A. D. 849). De Slane I. K.

† One of the Companions, accompanied Muhammad in seventeen expeditions settled at Kúfah and died there A. H. 56 or as some say 68, An Nawawi.

‡ Abu A'mr A'ámir sprang from Himyar and was accounted a member of the tribe of Hamdán of which Shaa'b is a branch. He held high rank among the Tábi'is and was distinguished for his learning, born about A. H. 19, died A. H. 104 (722). Ibn Khall.

§ Ḥassán-b-Thábit was one of the poets who espoused the cause of Muḥammad. His son A'bdu'r Raḥmán lived under Mu'áwiyah and used to address complimentary poems to Ramla, daughter of that Caliph. De Slane I. K. For his elegy on Muḥammad's death see Weil. Leben Muhammad. Vol. II, p. 356.

|| Abu Bakr, is referred to in Kur IX as الثاني اثنين اذ هما في الغار "the second of the two when they two were in the cave."

¶ Muḥammad was reclining under a lote tree says Ibn Hajr, while Abu Bakr was conversing with Buhayra. The latter asked him who it was, that was seated there; he replied that it was Muḥammad the son of A'bdu'llah. "Then by Allah, said Buhayra, he is the prophet for none has taken shelter under that tree since the time of Jesus the Son of Mary." This impressed itself on Abu Bakr's mind and was the

the occasion of his meeting him." Accounts vary as to *priority in Islam* between him and Khadíjah when he procured her marriage with *the prophet,** and all this was before A'li was born, and verily there are many among the Companions and their immediate successors, and others who say, that he was the first to embrace Islám, indeed, some of them assert that there is universal assent to this. Again, it is said that A'li was the first to join the true faith, and some say, Khadíjah, but there is a reconciliation of these accounts, in that Abu Bakr was the first to embrace the faith among, men, A'li among children and Khadíjah among women and the first who pointed out this reconciliation, was Abu Hanífah from whom Na'aym quotes it.

Ibn Abi Shaybah† and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Sálim-b-Abi Jaa'd that he said, "I asked of Muḥammad-b-Hanífah,—was Abu Bakr the first of the people to adopt Islám?" He replied—"no." I said, "for what reason then is he exalted and preferred, so that no one speaks of any but Abu Bakr?" He replied, "because he was the most excellent of them in Islám, from the time he embraced the faith until he attained to his God." And Ibn A'sákir on a reliable ascription from Muḥammad-b-Saa'd-b-Abi Wakkáṣ,‡ that he said to his father Saa'd,—"was Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ the first of you in embracing the faith?" He said. "No, for there were more than five in the faith before him but he was the best of us in Islám."

Ibn Kathír says, "it is clear that Muḥammad's family believed before every other—his wife Khadíjah, his freedman Zayd and the wife of Zayd Umm-i-Ayman and A'li and Waraḳah." Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of I'sa-b Yazíd that Abu Bakr said, "I was seated in the court-yard of the Kaa'bah where Zayd-b-A'mr-b-Nufayl was sitting, when there passed by him Umayyah-b-Abi Ṣalt§ and he said. "How art thou, thou

cause of his early conversion. I may add that Ibn Hajr discords as erroneous the opinion held by Ibn Aṭhír (and adopted by Sprenger) that this Buhayra was the same person as the one who figures in a deputation to Muḥammad from the king of Abyssinia forty years afterwards.

* By assisting Muḥammad with money on that occasion as is generally believed.

† The Háfidh Othmán a native of Kúfah, died A. H. 239 (A. D. 853-4). He composed a commentary on the Ḳurán and a collection of traditions: 30,000 persons are said to have attended his lessons. De Slane I. K.

‡ Abu Isḥák Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳkáṣ, a descendant of A'bdu Manát was by his own account the third convert to Islám, he being then 17 years of age. He fought in all the prophet's battles; his death occurred between A. H. 50-8. De Slane I. K.

§ He was a poet of some reputation of the tribe of Ṭhaḳíf. Ibn Hajr says that he was an enquirer after truth, but more for the curiosity of the discovery than with intent to follow it. "His verses," said Muḥammad "are pious enough but his heart

O seeker after good?" He answered "well." The other said "hast thou discovered anything?" He replied 'No:' then the other said—

"Every religion in the day of judgment: save that founded of God in truth, shall perish,"

But regarding the prophet, he that men look for, shall he be from among us or from among you?" Abu Bakr continues, "and I, had not heard before that of a prophet expected who was to be sent." He adds. "Then I went out to Waraḳa'-b-Naufal* and he was one who constantly watched the heavens and muttered frequently to himself and I stopped him and related to him the circumstance. He said "Yea—O! son of my brother, I am skilled in the scriptures and in knowledge; know, that this prophet, he whom men await, shall be by descent of the most noble of the Arabs. I am likewise skilled in genealogy, and thy tribe is by descent, the most noble among the Arabs." I said. "O uncle, and what will the prophet say?" He replied, "he shall speak that which hath been said to him, and know, that he shall not oppress nor be oppressed nor desire you to oppress each other." Therefore when the Apostle of God was sent, I believed in him and testified to him."

Ibn Isḥáḳ says, that he heard from Muḥammad-b-Abdi'r Raḥmán-b-Abdi'llah b-i'l Ḥaṣín at Tamími that the Apostle of God said, "I never called any one to the true faith but there arose in him an aversion to it, and an irresolution and deliberation, except Abu Bakr who delayed not from it when I spoke to him, and did not hesitate therein." Al Bayhaḳi says "and this was because he had been accustomed to behold the proofs of the prophetic mission of the Apostle of God, and to hear its traditions, before his call, and when *the prophet* summoned him, then verily thought and deliberation had passed by for him and he at once embraced Islám." He then records on the authority Abu Maysarah† that when the Apostle of God went forth, he used to hear one calling to him "O Muhammad," and when he heard the voice he would turn fleeing: he told this in secret to Abu Bakr who was his intimate friend in the time of Ignorance."

Abu Nua'aym and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Ibn A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, "I never spoke to any one regarding Islám but he denied me and rejected my words, save the son of Abu Ḳuḥáfa and

is unbelieving." There is a doubt whether he was ever converted, but by some he is considered a Companion. His excuse for not testifying to the prophet was, that he had once hinted to his tribe that he himself was likely to be the prophet to come.

* A cousin of Muḥammad's said to have been a convert to Christianity and to have been acquainted with the Scriptures, and to have transcribed some portions of the Gospels into Hebrew or Arabic. See Muir, Vol. II. p, 51.

† The freedman of al A'bbás-b-Abdi'l Muttalib. Ibn Hajr.

verily I never said unto him a thing but he acquiesced in it and was steadfast therein."

And al Bukhári from Abu'd Darda* that the apostle of God said, "will ye not leave unto me my companion? verily I said, O! men, I am the apostle of God unto ye all, and ye said "thou liest," and Abu Bakr said "thou hast spoken truly."

On his companionship with the prophet and the expeditions which he accompanied.

The learned say that Abu Bakr accompanied the prophet from the time he embraced Islám to his death, and never separated himself from him either in journeying or residence at home, except when he had permission to depart on account of pilgrimage or war; and he was present with him in all his expeditions, and acompanied him in his flight, and forsook his family and children with cheerfulness for the sake of God and his Apostle, and he was his companion in the cave. The Lord called him, "the second of the two when they two were in the cave" when *the prophet* said to his companion, "be not sad for God is with us," and he assisted the Apostle of God on other occasions. Splendid were his services in the wars: he was steadfast on the day of Ohud and the day of Ḥunayn when the people fled, as will appear in the chapter on his courage.

Ibn A'sákir records on the testimony of Abu Hurayrah, that the angels took part in the battle of Badr and they said "See ye not as Ṣiddíḳ with the Apostle of God in a shed?" And Abu Ya'la and al Hákim and Aḥmad from A'li that he said, "the Apostle of God said to me and to Abu Bakr on the day of Badr, "with one of you two is Gabriel and with the other Michael." And Ibn A'sákir from Ibn Sírín, that A'bdu'r Raḥmán the son of Abu Bakr on the day of Badr was on the side of the idolaters, and when he was converted to Islám, he said to his father," verily, thou wert exposed as a mark to me on the day of Badr, but I turned away from thee and did not slay thee." Abu Bakr said, "as to thee, hadst thou come before me, I should not have turned away from thee."

* One of the Companions. The particulars of this narration will be found in Bukhári's as Ṣaḥíḥ. Vol. VI, Kitabu'l Manáḳib.

On his bravery, for he was the bravest of the Companions.

Al Bazzár records in his Musnad from A'li that he said; Tell me who is the bravest of men;" they said "thou art." He replied "Verily I never encountered any one but I was even with him, but tell me, who was the bravest of men?" They said, "we know not; who is he?" He said "Abu Bakr, for verily on the day of Badr, we made for the Apostle of God a shelter from the sun, and we said, "who shall, remain with the Apostle of God lest any of the idolaters fall upon him?" then by Allah, not one of us approached except Abu Bakr who brandished a sword over the head of the Apostle of God; no one attacked him but he attacked him likewise: he is therefore the bravest of men." Ali said. "I saw the Apostle of God assaulted by the Ḳuraysh, and one threatened him and another shook him violently and they said, "thou art he who makest of the gods, one God;" he added, "and by Allah not one of us approached except Abu Bakr who struck one and threatened another and pushed aside another and said "woe unto ye—will ye slay a man who saith—my God is Allah?" then A'li lifted up the mantle that was on him and wept, so that his beard was wet *with tears* and he said "I conjure ye by Allah, *to say* whether was the true believer* of the family of Pharoah the better or Abu Bakr?" and the people were silent, and he said, "do ye not answer me? by Allah, a single hour of Abu Bakr is better than a thousand hours of the believer of the family of Pharoah, for that man concealed his faith and this man proclaimed it."

Al Bukhári records from U'rwah-b-uz Zubayr that he said, "I asked of A'bdu'llah-b-A'mr-b-i'l A'áṣ,† what was the greatest violence that the idolaters had offered to the Apostle of God; he replied "I saw U'ḳbah-b-Abi Mua'yṭ go towards the prophet who was praying and throw his cloak about his neck, and throttle him violently, whereupon Abu Bakr came and drove him from him and said, "will ye slay a man who saith—my God is

* This person, according to tradition, was an Egyptian and Pharoah's uncle's son, but a true believer, who finding that the king had been informed of what Moses had done, and designed to put him to death, gave him notice to provide for his safety by flight. He is mentioned in the Kurán. Chapters XXVIII and XL. See Sale.

† Abu Muhammad or Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán, the Companion. An Nawawi says that the name A'áṣ commonly so spelt, should be more properly written A'ási. He was 12 or 13 years younger than his father and was converted to Islám before him and received no less than 700 traditions from Muḥammad. His devotion and learning were universally acknowledged. The date of his death is differently stated, according to some as early as 55 A. H. according to others in 73. Consult An Nawawi and Ibn Khall.



Allah? and in truth he hath come to you with manifestations from your God!" And al Haytham-b-Kulayb in his Musnad from Abu Bakr, "On the day of Ohud, all the people forsook the Apostle of God and I was the first to return to him,"—the rest of the tradition will appear in the Musnad as he has related it. And Ibn A'sákir from Ayesha, "when the prophet gathered the Companions together there were thirty-eight persons. Abu Bakr then entreated the Apostle of God to declare himself openly, but he said "O! Abu Bakr we are only a few;" but Abu Bakr did not desist from importuning the Apostle of God, until he declared himself. The Muslims were scattered round about the Mosque each man among his kindred, when Abu Bakr rose before the people preaching, and he was the first who summoned the people to God and to his Apostle; then the idolaters fell upon Abu Bakr and upon the Muslims and beat them with heavy blows round about the Mosque"—the rest of the tradition will follow in the biography of Omar.

Ibn A'sakir records from A'li, that when Abu Bakr was converted, he declared his faith and summoned the people to God and to his apostle.

On his spending his substance on the Apostle of God for he was the most generous of the Companions.

The Lord hath said, "But he who strictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion,* shall be removed far from the same: (hell fire)—who giveth his substance in alms" &c. to the end of the Súra. (Ḳur XCII). Ibn u'l Jauzi says that the learned are agreed, that this was revealed regarding Abu Bakr. Aḥmad records on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "No wealth hath ever availed me, as hath availed me the wealth of Abu Bakr," and Abu Bakr wept and said—"I and my wealth are they not for thee O! Apostle of God?" Al Khaṭib relates a tradition imperfect in regularity of transmission, on the authority of Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab,* and adds that the Apostle of God made use of the substance of Abu Bakr as if it were his own.—And Ibn A'sákir from Ayesha with different authorities, and from U'rwah-b-uz-Zubayr, that on the day when Abu Bakr was converted, he had forty thousand dinárs—and according to another reading, forty thousand dirhams, and he spent them upon the Apostle of God.

* Abu Muḥammad Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, Kurayshi, one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina. He was the chief of the first series of Tábi'is—he married the daughter of Abu Hurayra and related traditions on his authority, born A. H. 15—16, (636-7), died at Medína A. H. 91, (A. D. 709-10). Ibn Khall.

Abu Sa'íd al Aa'rábi records on the authority of Ibn O'mar, that on the day when Abu Bakr was converted, he had in his house forty thousand dirhams, and when he set out for Medína at the time of the Flight, he had no more than five thousand, all of which he spent upon the manumission of slaves, and in aid of Islám. And Ibn A'sákir on that of Ayesha, that Abu Bakr gave freedom to seven slaves all of whom had suffered persecution for the sake of God.

Ibn Sháhín* records in his "Sunnah," and al Baghawi† in his commentary on the Ḳurán, and Ibn A'sákir from Ibn O'mar,‡ that he said, "I was near the prophet, and by him was Abu Bakr, and upon him a garment of goat's hair, and he had pinned it together on his breast with a skewer; then Gabriel came down to him and said "O! Muḥammad, how is it that I see Abu Bakr *wearing* a garment of goat's hair which he hath pinned on his breast by a skewer?" He replied "O! Gabriel, he spent his substance upon me before the conquest *of Mecca.*" Gabriel said "Then the Lord sendeth him His benediction and saith, "Say unto him—art thou content with me in this thy poverty or angry?" Abu Bakr said, "Can I be angry with my God? I am content with my God—I am content with my God—I am content with my God," (related only by one authority and its ascription is untrustworthy).

Al Khaṭíb records also a weak ascription, through Ibn Omar to the prophet, who said, "Gabriel, upon whom be peace, came down to me and upon him was a coarse garment fastened together with a skewer, and I said to him "O! Gabriel what is this?" He replied, "Verily the Lord hath commanded the angels to fasten their garments in heaven as Abu Bakr fastens his upon earth." Ibn Kathír remarks that this is excessively untrustworthy and adds that were it not that this and the preceding

* The Háfidh Abu Ḥafṣ Omar b-Sháhín of Baghdad composed works computed at 330 in number, among them a Commentary on the Ḳurán and a collection of traditions, died A. H. 385, (A. D. 995). De Slane I. K.

† Abu Muḥammad al Ḥusayn—known as al Farrá al Baghawi, a Sháfi'i doctor, Traditionist and Commentator on the Ḳurán, died A. H. 510 (A. D. 1117) at Marwarrúd. Baghawi is the relative adjective, irregularly formed, derived from Bagh or Baghshúr a town in Khorasán. (Ibn Khall). There is also a traditionist Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi, a Hafidh of great repute, died A. H. 317, (A. D. 929). De Slane I. K.

‡ Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán, A'bdu'llah-b-Omar i'l Khaṭṭáb one of the most eminent of the Companions for his piety, learning and contempt of the world. During the civil wars which raged among the followers of Islám, he remained neutral, occupied in the duties of religion. For a period of sixty years, persons came from all parts to consult him, and his generosity was so great that he would frequently distribute 30,000 dirhams in charity on the days in which he gave audience. Died at Mecca A. H. 73 (692-3) aged 84. De Slane I. K.

tradition have been handed down by so many people, the rejection of the two would be advisable.

Abu* Dauúd and at Tirmiḍi relate on the authority of Omar-b-u'l Khattáb, that he said, "the Apostle of God commanded us to give alms and that was in proportion to the property I possessed, and I said *to myself*, "to-day I will surpass Abu Bakr if I am to surpass him on any day, and I brought half of my property." Then the Apostle of God said "what hast thou kept for thy family?" I replied, "The like unto that;" and Abu Bakr came with all the property that he had, and *the prophet* said, "O Abu Bakr! what hast thou kept for thy family?" He replied, "I have reserved for them God and his prophet;" then I said, "I shall never surpass him in anything." (At Tirmiḍi says that the tradition is good and trustworthy.)

Abu Nua'ym records in his 'Huliyah,' on the authority of al Ḥasan al Basri that Abu Bakr brought his alms to the prophet secretly and said, "O Apostle of God this is my alms and with God belongeth for me the world to come;" then Omar brought his offering and showed it openly and said, "O Apostle of God this is my alms, and for me belongeth with God the world to come." The Apostle of God exclaimed "there is the same difference between your offerings as between your words." (The ascription is good but interrupted in transmission.) And at Tirmiḍi from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "I have never been under obligation to any one but I have requited him, save Abu Bakr, and verily he hath put obligations upon me, which God will requite unto him on the day of resurrection, and the wealth of none hath ever availed me, as hath availed me the wealth of Abu Bakr."

Al Bazzár records on the authority of Abu Bakr that he said, "I brought *my father* Abu Ḳuḥáfah to the prophet who said, "why didst thou not leave the Shaykh *where he was* that I might go to him?" I† said "it is his duty rather to go to thee." He answered, "I would be considerate towards him for the kindnesses of his son towards me." And Ibn A'sákir from Ibn A'bbás that the Apostle of God said "No one hath benefited me in greater measure than Abu Bakr, who hath aided me with his person and his substance and hath given me his daughter in marriage.

* Abu Dauúd Sulayman b-u'l Asháth of the tribe of Azd, as Sijistáni, was a Háfidh in the traditions, eminent for his piety and holy life. He was one of the earliest who compiled a book of traditions (Kitab u's Sunan). He was born A. H. 202 (817-8) and died at Basrah A. H. 275 (889). Ibn Khall.

† The text has قال meaning "Abu Bakr said."

On his learning, for verily he was the wisest of the Companions and the most sagacious of them.

An Nawawi says in his "Tahḍib" (and I have copied it from his work). "The learned of our time have adduced in proof of his great wisdom his words in the tradition verified in the "Ṣaḥiḥayn,"* "by Allah I will oppose by force every one who maketh a difference between prayers and alms;† by Allah, if they withhold from me *as much as* the halter of a camel which they used to pay to the Apostle of God, I will oppose them by force for withholding it." The Shaykh Abu Iṣḥáḳ has brought forward this and other things in his Tabaḳát, (classes) in testimony that Abu Bakr was the wisest of the Companions, for they all of them, with the exception of him, fell short of comprehending the wisdom of this course. He then explained to them in his discussion of it with them, that his judgment was the right one, and they were converted to it. It has been related to me on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he was asked who used to decide cases for the people in the time of the Apostle of God. He answered, "Abu Bakr and Omar, I know of no others besides those two." And the two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Sa'íd al Khudri that he narrates, that the Apostle of God addressed the people and said "God, the Holy and Most High, hath given unto one of his servants a choice between this world and the things which are His, and that servant hath chosen that which is with the Lord God;" and Abu Bakr wept and said, "my ancestry male and female be thy ransom," and we wondered at his weeping because the Apostle of God had spoken regarding a servant that had been given a choice, but it was the Apostle of God himself who had been left to choose, and Abu Bakr was wiser than we were. Then the Apostle of God said. "Abu Bakr has been the most generous of men towards me, in his Companionship, and worldly goods, and were I to choose a friend besides my God, I would assuredly choose Abu Bakr, but the brotherhood of Islám and its affection‡

* The two works entitled Ṣaḥíḥ of al Bukhári and Muslim.

† Referring to the people of Hira and Yaman who after the death of Muḥammad accepted prayers to be an article of faith, but rejected alms-giving. The council having assembled to consider this recusancy, the Companions were in favor of letting it pass as a matter of little moment, but Abu Bakr strongly insisted on repressing this heresy on the spot lest the dangerous example should be followed by others to the peril of the rising faith.

‡ This termination of this sentence is not in the printed text or MS. which is abrupt and incomplete, but I find it supplied by al Bukhári in his Sharaḥ on the authority of Ibn A'bbás.

is sufficient for me. There shall not remain a door* but it shall be closed except the door of Abu Bakr." (These are the words of An Nawawi.)

Ibn Kathír says, that as Ṣiddíḳ was the best read, that is the most learned of the Companions in the Ḳurán, inasmuch as the prophet gave him precedence of the Companions, as Imám in public prayers by his words, "the most learned of the people in the Ḳurán shall be their Imám." At Tirmidi records from Ayesha, that the Apostle of God said, "it is not expedient for a people among whom is Abu Bakr that another than he should act as Imám to them." He was withal the most skilled in the traditionary law, so that when the Companions referred to him on several occasions he came out before them, with a relation of the sayings of the prophet, which he recollected and brought forward when there was necessity for it, and which they knew not; and how could it be otherwise for verily he was constantly in the society of the Apostle of God from the beginning of his mission till his death: and withal he was one of the most acute-minded of the servants of God and the most learned of them, and although there are but few traditions recorded, orally transmitted from him, on account of the fewness of his days and his death following quickly on that of the prophet, yet had his life been prolonged, assuredly they would have been far greater in number, and the narrators would not have left a single tradition of his but they would have transmitted it, but these, in his day, were the Companions, none of whom had occasion to relate on his authority, an event in which they themselves had taken part with him: they therefore related on his authority *only* what they did not themselves know.

Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi records on the authority of Maymún-b-Mihrán, that Abu Bakr, when a plaintiff came before him, used to look into the book of God, and if he found in it that which would decide between the claimants, he decided according to it, and if it *were not* in the Book, and he was aware of a tradition of the prophet respecting such a case, he decided according to it; but if it embarassed him, he would go forth and ask of the true believers and say, "such a one and such a one came to me; now do ye know whether the Apostle of God passed judgment on such a case?" Then sometimes a number of the people would gather round him, all of them relating a decision of the Apostle of God in such a matter, and he would say, "Praise be to God who hath set amongst us

* The Commentators give various interpretations of this passage: the most probable opinion is, that the doors spoken of, are those of the Mosque built by Muḥammad at Medína and one of which opened on to his house, another on to that of Abu Bakr, and the like with Omar and A'li; and the closing of all but Abu Bakr's door, was a secret allusion to his succession to the Caliphate.

6

those who bear in mind traditions from the prophet." But if it embarassed him to discover a tradition of the Apostle of God concerning it he would assemble the chiefs of the people, and the chosen among them and consult them, and if their opinions concurred in one decision, he would decide accordingly. Omar used to do likewise, and when he was unable to find a decision in the Ḳurán or traditional usage, he would look to see if there were a judgment by Abu Bakr in such a case, and if he discovered that Abu Bakr had adjudged such a matter, he would decide according to that judgment; otherwise, he would summon the chiefs of the people, and when they had concurred in a decision, he acted according to it. As Ṣiddíḳ was also the most learned of men in the genealogy of the Arabs, more especially that of the Ḳuraysh.

Ibn Isḥáḳ records on the authority of Yaḳúb-b-U'tbah, who had it from an Ansár Shaykh that Jubayr-b-Mu'ṭim* was amongst the most learned of the Ḳuraysh in the pedigrees of the Ḳuraysh and the Arabs in general, and he used to say, " verily I learnt genealogy from Abu Bakr who was one of the most learned in genealogy of the Arabs." And further, as Ṣiddík was skilled in the science of the interpretation of dreams, and he used to interpret dreams in the time of the prophet, and indeed Muḥammad-b-Sirín says (and he was by common consent, the first in this science) that Abu Bakr was, after the prophet the best interpreter *of dreams* of this nation. (Ibn Saa'd.)

Ad-Daylami records in his Musnadu'l Firdaus, and Ibn A'sakir on the authority of Samurah,† that the Apostle of God said " I have been commanded to cause dreams to be interpreted by Abu Bakr."

Ibn Kathír says that he was one of the most eloquent of men, and the best preacher among them. Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár says " I have heard certain of the learned declare that the most eloquent preachers, among the Companions of the Apostle of God, were Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík and A'li-b-Abi Tálib;" and the saying of Omar will appear in the tradition of Saḳífah.‡

* Abu Muḥammad or Abu A'di Jubayr-b-Mu'tim, a Companion, of the tribe of Ḳuraysh; was converted before the Khybar Expedition and some say on the day of the conquest of Mecca; died at Medina, A. H. 54 and some say 59. An Nawawi, T. A.

† Abu Sa'íd Abu Muḥammad or Abu A'bdu'llah Samurah-b-Jundab the Companion—fought at Ohud and other battles, by the side of the prophet—resided at Basrah where he acted as governor during the absence of Ziyád b-Abíhi at Kúfa; died at Basrah 58 or 59. An Nawawi.

‡ As Saḳífah was a building in Medina belonging to the Banu Saa'd, where after the death of the prophet, the rival claims of the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina to elect a successor were urged with a fierceness, perilous to the common cause.

He was likewise the most learned of men in *the knowledge* of the Lord, and the most God-fearing of them: his utterances regarding that and regarding the interpretation of dreams and his preachings will all of them follow in a future section. Among the proofs which point to his being the wisest of the Companions, is the tradition on the truce of Hudaybiyah,* when Omar inquired of the Apostle of God regarding that truce and said "why should we accept dishonor in our religion?" and the prophet answered him: then he went to Abu Bakr and inquired of him regarding that which he had asked of the Apostle of God, and as Ṣaddíḳ answered him with the same answer as the prophet's exactly." (Al Bukhari and others.)

He was withal, the most judicious of the Companions in counsel and the most perfect of them in wisdom.

. Tamám ar Rázi records in his "Fuwaíd" and Ibn A'sákir from A'bdu'llah-b-A'mar-b-i'l A'ás that he narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say—Gabriel, came to me and said "verily God commands thee to take counsel of Abu Bakr." And At Ṭabaráni and Abu Nua'ym and others, from Mu'áḍ-b-Jabal,† that when the prophet desired to send Mu'áḍ to Yaman, he took counsel of some of the Companions, among them, Abu Bakr, and Omar and Othmán and Ṭalḥah and Az Zubayr and Usayd-b-Hudḥayr, and each one of the number gave his opinion: then the prophet said, "what dost thou think, O Mu'áḍ?" (*Muád continues*) I said I approve what Abu Bakr hath spoken: the prophet exclaimed "verily the Lord in the heavens above willeth not that Abu Bakr should err." Ibn Usámah *relates this* in his Musnad *thus*, "verily the Lord in heaven willeth not that Abu Bakr as Siddíḳ should err upon earth;" and at Ṭabaráni records in his Ausaṭ from Sahl-b-Saa'd‡ as Sái'di that the Apostle of God said "verily the Lord willeth not that Abu Bakr should err," (his authorities are trustworthy).

An Nawawi says in his Tahḍíb, that as Ṣiddíḳ was one of the Companions who knew the Ḳurán by heart, and a number others, among them Ibn Kathír in his commentary, have stated the same. But the tradition

* "According to Jellálu'ddín, says Sale, fourscore of the infidels came privately to Muḥammad's camp with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the prophet who pardoned them and ordered them to be set at liberty, and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Ḳuraysh with Muḥammad."

† Of the tribe of Khazraj, a native of Medína and one of the Companions, died A. H. 18 (A. D. 639) aged thirty-three (and some say, thirty-four, and thirty-eight) of the plague at Emaus. An Nawawi.

‡ Abu'l Abbas or Yahya Sahl-b-Saa'd one of the Companions and a native of Medína; delivered 188 traditions, died at Medina A. H. 88 (A. D. 707). His name was Ḥuzn and he was called Sahl by the prophet to avoid the ill-omen of its meaning. Ḥuzn signifying "grief," and "Sahl," "easy"—"facile." An Nawawi, T. A.

of Anas *which says* " Four persons collected the Kurán in the time of the Apostle of God," means, four among the auxiliaries, as he has explained in his work Al Ittḳán ;* but what Ibn Abi Dauúd says, on the authority of as Shaa'bi, *viz.*, that Abu Bakr died and the Ḳurán was not collected, is either to be rejected or interpreted to mean, its collection into a book according to the arrangement adopted by Othmán.

On his being the most eminent of the Companions and the most virtuous.

The Sunnis are agreed that the most eminent of men, after the Apostle of God were, Abu Bakr, then Omar, then Othmán, then A'li, then the rest of the ten,† then the rest of those engaged at Badr, then the rest of those engaged at Ohud ; then the rest of the people of the Covenant,‡ then the rest of the Companions. Abu Manṣúr al Baghdádi§ relates this as a fact upon which all are agreed.

Al Bukhári narrates on the authority of Ibn Omar that he said, " we were making a choice among men in the time of the Apostle of God, and we preferred Abu Bakr, then Omar, then Othmán ;" and at Ṭabaráni adds in the " Kabír" " and the prophet knew of this and did not disapprove it."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he said, " we (and among us was the Apostle of God) gave the preference first to Abu Bakr, then to Omar, then to Othmán, then to A'li ;" and from Abu Hurayrah, " we, a gathering of the Companions of the Apostle of God, being a considerable number together, said the most distinguished of this people after their prophet, are Abu Bakr, then Omar then Othmán— then we were silent."

* كتاب الاتقان في علوم القران

† Called عشرة مبشرة or the ten to whom joyful tidings are given. See note, page 25.

‡ Those whom he called together al Hudaybíyah and who swore to be faithful to him till death.

§ Abu Manṣúr A'bdu'l Ḳáhir a native of Baghdad, a dogmatic theologian of the Shafi'i school, well acquainted with general literature and versed in a number of other sciences particularly arithmetic ; a book of his on the latter bears the name of at Takmíla. He was likewise skilled in the law of inheritance and composed poetry, died at Isfaráin A. H. 429, (A. D. 1037-8) and was interred by the grave of his master Abu Isháḳ. Ibn Khall.

At Tirmiḍi records from Jábir-b-A'bdu'llah* that Omar said to Abu Bakr "O best of men after the Apostle of God," and Abu Bakr replied—nay, thou if thou speakest thus, then verily, I have heard *the prophet* say "the sun hath never risen upon a man better than Omar." And al Bukhari from A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, "I said to my father—who among men is the best after the Apostle of God?" He replied "Abu Bakr." I said "who after him," he replied "Omar," and I feared lest he should say Othmán. I continued "then thou." He answered "I am nothing but one among the true believers." And Aḥmad and others from A'li, "the best of this people after its prophet is Abu Bakr and then Omar." Ad Ḍahabi says "this hath come down in regular transmission from A'li, therefore may God curse the heretics† how ignorant are they!"

At Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb that he said, "Abu Bakr is our chief and the most excellent of us, and the most beloved among us of the Apostle of God." And Ibn A'sákir from Abdu'r Raḥmán‡-b-Abi Layla, that Omar ascended the pulpit and said, "know that the most eminent of this people after its prophet is Abu Bakr, and whosoever speaketh otherwise is a slanderer: upon him be *the retribution* that overtaketh the slanderer," and that A'li said, "let not any one prefer me in merit to Abu Bakr or Omar, or I shall scourge him according to the punishment of the law for the slanderer."

Abdu'r Raḥmán-b-Ḥamíd in his Musnad, and Abu Nua'ym and others, record with different authorities from Abu'd Darda, that the Apostle of God said, "The sun hath never risen and hath never gone down upon one more eminent than Abu Bakr, save he were a prophet;" and in another reading "upon one of the true believers, after the prophets and Apostles, more eminent than Abu Bakr." And the same from the tradition of Jábir with the reading "The sun hath never risen upon one amongst you more eminent than he." At Ṭabaráni and others record this and it has evidences from other sources which determine its accuracy or trustworthiness and indeed Ibn Kathír hath pointed out its absolute authenticity.

* Abu A'bdu'llah Jábir-b-A'bdi'llah as Salami-al Ansári, embraced Islám one year before the first pact, made with Muḥammad al Aḳaba (Abul Feda, Tom 1, page 53) and was present at the second; died A. H. 78 (A. D. 697-8) aged ninety-four years. De Slane, I. K.

† The Shíahs and such as maintain the pre-eminence of Ali over his three predecessors.

‡ Abu I'sa A'bdu'r Raḥmán one of the principal Tábi'is born at Kúfah where his father had settled, 6 years before Omar's death. He died A. H. 83. An Nawawi.

At Ṭabaráni records from Salimah-b-u'l A'kwaa'* that the Apostle of God said "Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ is the most eminent of men, save it be a prophet;" and in his Ausat from Saa'd-b-Zurárah, that the Apostle of God said, "The holy spirit Gabriel announced to me,—"the best of thy people after thee is Abu Bakr."

And the two Shaykhs from A'mr-b-u'l A'áṣ, "I said 'O Apostle of God, who among mankind is the most beloved by thee?" He replied "Ayesha." I said "among men?" "Her father." I said "then who?" he replied. "Then Omar-b-u'l Khattáb." This tradition without the "then Omar" has come down in the narrative of Anas and Ibn Omar and Ibn A'bbás.

At Tirmiḏi, an Nasái,† and al Ḥákim record on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Shaḳíḳ that he narrates, "I said to Ayesha—which of the Companions of the Apostle of God was most beloved by him?" She answered "Abu Bakr." I said "which next?" She replied "Then Omar" I said "which next?" She answered Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ." And at Tirmiḏi from Anas, that the Apostle of God said of Abu Bakr and Omar, "These are the chief of the adult dwellers in paradise, of those who have been the first and of those who will be the last, save they be prophets and Apostles."‡

At Ṭabaráni records in his Ausaṭ on the authority of A'mmár-b-Yásir§ that he said, "whosoever giveth precedence to any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God over Abu Bakr and Omar, verily he putteth a slight upon the Fugitives and Auxiliaries." And Ibn Sa'íd on

* Salimah-b-u'l A'kwaa', one of the Companions. He swore allegiance to Muḥammad on the day of Hudaybiyah and accompanied him in seven of his expeditions. He used to reside at Medina, but on the death of Omar, he left it for Rabaḏah and returned to Medina a few days before his death, A. H. 74 (693) at the age of 80. An Nawawi.

† The Háfidh, Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán, chief traditionist of his age and author of a Sunan or collection of traditions, was an inhabitant of old Cairo. He was a great advocate of the rights of A'li and was maltreated by the mob on that account, under the effects of which he died A. H. 303, (A. D. 916). Born at Nasá a city of Khorasán A. H. 214-5. (A. D. 829-30). He composed a work called the Al Khaṣáis (characteristics) on the merits of Ali. Ibn Khall.

‡ The Muḥammadan doctors place the Apostles higher in degree than the prophets. The two words نبي مرسل "prophet-apostle," are employed only for those who bear the double character. By the latter they signify, one whose divine mission is testified to by a sacred book whereas the prophetical office alone is not always so distinguished. The Prophet Apostles are four, Moses, David, Jesus, Muḥammad.

§ One of the Companions, who fell in the battle fought (A. H. 37) between A'li and Mu'áwiyah at Siffín. Ibn Khall.

the authority of az Zuhri,* that the Apostle of God said to Hassán-b-Thábit. "Hast thou said anything *in verse* of Abu Bakr?" He answered "yes." Then he said "speak and I will listen," and he repeated this verse—

"The second of the two in the glorious cave and verily
The enemy went round about it when they ascended the mountain
And verily they knew that he was the beloved of the Apostle of God:
Who held no one his equal among the people."

and the Apostle of God laughed so that his back teeth were visible, and said, "thou hast spoken truly, O Hassán, he is as thou sayest."

Aḥmad and at Tirmiḍi record from Anas†-b-Málik that the Apostle of God said, "The most compassionate of my people unto my people is Abu Bakr, and the most zealous of them in *upholding* the commands of God, Omar, and the most truly modest among them, Othmán, and the most learned of them in things lawful and unlawful Mu'áḍ-b-Jabal, and the most skilled in the law of inheritance, Zayd-b-Tḥábit,‡ and the most learned of them in the Ḳurán Ubayy-b-Kaa'b,§ and in every people, there is one that is confided in, and the trusted one of this people is Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráh." Abu Ya'la has taken this from the tradition of Ibn Omar and added to it "and the best of them in adjudication, A'li." Ad Daylami quotes this in his Musnad u'l Firdaus from the tradition of Shaddád-b-Aus

* Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Shiháb of the Kuraysh, one of the most eminent of the Ṭábi'is, jurisconsults and traditionists of Medina. He saw ten of Muḥammad's Companions. He was made Kádhi by Yazid-b-Abdi'l Malik and died A. H. 124 (A. D. 742) at the age of seventy-two or three. Ibn Khall.

† Abu Hamzah, Anas-b-Málik surnamed "the servant of God's Apostle." خادم رسول الله was one of the most eminent of the Companions. At his mother's request Muḥammad prayed for his spiritual and temporal prosperity, through which the riches of Anas multiplied, his date trees bore fruit twice a year and he was the father of 78 sons; he was 10 years in his master's service and on his death removed to Basrah. He died A. H. 93 (A. D. 711-2). De Slane, I. K.

‡ Abu Sa'íd-Zayd-b-Thábit a Companion and native of Medina. He was Muḥammad's Secretary and used to commit his dictation of the Kurán to writing and carried on his master's ordinary, correspondence and afterwards acted in the same capacity under Abu Bakr and Omar. He was one of the three to whom Abu Bakr committed the task of collecting the Ḳurán. He was celebrated for his knowledge of the law of inheritance among other subjects and had the charge of the public treasury in the Caliphate of Othmán. He died at Medina A. H. 54. An Nawawi.

§ One of the Companions, present at the second pact of al A'ḳabah; fought at Badr and other engagements. Muḥammad recited to him the 98th Sura of the Ḳurán as he said, at the express divine command, an honour which no other Companion shared with him: died at Medina before A. H. 30 in the Caliphate of Othmán. An Nawawi, T. A.

and added "and Abu Ḍarr,* the most devout of my people and the most sincere, and Abu'd Darda, the most pious of my people, and the most God-fearing and Mu'áwiyah-b-Abi Sufyán, the most benign of my people and the most munificent." And verily my most erudite master Al Káfíji† was asked whether these characteristics were at variance with those before given, and he replied that there was no contradiction.

On what has been revealed in the verses of the Ḳurán in his praise and his witnessing to the truth and other matters regarding him.

Know, that I have seen a work of a certain author on the names of those regarding whom there hath been a revelation in the Ḳurán, but inaccurate and incomplete and, I therefore myself composed a work on that subject, comprehensive, exhaustive and accurate and I extract from it here, whatever refers to Aṣ Ṣiddíḳ.

The Lord said, "The second of the two when they two were in the cave : when he said unto his Companion, "be not grieved for God is with us. And God sent down his security upon him." (Kur. c. ix.) The true believers are agreed that the Companion mentioned is Abu Bakr, and there will appear a tradition from him on this subject.

Ibn Abi Ḥátim records from Ibn A'bbás concerning the divine words "and God sent down his security upon him," that he said, "that is, upon Abu Bakr, for as to the prophet, the security never ceased to be with him." And from Ibn Masa'úd,‡ that Abu Bakr purchased Bilál§ from Umayyah-b-Khalaf and Ubayy-b-Khalaf, for a cloak and ten pieces of money and he set him free for the sake of God: then God revealed. "By the night when it covereth" (Kur XCII) to the words "verily your endeavour is different" *that is* the endeavour of Abu Bakr and Umayyah and Ubayy.

Ibn Jarír records from A'ámir-b-A'bdu'llah-b-iz Zubayr that Abu Bakr used to give manumission in Mecca to slaves of the true faith, and thus

* Jundub-b-Junádah Abu Ḍarr Ali Ghaffári, one of the Companions of an ascetic life and one of the earliest converts. There is much variance of opinion regarding his real name. He died at Rabaḍah a village three miles from Medina A. H. 32. For particulars of his life consult Ibn Hajr, and an Naw.

† This name is written Káfiaji by by Meursinge. See Introduction.

‡ A'bdu'llah-b-Masa'úd-b-Ghâfil. A eminent Companion and one of the Fugitives both to Abyssinia and Medina and a trusty confidant of Muḥammad's whom he accompanied on all his expeditions. Some say he died at Kúfah, others, at Medina about A. H. 32, being a little more than sixty years of age. An Nawawi.

§ Muḥammad's Abyssinian caller to prayer.

he used to set free old women and other women when they embraced Islám and his father said to him, "O my son, I see that thou freest weak women, but if thou wert to free strong men, they would stand by thee and protect thee, and repel *harm* from thee." He replied, "O father I desire the things which are of God." He adds "I was told by some of my family that this verse was revealed concerning him "now who is obedient and feareth God" (Kur XCII)—to the end.

Ibn Abi Ḥátim and at Ṭabaráni record from U'rwah that Abu Bakr freed seven *slaves*, all of whom had suffered persecution for the sake of God and regarding him was revealed, "but he who strictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion* shall be removed, far *from the same*" to the end of the Sura (Kur. XCII). Al Bazzár records from A'bdu'llah-b-u'z-Zubayr, that this verse, "by whom no benefit is bestowed on any that it may be recompensed," to the end, (Kur. XCII) was revealed concerning Abu Bakr; and al Bukhári records from Ayesha that Abu Bakr never violated an oath until God revealed the atonement for an oath *violated* (Kur. V).

Al Bazzar and Ibn A'sákir record from Usayd-b-Ṣafwán (who enjoyed the Companionship *of the prophet*) that A'li said, "and he who brought the truth was Muḥammad and Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík testified to him." Ibn A'sákir says, "this is the tradition regarding this reading but perhaps it is a reading of A'li's.*

Al Ḥákim records from Ibn A'bbás regarding the words of God, "and consult them in the affair" (Kur. III.), that they were revealed concerning Abu Bakr and Omar. And Ibn Abi Ḥátim from Ibn Shauḍab *that the verse* "but for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his Lord *are prepared* two gardens," (Kur. LV), was revealed regarding Abu Bakr, and there are other ascriptions which I have mentioned in the Reasons of Revelation.

At Ṭabaráni records in his Ausaṭ from Ibn Omar and Ibn A'bbás that the divine words "and the good man among the faithful" (Kur. LXVI) were revealed concerning Abu Bakr and Omar. And A'bdu'llah-b-Abi Ḥamíd in his Commentary, from Mujáhid,† that when "verily God and his angels bless the prophet" (Kur. XXXIII) was revealed, Abu Bakr said, "O Apostle of God! God hath never revealed to thee a blessing but he hath included me in it." Then was revealed this verse "it is he who is gracious to you and his angels *intercede for you*." (Kur. XXXIII.)

* That is with the words "bi'l Ḥaḳk." The word in the Ḳurán is "Ṣidḳ" and not "Ḥaḳk"—الزي جاء بالصدق وصدق Kur. XXXIX.

† The celebrated Imám and Tábi'í Abu'l Hajjáj Mujáhid-b-Jubayr, was a doctor of high authority on jurisprudence and Ḳuranic interpretation. A'bdu'llah-b-Omar respected him to such a degree that he held his stirrup when he mounted on horseback, died A. H. 101, (A. D. 719-20). De Slane I. K.

Ibn A'sákir records from 'Ali-b-u'l Ḥusayn, that the following verse was revealed regarding Abu Bakr, Omar and A'li, "and we will remove all grudges from their breasts; *they shall be as* brethren sitting over against one another on couches" (Kur. XV); and from Ibn A'bbás, that, "we have commanded man *to show* kindness to his parents" down to the words "this is a true promise which they are promised *in this world*" (Kur. XLVI) was revealed regarding Abu Bakr aṣ Ṣiddík; and from Ibn U'aynah,* that God had chided all the true believers through the Apostle of God, except Abu Bakr alone who had escaped from the reproach: and he recites *the words* "if ye assist not *the prophet*, verily God *will assist him as He* assisted him formerly when the unbelievers drove him out *of Mecca*, the second of the two when they two were in the cave." (Kur. IX).

On the traditions handed down regarding his merit coupled with that of Omar over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record from Abu Hurayrah that he said, "I heard the Apostle of God say, "whilst a shepherd was in the midst of his flock, a wolf rushed upon it and carried off from it a sheep and the shepherd pursued it. The wolf turned to him and said "who *will be a protector* to it on the day of resurrection?—the day when there will be no other shepherd than myself;"† and as a man was driving an ox which he had laden, it turned to him and spake and said "verily I was not created for this, but I was created for tillage" and the people cried out. "Good God, that an ox should talk!" The prophet said, "I believe in it and *likewise do* Abu Bakr and Omar;" and Abu Bakr and Omar were not there, that is, they were not present in the assembly, but he bore witness for them both as to their belief in it, because of his knowledge of the perfection of their faith."

At Tirmiḍi records from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said, "there was never a prophet but he had two ministers from the dwellers in heaven, and two ministers from among the dwellers on earth,

* Abu Muḥammad Sufyán b-U'aynah, born at Kúfah A. H. 107 and taken by his father to Mecca where he died A. H. 198 (814 A. D.) He was an Imám of learning, piety and of a mortified life, distinguished for the exactitude of the traditions which he handed down. Ibn Khall.

† "Saba'" in Yaḳút (Mua'jam u'l Buldán) is a valley in Palestine in which tradition says, mankind will be assembled for the judgment. This very tradition is quoted in proof—but it also stated that there are other interpretations—what they are I cannot discover. In Ḳustuláni's commentary on al Bukhári this tradition is noted but without explanation. See also Lane. art. سبع

and my two ministers of the dwellers in heaven, are Gabriel and Michael, and my two ministers of the dwellers on earth are Abu Bakr and Omar." The Traditionists and others record from Sa'íd-b-Zayd, "I heard the Apostle of God say, "Abu Bakr shall be in paradise and Omar shall be in paradise, and Othmán shall be in paradise and A'li shall be in paradise," and he mentioned the whole of the ten;* and Al Tirmiḍi from Abu Sa'íd "verily the dwellers in the lofty mansions (*of paradise*)—they that are below them shall see them as ye see the stars shining in the horizon of the sky, and verily Abu Bakr and Omar shall be among them;" and from Anas, that the Apostle of God went out to his Companions, of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries, and there were seated among them Abu Bakr and Omar, but none of them raised his eyes to him except Abu Bakr and Omar, and they remained gazing upon him and he upon them, and smiling upon him and he upon them.

Al Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim record from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God went forth one day and entered the mosque, with Abu Bakr and Omar, one of them upon his right hand and the other upon his left, and he held their hands and said, "thus shall we arise on the day of judgment;" and at Tirmiḍi from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, "I shall be the first from whom the earth shall be rent asunder, then Abu Bakr and then Omar;" and he and al Ḥakim record, confirming it on the authority of Ibn Ḥandhalah that the prophet looked upon Abu Bakr and Omar and said, "these are *my* hearing and *my* sight."

Al Bazzár, and al Ḥákim record from Abu Arwa ad Dausi,† that he said, "I was with the prophet when Abu Bakr and Omar approached and he said "praise be to God who hath strengthened me with ye two." And Abu Ya'la from A'mmár-b-Yásir, that the Apostle of God said, "a little while ago, Gabriel came to me and I said "O Gabriel, recount unto me the merits of Omar b-u'l Khaṭṭáb," and he answered "if I were to relate to thee the merits of Omar, the narration of his merits would not be ended during the period in which Noah tarried with his people, for verily Omar is a good work amongst the good works of Abu Bakr;" and Aḥmad from A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Ghanam, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr and Omar "if you were agreed upon a counsel, I would not oppose you."

* See page 25. Note †

† Ibn Hajr can give no account of this person beyond the mention of one or two traditions (including this with a slightly different reading) on his authority. His name and genealogy are unknown—he is supposed to have been present with the prophet at the affair of "Ḳarḳarat u'l Kudr" and died at the close of Mu'áwiyah's reign.

Ibn Saa'd relates on the authority of Ibn Omar that he was asked who used to give decisions in the time of the Apostle of God, and he replied, "Abu Bakr and Omar, and I know of no others besides those two;" and from Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán and A'li used to decide cases in the time of the Apostle of God; and at Ṭabaráni, from Ibn Masa'úd that the Apostle of God said, "every prophet hath a chosen one among his people, and verily my elect from among my Companions, are Abu Bakr and Omar;" and Ibn A'sákir from A'li that the Apostle of God said, "may God have mercy upon Abu Bakr who hath given me his daughter in marriage, and bore me to the city of refuge (Medina) and gave freedom to Bilál—may God have mercy upon Omar who ever speaketh the truth though it be bitter, for the *speaking of the* truth hath left him without a friend—may God have mercy upon Othmán before whom the angels are abashed—may God have mercy upon A'li—O God encompass him with the truth whithersoever he goeth."

And at Ṭabaráni records from Sahl that when the prophet returned from his last pilgrimage, he ascended the pulpit and blessed God and glorified Him and said, 'O people,' verily Abu Bakr hath never done me a wrong, therefore know this of him. O people, verily I am content with him and with Omar and Othmán and A'li and Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr and Saa'd and Abdu'r Rahmán-b-A'uf,* and the First Fugitives,† know this of them."

A'bdu'llah b-Aḥmad records in the "Zawáid u'z Zuhd" from Ibn Abi Ḥázim, that a man came to A'li-b-u'l Ḥusayn and said, "what place did Abu Bakr and Omar hold near the Apostle of God?" He replied "that which they hold at this moment." And Ibn Saa'd from Bisṭám-b-Muslim, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr and Omar, "no one shall have authority over you two after me;" and Ibn A'sákir, a tradition relating direct to the prophet through Anas, "love towards Abu Bakr and Omar is faith, hatred towards them is infidelity;" and from Ibn Masa'úd, "love towards Abu Bakr and Omar and a knowledge of them is an injunction of the law:" and from Anas, direct from the prophet, "verily I hope *for the same benefit* to my people, by their *profession of* love towards Abu Bakr and Omar, that I hope for them by their profession *of faith* "there is no God but God."

* Abu Muḥammad A'bdu'r Raḥmán b-A'uf of the Ḳuraysh a native of Medina, one of the ten to whom paradise was assured, died A. H. 32, aged 72. An Nawawi.

† The first fugitives to Abyssinia who were driven by the persecution of the Ḳuraysh to seek shelter with the king (Najáshi) of that country. There were eleven in number, and four of them were accompanied by their wives. See Muir's Life of Muḥammad, Vol. II, p. 133.

On the traditions handed down referring exclusively to his merit, over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that he said, " I heard the Apostle of God say," he who repeatedly* giveth of the things *that are his*, for the sake of God, shall be summoned through the gates of paradise *in these words :* " ' O servant of God, this is good *for thee to enter by*," and he who is of those who pray, shall be summoned through the Gate of Prayer, and he who is of those who have fought for the faith, shall be summoned through the Gate of Religious War, and he who is of those who give in alms, shall be summoned through the Gate of Alms, and he who is of those who fast shall be summoned through the Gate of Fasting—*that is*† the Gate of Satiety." Then Abu Bakr said, " it cannot be necessary that one should be summoned though these gates—shall, then, one be summoned through them all ?" And he answered, " yes, and I hope that thou wilt be among them, O Abu Bakr ;" and Ibn Dauúd and al Ḥákim from Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, " but thou, O Abu Bakr, shall be the first of my people to enter paradise ;" and the two Shaykhs from Abu Sa'íd that the Apostle of God said, " he who hath laid me under the greatest obligation of all men both with his person and his goods, is Abu Bakr, and if I were to take a friend other than my Lord, I would surely take Abu Bakr, but the brotherhood of the faith *is sufficient*."

Al Bukhári records on the authority of Abu'd Darda that he said, " I was sitting with the prophet when there came forward Abu Bakr, and greeted him and said, " verily a dispute arose between me and Omar and I was hasty with him, but afterwards I repented and besought him to forgive me, but he refused, wherefore I have come to thee," and he said " May God have mercy upon thee, O Abu Bakr" three times. Afterwards, verily Omar repented and went to the house of Abu Bakr, but found him not, and he hastened to the prophet and the face of the prophet became flushed with wrath so that Abu Bakr was afraid, and he fell upon his knees and said twice, " O Apostle of God, I was more intemperate than he." The prophet exclaimed *to the bystanders* " verily, the Lord sent me unto you as a prophet, and you said, " thou liest," and Abu Bakr said, " thou hast spoken truly," and he comforted me with *the service of* his person and his goods ; then will ye not leave me to me my Companion ?" *this he said* twice and

* My authorities for this sense of the word زوجين are Turbushti and Tíbi, see the Commentary of Ḳusṭuláni on this tradition.

† The MS. omits " the Gate of Fasting." The printed text is correct here : the words من باب الصيام being in al Bukhári—where it is explained as I have translated it.

after that he was troubled no more." Ibn A'di records a similar *account* from the tradition of Ibn Omar in which *is the following*, "the Apostle of God said," afflict me not in my Companion, for verily the Lord sent me as as a guide unto salvation and the true faith and you said, "thou hast lied," and Abu Bakr said, "thou hast spoken truly," and had it not been that the Lord had named him "Companion," verily I would have taken him as an intimate friend but the brotherhood of Islám *is sufficient*." And Ibn A'sákir from al Miḳdám* that A'ḳíl† the son of Abu Tálib, and Abu Bakr were reviling each other and he adds that Abu Bakr used to be a great reviler as well as a great genealogist but that he had learned courtesy of manner from his Companionship with the prophet and he turned away from A'ḳíl and complained to the prophet, and the Apostle of God rose up before the people and said, "will ye not leave unto me my Companion, what is your worth and his? By Allah there is not a man among you, but darkness is upon the door of his house, save the door of Abu Bakr, and verily upon his door, there is light—and by Allah, verily ye said *to me*, "thou hast lied," and Abu Bakr said "thou hast spoken truly," and ye withheld your possessions, but he gave unto me that which he had, and ye reviled me, but he cherished me and followed me." And al Bukhári from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God said, "he who traileth his garments haughtily, the Lord will not look upon him on the day of judgment," and Abu Bakr said "should either of the two sides of my garment trail loosely, must I be careful of that?" The Apostle of God replied "thou art not he who doeth that in pride." And Muslim from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "who among you hath begun the day fasting?" And Abu Bakr replied "I have;" then he said "who among you hath fed the poor to-day?" Abu Bakr replied "I;" then he said, "who among you, hath visited the sick to-day," and Abu Bakr replied "I;" then the Apostle of God said "these things shall not come together in a man, but he shall enter paradise." Verily this tradition hath been handed down through the narration of Anas-b-Málik and Abdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr, and‡ has mentioned this tradition of Anas and at the end of it "paradise shall surely be thy portion." And al Bazzár records the tradition of A'bdu'r

* Al Miḳdám-b-Ma'di Karib, one of the Companions—he resided at Emessa, and related forty-seven traditions regarding his master, died in Syria A. H. 87 at the age of 91. An Nawawi.

† Abu Yazíd or Abu Isá the 2nd son of Abu Ṭálib; he fought unwillingly on the side of the infidels al Badr, and was taken prisoner and was converted before Hudaybiyah. He was a distinguished genealogist. He was quick in repartee says an Nawawi, and generally silenced his antagonist. He died in the Caliphate of Mu'áwiyah, having lost his sight—and was buried at al Bakii' the cemetery at Medina.

‡ The MS. has here a blank and the printed text does not supply the omission.

Raḥmán and its words *are these*, "the Apostle of God read the prayers in the morning: then he turned to his Companions and said "who, among you, hath begun the day fasting?" Omar replied 'O! Apostle of God, I did not purpose to myself, during the past night, to fast, thus I have become this morning as one who hath broken his fast,"* and Abu Bakr said "but I purposed to myself during the night to fast, and thus I have risen fasting." Then *the prophet* said "Hath any among you visited the sick to-day?" and Omar replied, "O Apostle of God, we have not gone forth *from here*, how then can we have visited the sick?" but Abu Bakr said "I heard that my brother† A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf was sick and I went round that way to him, to see how he was this morning." Then he said "hath any one among you fed the poor to-day?" and Omar replied "we have been praying, O Apostle of God, and have not gone forth," but Abu Bakr said, "I entered the mosque when, behold! there came a beggar, and I found a piece of barley bread in the hand of Abdu'r Raḥmán and I took it and gave it to him," and he said, "Rejoice with the good tidings of paradise;" then he spoke a word which comforted Omar, and Omar knew that he should never purpose to do a good work but Abu Bakr would be before him in it."

Abu Ya'la records from Ibn Masa'úd, that he said "I was in the mosque praying when there entered the Apostle of God, and with him Abu Bakr and Omar and he found me praying and he said, "ask—it shall be granted unto you," then he said "whosoever wishes to read the Ḳurán in a fresh and joyous manner, let him read it with the reading of the son of Umm A'bd."‡ Then I returned to my house and Abu Bakr came to me and gave me the good tidings *regarding what the prophet had said;* then came Omar and he found Abu Bakr going forth, having already been before him and he said "verily thou art the foremost in good." Aḥmad records on good authority from Rabíi'h-u'l Aslami,§ that he said, "a disputation arose between me and Abu Bakr, when he said to me a word which I disliked, and he repented and said to me, "O Rabíi'h return it to me likewise, so that there may be retaliation." I replied "I shall not do so." He answered "Thou shalt say it or I shall call up against thee, the Apostle of God."

* The mere act of abstaining from food during the day, does not constitute a fast *religiously* speaking. The *intention* to fast, must precede the abstention to make it efficacious. During the long fast of the Ramaḍhán the intention is pre-supposed and need not be daily renewed.

† The term brother is, as is well-known, applied to all of a tribe indiscriminately without reference to consanguinity.

‡ The mother of Ibn Masa'úd.

§ Rabíi'h-b-Kaa'b-b-Málik al Aslami Hijázi, one of the Companions, settled at Medina and died at Harrah in A. H. 63. Ibn Hajr.

I said, "I will not do so," and Abu Bakr departed and there came some men of the tribe of Aslam and they said to me, "may God have mercy upon Abu Bakr! for what reason hath he called up against thee *the prophet*, he being the one that hath said to thee what he hath said?" And I replied, "know ye not who is Abu Bakr as Ṣiddik? he is the "second of the two"—and he is the grey beard of the Muslims—look to yourselves that he turn not and see ye abetting me against him, lest he be angered and the Apostle of God come and be wroth on account of his anger, and the Lord be wrathful on account of the anger of those two, and Rabíi'h perish;" and Abu Bakr departed and I followed him alone until he came to the Apostle of God and he related to him the story as it occurred: then *the prophet* lifted up his head towards me and said," O Rabíi'h, what hath happened between thee and as Ṣiddík?" I replied, "O Apostle of God such and such a thing happened and he said to me a word which I disliked, then he said to me, "speak to me as I have spoken, so that there may be a retaliation," and I refused." Then the Apostle of God said "good, do not return it, but say 'the Lord have mercy upon thee, O Abu Bakr:'" then I said "the Lord have mercy upon thee O Abu Bakr."

Al Tirmiḍi records and approves a tradition on the authority of Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr "Thou shalt be my Companion at the Pool,* as thou wert my Companion in the Cave; and A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad from Ibn A'bbás,† that the Apostle of God said, "Abu Bakr was my Companion and my Comforter in the cave;" and al Bayhaki from Huḍayfah‡ that the Apostle of God said "verily there is a bird in paradise *whose flesh tasteth* like *that of* Bactrian Camels;" Abu Bakr said, "it is then delicate of flavour, O Apostle of God"—he replied, "he who eateth of them shall enjoy them and thou shalt be of those who shall eat of them:" and Abu Ya'la from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "I was borne towards the heavens, and I passed no heaven, but I found therein my name, Muḥammad the Apostle of God and Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík as my vicegerent." Its authorities are weak, but the same has been handed down in the tradition of Ibn A'bbás, Ibn Omar, Anas, Abu

* Salsabíl, the fountain in paradise where the prophet is believed to give drink to the faithful who are thirsty.

† These words "from Ibn Abbás" are omitted in the printed edition but supplied by the MS.

‡ Abu A'bdu'llah Huḍayfah-b-u'l Yamán. He and his father were both at the battle of Ohud when his father was accidentally killed by his own side. He was much trusted by Muḥammad and employed on secret and important negotiations. He was engaged in the campaign of Nahawand and commanded the troops at the capture of Hamadán, Ray and Dínawar. Omar made him governor of Madáin where he died in A. H. 36, forty days after the assassination of Omar. An Nawawi, T. A.

Sa'íd and Abu' d Darda with weak ascriptions, but supporting each other reciprocally.

Abu Abi Ḥátim and Abu Nua'ym record on the authority of Sa'íd-b-Jubayr* that he said, "I was reading *this verse* before the prophet—"Oh thou soul which art at rest," (Kur. LXXXIX), when Abu Bakr said "O Apostle of God surely this is a good saying," and the Apostle of God replied, "yea, verily, the angel shall say it to thee at the time of thy death." And Ibn Abi Ḥátim from A'ámir-b-Abdi'llah-b-i'z Zubayr that he said, that when *the verse*, "and if we had commanded them, *saying*, slay yourselves," (Kur. IV) was revealed, Abu Bakr said, "O Apostle of God, didst thou command me to slay myself, I would do so," and he replied "thou speakest truly." And Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi from Ibn Abi Mulaykah, "the Apostle of God and his Companions went into a pool and he commanded that every man should swim towards his friend;" he adds, "and every man swam until there were left the Apostle of God and Abu Bakr, and the Apostle of God swam towards Abu Bakr and embraced him and said, "were I to choose an intimate friend until such time as I saw the Lord face to face, verily I would take Abu Bakr, but he is my Companion." Wakíi'† has followed him on the authority of A'bdu'l Jabbár-b-u'l Ward, (states Ibn A'sákir,) and Abdu'l Jabbár is trustworthy, and his master, was the Imam Ibn Abi Mulaykah but it is irregular in transmission and narrated but by one authority. I remark that at Ṭabaráni has recorded it in the "Kabír" and Ibn Sháhín in the "Sunnat" in a different manner, but in uninterrupted succession from Ibn A'bbás. Ibn‡ Abi'd Dunya records in the "Makarimu'l Akhlaḳ," (noble qualities) and Ibn A'sákir, according to the ascription of Ṣadaḳah-b-Maymún al Ḳarashi, from Sulayman-b-Yasár,§

* Abu A'bdu'llah or Muḥammad Sa'íd-b-Jubayr-b-Hishám al Asadi was a black and a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Wáliba-b-u'l Hárith. He was an eminent Tábi'í and a native of Kúfah. He learnt his traditions from Ibn Omar and Ibn A'bbás. He was put to death by Hajjaj-b-Yusuf for his revolt against Abdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, and the last hours of Hajjáj were said to have been tormented by his victim's apparition. His death took place in A. H. 95 (A. D. 714) and was followed in the same year by that of his murderer. Ibn Khall.

† Abu Sufiyán Wakíi'-b-u'l Jarráḥ, born at Kúfah A. H. 129 an eminent jurisconsult and traditionist. He studied under Abu Ḥanífah and used to decide points of law. He made the pilgrimage 70 times and on returning from the last, he died at Fayd, a town midway between Mecca and Kúfah A. H. 197 (A. D. 812-3). De Slane, I. K.

‡ Abu Bakr A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-U'bayd a member by adoption, of the Ḳuraysh, and surnamed Ibn Abi' d Dunya, composed works on ascetic and other subjects, and was a traditionist. He was preceptor to some of the Abbaside family and one of his pupils was al Mua'taḍhid. He received a pension of fifteen dinárs a month. Died A. H. 281, (A. D. 894). De Slane, I. K.

§ A Tábi'í and one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina and a traditionist of repute, died A. H. 103. An Nawawi.

that the Apostle of God said, "virtuous qualities are three hun and sixty *in number;* when God desires a good servant, he creat one of these qualities through which, he may gain admission to p Abu Bakr said "O Apostle of God is there in me one of them replied, "Yes, the sum of them all." And Ibn A'sákir acc another ascription through Ṣadaḳah from some other, "virtuous qu three hundred and sixty;" and Abu Bakr said "have I any of He replied, "all of them are in thee, therefore I give thee joy, O Ab And Ibn A'sákir, according to the ascription of Mujamma'-b-Y Auxiliary, from his father, who said, "there was a circle of tl round the Apostle of God, clustered together, so that they were *around him,* but the seat of Abu Bakr among them was vacan one among the people sought to take it, and when Abu Bakr sat down on that seat, and the prophet turned his face towards directed to him his discourse, and the people listened." And from A the Apostle of God said, "the love of Abu Bakr, and gratitude him is incumbent upon every one of my people." And he re same from the tradition of Sahl-b-Saa'd. And from Ayesha, dir the prophet, "all men shall be judged excepting Abu Bakr."

On what has been handed down of the sayings of the Companions a early Muslims regarding his merit.*

Al Bukhári records on the authority of Jábir, that Omar-b-ı táb said, "Abu Bakr is our prince." And al Bayhaḳi in the "S Ímán" (people of the faith) from Omar, that he said, "if the fait Bakr were weighed against the faith of mankind, it would su weigh them." And Ibn Abi Khaythamah and A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥma Zawáid uz Zuhd (Profusions of Piety) from Omar that he saic Abu Bakr was ever foremost and conspicuous—verily I woul a hair on the breast of Abu Bakr" (Musaddad in his Musnad) would wish to be in paradise that I might behold Abu Bakr" (Dunya and Ibn A'sákir); and "the fragrance of Abu Bakr is swe the fragrance of musk" (Abu Nua'ym).

Ibn A'sákir records from A'li that he went to Abu Bakr a *that* he was reciting the praises of God, and he said "no one s

* According to Abu'l Mahásin السلف is particularly applied to Ay Bakr, Omar, Othmán Ṭalḥah, az Zubayr, Mu'áwiyah and A'mr-b السلف الصالح is applied to the first chief persons of the Tábi'ís. Lane.

upon God, with the record of his deeds *in his hand*,* who is dearer to me than this praiser of the Lord." And from A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ that the Apostle of God said, "Omar, the son of al Khaṭṭáb hath told me that he never *attempted to* precede Abu Bakr in a good deed, but Abu Bakr was before him in it." And at Ṭabaráni in his Ausaṭ from A'li that he said, "by Him in whose hand is my life, I never sought to be foremost in any good action, but Abu Bakr anticipated me in it," and from Juḥayfah, that A'li said, "the best of men after the Apostle of God, are Abu Bakr and Omar—never shall there be joined together love of me and hatred towards Abu Bakr and Omar in the heart of a true believer." And in the "Kabír" from A'mr, that he said, "three among the Ḳuraysh are the most comely of the Ḳuraysh in face, the best of them in disposition, the most constant in heart; if they converse with thee, they will not lie to thee, and if thou speakest with them, they will not give thee the lie, Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ, Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ and Othmán-b-A'ffán." Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibrahim† an Nakha'í, that Abu Bakr was named the Compassionate on account of his benignity and clemency. And Ibn A'sákir from ar Rabíi'-b-Anas, that it is written in the Primeval Record,‡ "Abu Bakr is like unto rain *which* wherever it falleth, it doeth good." Also that ar Rabíi' said "I looked among the Companions of the prophet, but I found not a prophet that had a Companion like unto Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ." And from Az Zuhri, "among the virtues of Abu Bakr *was this*, that he never doubted concerning God a single moment?" And from az Zubayr-b-Bakkár, "I heard several of the learned say that the preachers among the Companions of the Apostle of God were Abu Bakr and A'li." And from Abu Haṣin, "there was never begotten of Adam among his progeny, after the prophets and Apostles, any more eminent than Abu Bakr, and verily Abu Bakr on the day of Apostasy§ stood up as a prophet among the prophets."

Ad Dínauri records in the "Mujálisat,"‖ and Ibn A'sákir from as Shaa'bi, that he said, "the most pure, the most High God hath

* It is the Muḥammadan belief that at the last day, every man shall stand before the judgment seat holding in his hand the record of his actions inscribed in it by the "Kátibayn" or the two attendant angels who are with each man during his life.

† Abu I'mrán Ibrahím-b-Yazíd an Nakha'i native of Kúfah and celebrated as an Imám and doctor. He died A. H. 95 or 96 (A. D. 713-4) aged 49. Nakha'i is from Nakha' a great branch of the tribe of Madhij in Yaman. Ibn Khall.

‡ Called also لوح محفوظ the Guarded Tablet, existing before all time in which is inscribed everything destined to occur.

§ See note †, page 40.

‖ A work partly on tradition, partly historical, with extracts from poetical authors by Aḥmad-b-Mardán ad Dínauri of the Máliki school who died A. H. 113. Ittiháfu'n Nabala, by Ṣadiḳ Hasan Khan of Bhopal.

distinguished Abu Bakr by four qualities, by which He hath distinguished none other among men: he named him 'the Witness to the Truth,' (as Ṣiddiḳ) and hath named 'The Witness to the Truth' none other besides him, and he was the Companion in the Cave with the Apostle of God, and his associate in his flight, and the Apostle of God commanded him to read the prayers, the Muslims being witnesses." And Ibn Abi Dauúd* in the Kitábu'l Maṣábíḥ from Abu Jaa'far, that Abu Bakr used to hear the secret converse of Gabriel with the prophet but did not see him. And al Ḥákim from Ibn u'l Musayyab,† that Abu Bakr stood to the prophet in the place of a Wazír, for he used to consult him in all his affairs, and he was the second to embrace Islám, and the second in the Cave and the second in the shed on the day of Badr, and the second in his sepulchre,‡ and the Apostle of God never gave precedence of him to any one.

On the tradition and the verses of the Ḳurán indicative of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and the sayings of the doctors thereon.

At Tirmiḏi records with approval, and al Ḥákim likewise, confirming it on the authority of Huḏayfah that the Apostle of God said, "Follow these two after me, Abu Bakr and Omar." And Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi on good authority from A'bdu'llah-b-Omar, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'there shall be twelve Caliphs succeeding me, but Abu Bakr shall tarry but a little while.'" There is unanimity regarding the correctness of the first part of this tradition, handed down in several lines of ascription, and indeed the explanation of it hath already gone before in the beginning of this book. In the "Ṣaḥíḥayn" *it is stated* regarding the preceding tradition, that when the prophet was preaching near upon the time of his death and said, "God hath given his servant a choice," and at the end *of the tradition*§ "there shall not remain a door but it shall be closed save the door of Abu Bakr," and in another reading

* Abu Bakr A'bdu'llah-b-Abi Dauúd was a Háfidh of the first eminence at Baghdad, son of the great traditionist Abu Dauúd. He died A. H. 316 (A. D. 928). Ibn Khallaḳán says that he composed a work called "Kitab u'l Maṣábíḥ (the Book of Lanterns). Both the printed text and MS. have "Kitab u'l Masáhif" which must be an error.

† His father's name must be pronounced Musayyab, says Ibn Khallaḳán, (as being the passive participle of the verb Sayab) but it is said that Sa'íd pronounced it Musayyib (active participle) because he had said "may God reward (sayab) him who pronounces my father's name Musayyib."

‡ His tomb at Medina is between the tomb of the prophet and that of Omar.

§ See p. 41.

of those two authorities, "there shall not remain a wicket in the mosque, but the wicket of Abu Bakr," the learned assert that this was indicative of his Caliphate, for he used to go forth through it to prayer with the Muslims." Indeed this reading has come down in the tradition of Anas and its words *are these*, "Close ye these doors leading into the mosque, except the door of Abu Bakr."

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Jubayr-b-Mu'tim that he said, "a woman went to the prophet, and he commanded her to come to him another time; she said, 'suppose I come and find thee not?' (as if she spoke of his death). He answered, 'if thou findest me not, then go to Abu Bakr.'" Al Ḥákim records and verifies *the tradition* on the authority of Anas that he said, "the Banu Muṣṭaliḳ* sent me to the Apostle of God, *saying*, 'ask him—to whom must we give our poor-rate after his death?' and I went to him and asked him, and he said 'unto Abu Bakr.'" And Ibn A'sákir from Ibn Abbás that he said, "a woman went to the prophet to ask something and he said to her 'come again *another time*.' She replied 'O Apostle of God, if I come and find thee not?' (referring to his death). He said 'if thou comest and findest me not, then go to Abu Bakr, for verily he *shall be* Caliph after me.'" And Muslim from Ayesha, "the Apostle of God said to me in his *last* illness 'call to me thy father and thy brother that I may write a testament, for, verily I fear lest the covetous should covet and speak, saying, "I am the most worthy,' but God and the true believers will reject *all* save Abu Bakr.'" And Aḥmad and others record the same from her with other ascriptions: according to one *of them*, she said, "the Apostle of God in his illness of which he died, said to me, 'call to me A'bdu'r Raḥmán the son of Abu Bakr, that I may write a testament in favour of Abu Bakr, so that none may oppose him after me;' then he said, 'nay, leave it, God forbid that the true believers should be at strife regarding Abu Bakr.'" And Muslim from Ayesha, that she was asked whom the Apostle of God would have named as a successor, if he had appointed one: she replied "Abu Bakr." It was said to her "whom next after Abu Bakr?" she answered "Omar." They said to her "whom after Omar?" She replied

* The Banu Muṣṭaliḳ (descended) from Muṣṭaliḳ-b-A'mr-b-Rabíi'-b-Khárijah) dwelt in the district of Kudayd, between Mecca and Medina near the sea coast. In A. H. 5, this tribe rebelled against Muḥammad, but were brought to obedience by his marching against them in person, with Omar and defeating them. Raudḥat u's Ṣafa. Muḥammad-b-Khawand Sháh. It was on his return from the expedition that Ayesha was by an accident, left asleep by the side of the road and discovered next morning by Safwán-b-u'l Mua'ttal and brought to camp. To save her reputation was the object of the 24th Chapter of the Ḳurán.

"Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ." And the two Shaykhs from Abu Músa* al Asha'ri that he said, "the prophet fell ill and his sickness increased, and he said, 'command Abu Bakr to read prayers before the people.' Ayesha answered, 'O Apostle of God, verily he is a man of soft heart: when he rises up in thy place, he will be unable to pray before the people.' Then he said, 'command Abu Bakr to pray before the people,' but she only repeated what she had said. Again he exclaimed, 'command Abu Bakr to pray before the people—verily ye are the mistresses† of Joseph'—and the Apostle went to him himself. Thus he prayed before the people during the lifetime of the Apostle of God."‡ In one of the traditions from Ayesha, *the reading is,* "I frequently returned *to this subject* with the Apostle of God and nothing induced me to this frequent recurrence, but that it did not come into my mind that the people would ever be satisfied that any man should stand in his place after him, and that I saw that no one would stand in his place but the people would take it as an ill omen, therefore I hoped that that might turn the Apostle of God from *naming* Abu Bakr." And in the tradition of Ibn Zama'a *it is recorded,* that the Apostle of God ordered them to read the prayers, and Abu Bakr was not present, but Omar came forth and prayed, then the Apostle of God cried out, "No—no—no—God and the Muslims will not suffer any but Abu Bakr to pray before the people." And according to the tradition of Ibn Omar, "Omar recited the Takbír and raised his head angrily and said 'where is the son of Abu Kuḥáfah ?'" The learned say that in this tradition is the clearest proof that as Ṣiddíḳ was the most eminent of the Companions absolutely, and the most deserving of the Caliphate among them and the best of them in the office of Imám. Al Asha'ri says, "it is indeed undoubtedly ascertained that the Apostle of God commanded as Ṣiddiḳ to pray before the people in the presence of the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries, by his words, 'he shall stand as Imám before the people who is the best read of them in the Book of God.' This proves that he was the best read, that is the most learned of them in the Ḳurán: and verily the Companions themselves were convinced that he was the most deserving of the Caliphate, and among these was Omar (and the words of Omar will follow in the section on the covenant of allegiance) and among them was *also* A'li."

* A'bdu'llah-b-Ḳays Abu Músa al Asha'ri—such is his name given by Ibn Hajr. He was the arbitrator (see page 10) at Siffín on the part of A'li. He had served as governor under Muḥammad, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and A'li, and died in A. H. 50 (A. D. 670-1). Ibn Khall.

† Meaning "enticers to evil." The MS. and printed edition have انكن for انتن Lane gives the tradition with انتن

‡ Here follows a list of other authorities for this tradition which to avoid the tedious repetition of names, I have omitted. The few whom these could interest are not likely to look for them in an English translation.

Ibn A'sákir records on his authority that he said, "verily the prophet commanded Abu Bakr to pray before the people and indeed I was present, and I was not absent and was suffering from no illness;* and we accepted for our temporal affairs what the prophet had approved for our spiritual concerns." The learned say that Abu Bakr was recognised for his fitness for the Imámate during the time of the prophet. And Aḥmad and Abu Dauúd and others record on the authority of Sahl-b-Saa'd, that there was a feud in the tribe of A'mr-b-A'uf and the prophet arrived and went to them after midday, that he might make peace between them, and said, "O Bilál—if the time of prayers should be at hand and I come not, then command Abu Bakr to pray before the people;" and when the time for afternoon prayers came, Bilál announced the prayers and then commanded Abu Bakr, and he prayed.

Abu Bakr as Sháfi'í† records in the "Ghiláníyát" and Ibn A'sákir from Ḥafṣah‡ that she said to the Apostle of God, "when thou wert ill, thou gavest precedence to Abu Bakr:" he replied, "It was not I who preferred him, but God who preferred him." And Ibn Saa'd from al Ḥasan, that Abu Bakr said, "O Apostle of God, I never cease to see myself in vision treading in the courtyards of men:" he replied, "thou shalt be among men as a road *for them*:" he added, "and I see on my breast what are like unto two spots." He replied "*those are* two years."§

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abu Bakr that he said, "I went to Omar and there were some people engaged in eating in his presence, and he cast his eyes upon a man, the hindmost of the number, and said, 'what dost thou find *of events* before thy time in the books thou readest?' He replied 'the vicegerent of the Apostle, will be his witness to the truth'" (Ṣiddíḳ). And from Muḥammad-b-u'z Zubayr, that he said, "Omar-b-Abdi'l A'zíz sent me to al Ḥasan of Basrah, to ask him concern-

* That is to say that he was an eye-witness in the full possession of his senses.

† Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-A'bdu'llah-b-Ibrahím known as al Bazzár, as Ṣháfi'i, died, A. H. 354. The Ghiláníyát is a collection of traditions written from the dictation of the author's Shaykhs. It received its name probably from Abu Ṭálib Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad-b-Ibrahím-b-Ghilan, who taught the traditions. He died in A. H. 404. Ittiháfu'l Nubala.

‡ The daughter of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb: her first husband was Ḥasan-b-Ḥudáfah who fought at Badr and died at Medina—she was then offered by her father to Abu Bakr and Othmán successively who both declined the proposal. Omar, mentioning this circumstance to Muḥammad, he replied, "One shall marry Hafṣah who is greater than Othmán (meaning himself) and one shall marry Othmán who is greater than Hafṣah" (meaning his own daughter Umm Kulthúm). Abu Bakr afterwards excused himself to Omar by saying that his knowledge of his master's predilection for Hafṣah, was the cause of his declining, otherwise he would gladly marry her. Ibn Hajr.

§ Signifying that they were prophetic of the duration of his Caliphate.

ing certain things," and I went to him and said to him, "Satisfy me regarding that in which people differ—did the Apostle of God name Abu Bakr his successor?" and al Ḥasan who was seated, stood erect and said, "can such a thing be in doubt! thou hast no father. Yea, by that God than whom there is no other God, verily he named him his successor, for he was undoubtedly the most learned in divine knowledge and the most devout towards Him and the most steadfast in His fear, inasmuch as he would have died for its sake, even though He had not commanded him thereunto."* And Ibn A'di records from Abu Bakr-b-A'yyásh† that he narrates, "ar Rashid said to me, O Abu Bakr how did the people come to appoint Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ successor?" I said, "O prince of the faithful, God was silent and his apostle was silent, and the true believers were silent." He replied, "By Allah, thou hast but increased my anxiety." I said,‡ "O prince of the faithful, the prophet fell ill during eight days and Bilál went in to him and said, 'O Apostle of God, who is to pray before the people?' He replied, 'command Abu Bakr to pray before the people;' and Abu Bakr prayed before the people during the eight days, and the divine inspiration continued to descend *upon Muḥammad*, but the Apostle of God was silent on account of the silence of the Lord, and the Faithful were silent on account of the silence of the Apostle of God;—this pleased him and he said 'May God bless thee.' "

Some of the learned have deduced the Caliphate of as Ṣiddíḳ from the verses of the Ḳurán. Thus al Bayhaḳi records from al Ḥasan of Basrah regarding the divine words, "O true believers, whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring *other* people *to supply his place* whom He will love and who will love Him" (Kur. V), that he said, "this, by Allah, *signifieth* Abu Bakr and his Companions, for when the Arabs apostatized, Abu Bakr and his Companions waged war with them, till he brought them back to Islám." And Yunas-b-Bukayr, from Ḳatádah, that he said, "when the prophet died the Arabs apostatized," then he goes on to relate the expedition of Abu Bakr against them till he says, "and we used to declare that this verse was revealed regarding Abu Bakr and his Companions, "God will certainly bring *other* people *to supply his place,*

* "If we had commanded them *saying* 'Slay yourselves or depart from your houses,' they would not have done it." Kur. IV.

† Abu Bakr Sálim-b-A'yyásh an eminent Traditionist and native of Kúfah. Eighteen days after the death of ar Rashíd, Ibn Ayyásh died at Kufah, A. H. 193 (809) at the age of ninety-eight. Ibn Khall.

‡ The text has "he said" meaning the narrator. In similar instances in future, the English idiom will be followed, to avoid breaks in the narrative and references to footnotes.

whom He will love and who will love Him." And Ibn Abi Ḥátim, from Júaybar, regarding the divine words, "say unto the Arabs of the desert who were left behind, ye shall be called forth against a mighty *and* a warlike nation (Kur. XLVIII), that he said, "these were the Banu Ḥunayfah."* Ibn Abi Ḥátim and Ibn Ḳutaybah† say that this verse is a proof of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ for it was he who summoned the people to fight against them. The Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan al Asha'ri‡ relates "I heard Abu'l A'bbás-b-u's Shurayḥ say, that the Caliphate of Abu Bakr is *predicted* in this verse of the Ḳuran;" he adds, "for the learned are agreed that after its revelation there were no wars to which *the people* were summoned except those wherein Abu Bakr summoned them§ and the people, to the reduction of the apostates and those who refused tribute." He continues "this is demonstrative of the right of the succession of Abu Bakr and the duty of allegiance to him, since God has declared that he who turneth away from it "shall be punished with a grievous punishment." (Kur. XLVIII).

Ibn Kathír says, "they who interpret the word 'nation' as being the Persians and Greeks, *for them it is sufficient* that it was as Ṣiddíḳ who fitted out an army against them, and the final settlement of their affairs was left in the hands of Omar and Othmán, for those two were but branches of as Ṣiddíḳ." The Most High says, "God promiseth unto such of you as believe and do good works that he will cause them to succeed *the unbelievers* in the earth" (Kur. XXIV); this verse, says Ibn Kathír, is applicable to the Caliphate of Abu Bakr." Ibn Abi Ḥátim records in his Com-

* They inhabited al Yamámah and were the followers of Musaylama Muḥammad's rival. Sale, p. 415.

† Abu Muḥammad A'bdu'llah-b-Muslim-b-Kutaybah, was a grammarian and philologer of eminence. He taught traditions in Baghdad. He was author of very numerous works on a variety of subjects. His father was a native of Marw; but he himself was born at Baghdad, or as some say at Kúfah, A. H. 213, (828-9), died A. H 270 (884). Ibn Khall.

‡ Abu'l Ḥasan Ali al Asha'ri drew his descent from Abu Músa one of the prophet's Companions. He was an able defender of the Sunnite doctrines and the founder of the sect called Asha'ris. Abu Bakr al Bakiláni was a great supporter of his peculiar views. He was born in Basrah, A. H. 270 (883-4) and died at Baghdad between A. H. 330 and 340, (941-52). He was at first a Motazilite but made a public renunciation of his belief in freewill and the creation of the Ḳúrán in the mosque at Basrah and wrote in refutation of that school. His works are 55 in number. Ibn Khall.

§ That is "the Arabs who were left behind" mentioned in the above verse. These were the tribes of Aslam, Juhaynah, Muzaynah and Ghifár who being summoned to attend Muḥammad in the expedition of Ḥudaybiyah, stayed behind and excused themselves by saying that their families must suffer in their absence, whereas in reality, they wanted firmness in the faith and courage to face the Ḳuraysh. Sale, p. 414.

mentary on the authority of Abdu'r Rahmán-b-Abdi'l Hamíd al Mahdi, that the jurisdiction of Abu Bakr and Omar is *to be found* in the Book of God according to the word of God, "God promiseth unto each of you as believe and do good works, that he will cause them to succeed *the unbelievers* in the earth." And al Khatíb from Abu Bakr-b-A'yyásh, that Abu Bakr as Siddík is *mentioned* in the Kurán as the successor of the Apostle of God, for the Most High God says, "to the poor Fugitives"* &c., to his word "these are men of veracity." He therefore whom God calls "truthful" cannot lie: and the Companions used to address him "O vicegerent of the Apostle of God." Al Bayhaki records on the authority of az Za'faráni† that he relates, "I heard as Sháfi'i say, "the people concurred in the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and that was, because men were in perplexity after the death of the Apostle of God, but they found not beneath the expanse of heaven a better than Abu Bakr, and they placed him in authority over them."

Asad u's Sunnah in his Fadháil, (excellencies) records on the authority of M'uáwiyah-b-Kurrah‡ that he said, "the Companions of the Apostle of God never doubted that Abu Bakr was the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, and they never called him anything but vicegerent of the Apostle of God, and they in no case concurred in what was false or erroneous."

Al Hákim records and confirms it on the authority of Ibn Masa'úd that he said, "the Muslims never approved a thing to be good, but it was good in the sight of the Lord, and they never judged a thing to be pernicious, but it was pernicious in the sight of the Lord, and verily all the Companions concurred in appointing Abu Bakr successor." And al Hákim, records, ad Dahabi verifying it on the authority of Murrah-b-u'l-Tayyib that he said, "Abu Sufyán§-b-Harb went to A'li and said, "how is it that

* "*A part also belongeth* to the poor Muhájerin who have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, seeking favour from God, and his good will and assisting God and his Apostle. These are men of veracity" (Kur. LIX.) Wherefore Muhammad distributed those spoils among the Muhájerín (Fugitives) only and gave no part to the Auxiliaries, except only to three of them who were in necessitous circumstances. Sale, p. 445.

† Abu A'li al Hasan-b-Muhammad-b as Sabbáh, az Zu'faráni, was one of as Sháfi'i's disciples. He attained an eminent rank as a doctor of law and tradition, died A. H. 260 (874). Za'faráni is derived from az Za'farániyah (the saffron field) a village near Baghdad. The street of this name in the city is called after this doctor who lived in it. Ibn Khall.

‡ Mu'áwiyah-b-Kurrah-b-Iyás-b-Hilál. He was the father of the celebrated Kádhi Iyás, Ka'dhi of Basrah, to whom Haríri alludes in his 7th Makámah, as skilled in the art of physiognomy, see his life in Ibn Khallakán; Mu'áwiyah died A. H. 80 (699).

§ Abu Sufyán Sakhr-b-Harb-b-Umayya of the Kuraysh, the father of the Caliph Mu'áwiyah.

this authority is with the least of the Ḳuraysh in insignificance, and the meanest of them? (that is Abu Bakr); by Allah I would like to pour *the Ḳuraysh* upon him, horse and foot." He adds, A'li replied "verily it is long since that thou hast been hostile to Islám, O Abu Sufyán, but that hurts it not at all; we find Abu Bakr worthy of the Caliphate."

On his covenant of allegiance.

The two Shaykhs record that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb addressed the people on his return from the pilgrimage and said in his exhortation—"It hath come to my knowledge that a certain one among you sayeth, 'were Omar to die, I would swear allegiance to such a one,'—let not any man deceive himself so as to say that fealty to Abu Bakr was hastily given,—although it was even so, yet the Lord prevented the evil *consequences* thereof; and there is not one among ye to-day behind whom the necks of *competitors* stop short,* like unto Abu Bakr. Verily he was the best among us when the Apostle of God died. And verily A'li and az Zubayr and they that were with them, remained behind in the house of Fátimah and all the Auxiliaries tarried behind us in the porch of the Banu Sái'dah, and the Fugitives gathered round Abu Bakr, and I said to him, "O Abu Bakr come with us to our brethren the Auxiliaries;" and we went, betaking ourselves to them, until we met two worthy men† who told us what the people had done and said "whither are ye going, ye men of the Fugitives?" I said, "we seek our brethren of the Auxiliaries." They answered, "see, that ye do not approach them, but settle your affairs *yourselves*, ye men of the Fugitives." Then I said, "by Allah, we will go to them;" and we went on till we came up to them in the porch of the Banu Sái'-dah—and lo! they were assembled and in the middle of them was a man muffled up in his garments and I said "who is this?" And they said "Saa'd-b-U'bádah"‡—and I said "what is the matter with

* "Vor dem man sich mehr beugte" is Weil's translation of this passage. Leben Muham. p. 350. A'bd'ur Rahmán-b-A'li as Shaybáni in the Taysíru'l Wusúl interprets it, "before whom the necks of riding camels are cut off or stop short." And Ibn u'l Athir, the brother of the historian in the Kitab u'n Niháya a treatise on the obscure terms of the traditions, gives it the meaning I have rendered.

† These two were according to Zuhri, "Owcim-b-Sáidah and Ma'an-b-A'dí." Weil-Leb-Muham. Vol. II, 352; Ma'an was one of those killed fighting at Yemámah against Musaylamah.

‡ Abu Thábit Saa'd-b-U'bádah b-Dulaym of the Banu Sá'i'dah, native of Medina He was the standard bearer of the Auxiliaries in their expeditions. He was distinguished for his liberality. He died in Hawrán A. H. 16 and was buried at Mizzah near Damascus. An Nawawi.

him?" They answered, "*He is in* pain." And when we were seated, their preacher arose and glorified God as was befitting unto Him, and said, "and now, I say that we are the Auxiliaries of the Lord and the army of Islám, while ye, O men of the Fugitives, are but a handful amongst us, and verily a party among you have sallied forth seeking that ye may uproot us and exclude us from power." And when he was silent, I sought to speak, and verily I had embellished a discourse which pleased me, which I intended to speak in presence of Abu Bakr, and verily I feared *the want* of some severity on his part,* for he was calmer than I and more sedate—Then Abu Bakr said. "Softly with thee," and I was loth to anger him for he was wiser than I, and, by Allah, he did not omit a word of what had so pleased me in its composition, but he spoke it himself unpremeditatedly and surpassed it, so that I was speechless. And he said, "and now, as to what ye have said of good *regarding yourselves*, indeed ye are worthy of it, and the Arabs do not recognise this authority except in this tribe of the Ḳuraysh—they are the noblest of the Arabs by descent and tribe, and verily I approve for ye one of these two men whichever ye please." Then he took my hand and the hand of Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ. I was not displeased with what he otherwise said, but by Allah, were I brought out that thou shouldst strike off my head, though it befell me through no crime *of mine*, it would be more pleasing to me than that I should rule a people among whom was Abu Bakr. Then a speaker of the Auxiliaries said, "I am of those by means of whose counsel people seek relief†—*let there be* a ruler from among us and a ruler from among ye, O men of the Ḳuraysh." Then the confusion increased and voices rose high until I feared a tumult, and I said, "stretch out thy hand O Abu Bakr," and he stretched out his hand, and I took the oath of fealty to him, and the Fugitives swore allegiance to him; then the Auxiliaries swore allegiance to him, and by Allah, in regard to that for which we assembled, we could find nothing more fitting than to swear fealty to Abu Bakr—we feared that if we separated from the concourse and no covenant were taken, they might conclude a covenant after our departure so that we should either have to hold to a covenant with them which we did not approve, or to oppose them, whence discord would arise."

An Nasái, Abu Ya'la and al Ḥákim record, verifying it on the authority of Ibn Masa'úd, that when the Apostle of God died, the Auxi-

* Weil ich an ihm etwas Schárfe vermisste. Weil-Leben Muham. Vol. II, p. 351.

† Literally "I am their much-rubbed little rubbing-post and their propped little palm tree loaded with fruit" *i. e.*, as mangy camels seek relief by rubbing themselves against a post, so I am such a post for ye, and I have a family that will aid and defend me. See Lane's Lex art جذل

liaries said, "*let there be* a ruler from among us, and from among ye a ruler," whereupon Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb went to them and said—"O ye men of the Auxiliaries, know ye not that the Apostle of God commanded Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer? now which of ye preferreth himself to Abu Bakr?" The Auxiliaries exclaimed "God forbid that we should take precedence of Abu Bakr." And Ibn Saa'd, al Ḥákim, and al Bayhaḳi from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, "the Apostle of God died, and the people assembled in the house of Saa'd-b-U'bádah and among them were Abu Bakr and Omar, and the preachers of the Auxiliaries arose and a man among them began to speak *saying*, "O ye men of the Fugitives, whenever the Apostle of God appointed one from among you to any authority, he joined unto him one of us; we think therefore that two men, one from among you, and one from among us, should assume this authority;" and the preachers of the Auxiliaries followed each other after the same manner. Then Zayd-b-Thábit arose and said, "do ye *not* know that the Apostle of God was of the Fugitives, and we were the Auxiliaries of the Apostle of God, therefore are we the Auxiliaries of his vicegerent, as we were his Auxiliaries." Then he took Abu Bakr by the hand and said "this is your master." Then Omar and afterwards the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries swore allegiance to him, and Abu Bakr ascended the pulpit, and he looked among the chiefs of the people, but beheld not az Zubayr. He therefore summoned az Zubayr and he came and he said, "thou sayest that thou art the son of the aunt of the Apostle of God, and his disciple, dost thou wish to break the staff of the Muslims?" Az Zubayr replied "no blame be laid on thee, O vicegerent of the Apostle of God!" and he rose and swore allegiance to him. Then Abu Bakr looked among the chiefs of the people, and he saw not A'li. He therefore summoned him and he came: then he said "thou callest thyself the son of the uncle of the Apostle of God, and related unto him through his daughter, dost thou wish to break the staff of the Muslims?" He replied "no blame be laid on thee, O vicegerent of the Apostle of God!" and he swore him allegiance."

Ibn Isḥáḳ records on his "Sírat" (record) from Anas-b-Málik that after Abu Bakr had received the covenant of allegiance in the porch of the Banu Sái'dah, when the morrow came, he seated himself at the pulpit, and Omar rose and spoke before Abu Bakr. And he praised God and magnified him and then said;" verily the Lord hath centred your authority on the best among you, the Companion of the Apostle of God, and "the second of the two when they two were in the cave," therefore arise and swear allegiance unto him." And the people swore unto Abu Bakr a general allegiance after the allegiance of the Porch. Then Abu Bakr spoke and praised God and magnified Him, then continued, "and now, O ye people, verily I have received authority over you

though I be not the best among you, yet if I do well, assist me, and if I incline to evil, direct me aright. Truth is a *sacred* trust and falsehood is a betrayal. He that is weak among you, is strong before me, inasmuch as I shall restore unto him his due, if it please God, and he that is strong among you is weak, inasmuch as I shall take that which is due from him if it please God. A people abstaineth not from warring in the cause of the Lord, but he smiteth them with ignominy, and iniquity is never made manifest among a people, but He afflicteth them with misfortune. Obey me as long as I obey the Lord and his Apostle, and when I turn aside from the Lord and his Apostle, then obedience to me shall not be obligatory upon you. Rise up to your prayers—may the Lord have mercy upon you."

Abu Músa-b-U'ḳbah in his 'Magházi' (Battles) records, likewise al Hákim, verifying it on the authority of A'bdu'r-Raḥmán-b-A'uf that Abu Bakr preached and spoke *saying*, "by Allah, I was never covetous of this authority, neither by day nor by night, nor desirous of it, nor asked it of God either in secret or openly, but I was in fear of sedition. I have no repose in this authority. Verily I am invested with a mighty office, the power and capacity for which are not in me, save by the assistance of God." Then Ali and az Zubayr said, "we were not incensed but for this, that we were put aside from the consultation, yet we think Abu Bakr the most deserving of that *authority* among men, for he was the Companion in the Cave, and we indeed recognise his superiority and his excellence, and verily the Apostle of God while he was yet alive commanded him to pray before the people." And Ibn Saa'd from I'brahím at Taymi* that he said "when the Apostle of God died, Omar went to Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarrah" and said "stretch out thy hand, for verily I will swear thee allegiance for thou art the trusted one of this people according to the word of the Apostle of God." And Abu U'baydah replied to Omar, "never before this have I seen in thee weakness of mind since thou hast embraced Islám. What! wilt thou swear allegiance to me when there is among you as Ṣi'ddíḳ, and he the second of the two?" And from Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr said to Omar, "stretch out thy hand, verily I will swear thee allegiance," but Omar said to him "thou art more meritorious than I." Abu Bakr replied, "thou art firmer than I" and again he repeated it, but Omar said, "then verily thou hast my firmness together with thy merit," and he swore allegiance to him. And Aḥmad from Ḥamíd-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf, "the Apostle of God died, and Abu Bakr was with some of the people of Medina, and he came

* Ibrahím-b-u'l Hárith-b-Khálid-b-Sakhr at Taymi, of the Ḳuraysh. According to al Bukhári, he and his father were among the Fugitives. That he survived Muḥammad is all that is known of him by Ibn Hajr.

and uncovered his face and kissed it and said ' May my father and my mother be a ransom for thee? how sweet wert thou in life and art in deaṭh! Muḥammad is dead—by the Lord of the Kaabah—" and he repeated the tradition"—he adds " Abu Bakr and Omar departed leading each other along until they came to the *Auxiliaries* and Abu Bakr spake and did not omit a thing of what had been revealed regarding the Auxiliaries, nor of what the Apostle of God had said concerning them, but he mentioned it and exclaimed, ' verily ye know that the Apostle of God said, " were the people to march in *one* valley, and the Auxiliaries marched in *another* valley, I would march in the valley of the Auxiliaries;" and verily thou knowest O Saa'd,* that the Apostle of God said when thou wert seated by, " the Ḳuraysh are the masters of this authority and the good men will follow those of them that are good, and the wicked will follow the wicked among them." Then Saa'd said to him—" thou hast spoken truly—we are the ministers and ye are the princes."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abu Sa'íd al Khudri that when homage was paid to Abu Bakr, he saw some dissatisfaction among the people and he said, " what keeps you back O men? am not I the most deserving of this authority among you? was not I the first to embrace Islam? was not I this and that?" and he mentioned his qualifications. And Aḥmad Rafi'† u'l Táí that he said, " Abu Bakr told me of the allegiance sworn to him and what the Auxiliaries and what Omar had said to him and he added " then they swore allegiance to me and I accepted it from them, for I feared lest discord should arise and apostasy follow it." And Ibn Isháḳ and Ibn A'áiḍ‡ in his ' Magházi,' from the same, that he said to Abu Bakr, " what brought thee to take upon thyself the government of the people, when verily thou hadst forbidden me to rule over two *of them*?" He replied " I found no way of avoiding it I feared dissensions among the people of Muḥammad."

And Aḥmad from Ḳays-b-Abi Ḥázim, verily I was seated by Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ about a month after the death of the Apostle of God and he was

* Saa'd-b-Ubádah.

† Rafi'-b-A'mr-b-Jábir-b-Háriṭh at Ṭá'í. In the time of ignorance he lived as a robber and used to fill ostrich eggs with water and hide them in various places in the desert for his own use, and when he became a convert he became a guide for the Muslims in their expeditions. He had made a particular friend of Abu Bakr at the engagement of Ḍát Salásil, who used to allow him to sleep on his own bedding and gave him some of his own clothes to wear and acted as his spiritual director. He died at the close of the Caliphate of Omar. Ibn Hajr.

‡ The text has A'ábid, for A'áiḍ. The author's real name is Abu A'bdu'llah Muḥammad-b-A'áiḍ of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, a native of Damascus and like Ibn Isḥák the author of a Magházi. Kashfu'd Dhunún.

relating the account of it, when the summons to prayer went forth among the people, and the people assembled together and he ascended the pulpit and said, "O men, I would indeed have been glad if another had sufficed for this in my stead, and though you have taken me according to the command of your prophet, I am not capable *of performing its duties*, for *the prophet* was indeed preserved from the *deceits of* the evil one, and inspiration descended upon him from heaven."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of al Ḥasan of Basrah that when allegiance was sworn to Abu Bakr, he stood up and preached saying, "and now, verily I have been placed in this authority, though I am averse from it, and by Allah, I would have been pleased if any of you had sufficed for it in my stead, but if you charge me to act unto you as did the Apostle of God, I could not undertake it, for the Apostle of God was a servant whom the Lord honored with His inspiration and preserved him thereby *from error*, and surely I am a mortal and am not better than any one of you—therefore watch over me—and when you see that I am steadfast, then obey me, and when you see that I turn aside *from the right path*, set me aright. And know that I have a devil that seizes upon me, therefore when you see me enraged, avoid me, *for at that time*, I cannot be influenced by your counsels or your glad salutations." And Ibn Saa'd and al Khaṭíb, according to the narration of Málik from U'rwah, that when Abu Bakr assumed the supreme power, he preached to the people and he praised God and magnified Him and said, "and now, verily I have been made to rule over you though I am not the most worthy among you; but the Ḳurán was revealed and the prophet declared the law, and instructed us and we learnt *of him;* and know, O men, that piety is the most solid goodness, and the vilest of what is vile is vice, and verily the strongest among you before me is he that is weak, inasmuch as I shall take for him what is due to him and the weakest among you before me is he that is strong inasmuch as I shall take from him that which is due by him: O men, verily I am a follower and not an innovator, therefore when I do well, aid me, and if I turn aside, direct me aright. I have spoken, and may God have mercy upon me and upon you." Málik says, 'no one ever becomes Imám except upon this condition.' Al Ḥákim records in his Mustadrak (supplement) from Abu Hurayrah that when the Apostle of God died, Mecca was convulsed by an earthquake, and Abu Kuḥáfah noticed it and said "what is this." They said, "the Apostle of God is dead." He answered. "It is a momentous thing, who then hath risen up in authority after him?" They said, "thy son." He replied, "will the Banu A'bd Manáf and the Banu'l Mughírah consent to this?" They answered "yes." He exclaimed, "there is no overthrower of that which hath been exalted, and no exalter of that which hath been humbled." Al Wáḳidi records with

ascriptions to Ayesha, Ibn Omar, Sa'íd-b-u'l Mussayyab and others, that allegiance was sworn to Abu Bakr on the day of the death of the Apostle of God, Monday* the 12th of Rabíi' u'l Awwal, in the 11th year of the Hijrah. And at Ṭabaráni in his Ausaṭ from Ibn Omar, that he said, "Abu Bakr never seated himself in the place of the Apostle of God in the pulpit, until after he had passed to the Lord, and Omar never sat in the seat of Abu Bakr nor Othman in that of Omar until they had passed to the Lord."

On what occurred during his Caliphate and the chief events that took place during his time, such as the despatch of the army of Usámah, the slaughter of the apostates and those who refused the poor rate, Musaylamah the liar and the collection of the Ḳurán.

Al Isma'ílí† records on the authority of Omar that he said, "when the Apostle of God died, some of the Arabs fell from the faith and they said, 'we will perform the prayers, but we will not pay the poor rate:' I went to Abu Bakr and said, 'O vicegerent of the Apostle of God, conciliate the people and be indulgent to them for they are but on a level with brute beasts:' and he replied, 'I hoped for thy help and thou hast come to me withholding thy aid—*thou wert* haughty in the time of ignorance *and art* meanspirited in Islám—wherefore then should I conciliate them by lying verses and deceitful eloquence? Alas! alas! the prophet is dead and divine inspiration is withheld! By Allah, I will do battle with them as long as I can grasp a sword in my hand, even if they deny me *the worth of* a camel's halter.'" Omar adds, "I found him in this business more energetic and determined than myself, and he governed the affairs of the people with justice—thus many of their difficulties were made easy to me when I came to rule them." And Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi, and Abu Bakr as Sháfi'i in his "Fawáid," (*Useful Observations*) and Ibn A'sákir record from Ayesha that she said, "when the Apostle of God died, hypocrisy raised its head, and the Arabs apostatized and the Auxiliaries turned away and if

* "Enfin Mahomed mourut un samedi, second jour de la semaine chez les Musulmans dans le moi Rabie premier." I know not on what authority Boulainvilliers makes يوم الا شنين ("the second day") to be Saturday. See Vie de Mahomed, p. 440.

† Abu Bakr Aḥmad-b-Ibrahím al Isma'ili, a great Sháfi'i doctor, famous for his knowledge of the law and tradition. He was the author of numerous works on tradition. He died in Rajab A. H. 371 (982) aged 94. His son Abu Saa'd, called also al Isma'íli, studied under his father and became Shaykh of the Sháfi'is in Jurján, died A. H. 396, (A. D. 1005-6) aged 63. De Slane, Ibn Khall.

what fell upon my father had fallen upon the solid mountai have crushed them; and *the Companions* never disputed a sing he was prompt with its advantages and its merits. They sa the prophet to be buried?' and we found no one who had an regarding this; but Abu Bakr exclaimed, I heard the Apostl no prophet died but he was buried under the bed in which h Aysha adds, " they disputed regarding his inheritance, and they who had any information on this point; but Abu Bakr exclaim the Apostle of God say, " we, the Company of the prophets are ed of—that which we leave is the portion of the poor."

Some of the learned say that this was the first disagr occurred among the Companions, for some of them said, " let in Mecca, the city wherein he was born," and others said, " mosque," and others " nay, in the cemetery of Medina," and ot Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of the prophets," until Abu Bakr in of what he knew. Ibn Zunjawayh says, that as Ṣiddíḳ wa authority for this tradition among the Fugitives and Auxiliar had recourse to him for it. Al Bayhaki and Ibn A'sákir re authority of Abu Hurayrah, that he said, " by Him, than w no other God, if Abu Bakr had not been appointed Caliph, Go have been worshipped,"—this he said a second, and again a then they said to him, " how so, O Abu Hurayrah!" and he s the Apostle of God sent Usámah-b-Zayd at the head of se men to Syria and when they reached Ḍu Khushub* the propl the Arabs round about Medina apostatized, and the Compa Apostle of God gathered about *Abu Bakr* and they said, " r will you send these against the Greeks while the Arabs aro have apostatized?" but he said, " by Him, than whom ther God, were dogs to drag the wives of the prophet by their feet, recall an army despatched by the Apostle of God, nor woul a standard that he had bound." He therefore despatched Usá acted that he never passed in his march by a tribe inclined to a they said, " were there no strength in them, such as these wo gone forth from among them, but let us leave them to e Greeks;" and they encountered them and defeated them and sl returned in safety whereupon those others remained steadfa And from U'rwah, " the Apostle of God kept saying in his i patch the army of Usámah.' He therefore set out unti " Jurf,"† and the prophet's wife Fatimah sent to him *saying*, for verily the Apostle of God is grievously sick," and he did

* A valley about one march from Medina. Yáḳút, M. B.

† Three miles from Medina on the road to Syria.

until the Apostle of God died and when he was dead, Usámah returned to Abu Bakr and said, " verily the Apostle of God sent me forth but we were under different circumstances to what you are now—verily I fear lest the Arabs apostatize and if they apostatize, they should be the first to be attacked, and if they do not apostatize I will set forth, for with me are the chiefs of the people and the most distinguished amongst them." Then Abu Bakr preached to the people and said, " by Allah, were* a bird *of prey* to carry me off, it would be more pleasing to me than that I should set about anything before the command of the Apostle of God: he therefore despatched him."

Aḍ Ḍahabi says that when the death of the Apostle of God became known round about, many of the Arab tribes apostatized from Islám and refused the payment of the poor rate, and Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ set out to attack them, but Omar and others counselled him to abstain from attacking them, but he said, " by Allah, if they deny me *so much as* a camel's halter or a kid which they used to pay to the Apostle of God, I will war against them for the refusal of it;" then Omar said, " how canst thou war against the people, when verily the Apostle of God said, " I have been commanded to do battle against men until they confess that there is no God but God, and verily Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and whoever confesseth it his property and life are safe from me, save in the claim and account of God therein." Abu Bakr replied, " by Allah, I will surely oppose by force those who distinguish between prayers and the poor rate, for the poor rate is a due from property and verily *the prophet* said " save in the claim therein." Omar says, " then, by Allah, I saw it was nothing else than that God had disposed the heart of Abu Bakr to combat them and I knew that it was just." And on the authority of U'rwah, " Abu Bakr set out with the Fugitives and Auxiliaries until they reached Naḳa'a over against Najd, and the Arabs fled with their families and the people addressed Abu Bakr, saying, " return to Medina and to the children and women, and set a man in command of the army," and they did not desist until he returned and appointed Khálid-b-u'l Walíd and said to him, " when they shall have embraced the faith, and paid the poor rate, then let any among you who so wishes, return," and he went back to Medina.

Ad Darakuṭní records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that when Abu Bakr set forth and was mounted upon his camel, A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib took it by the bridle and said, " whither *goest thou,* O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God? I say unto thee that which the Apostle of God said unto thee on the day of Ohud, ' sheath thy sword and make us not anxious for thy person'—and turn back to Medína, for, by Allah, if we suffer loss in thee, Islám will

* Meaning were he carrion and a feast for birds of prey.

never be set in order." And from Handhalah-b-A'li-al Laythi, that Abu Bakr despatched Khálid and commanded him to war against men for five objects; whosoever refused any one of these, he should attack him as he would attack any who had refused all the five, *viz.*, the confession of faith "verily there is no God, but God and—verily Muḥammad is his servant and his apostle—the institution of prayers—the donation of the poor rate, the fast of Ramaḍhán. Khálid and those who were with him, then went forth in Jumáda' 'l Ákhir and he attacked the Bánu Asad and Ghaṭfán and slew whom he slew, and captured whom he captured, and the rest returned to Islám; and of the Companions who were slain in this affair were U'kásbah*-b-Miḥṣan and Thábit-b-Aḳram.

In Ramadḥán of this year, died Fátimah daughter of the Apostle of God, the chief of women upon earth, her age being four and twenty. Aḍ Ḍahabi says that the Apostle of God had no descendants but by her, for the posterity of his daughter Zaynab† became extinct (so says az Zubayr-b-Bakkar) and Umm Ayman‡ died a month before her.

In the month of Shawwál died A'bdu'llah the son of Abu Bakr as Ṣiďdíḳ. After this Khálid set out with his army for Yamáma to attack Musaylamah the liar towards the end of the year. The armies met and the investment§ lasted some days. At length Musaylamah the liar, God curse him, was slain—Waḥshi the slayer of Hamzah killed him.

Among the Companions that fell in this *engagement* were Abu Huḍayfah-b-U'tbah, Sálim his freedman, Shujáa'-b-Wahab, Zayd-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb-A'bdu'llah-b-Sahl, Málik-b-A'mr Ṭufayl-b-A'mr a'd Dausi, Yazíd-b-Ḳays, A'ámir-b-Bukayr, A'bdu'llah-b-Makhramah, Sáib-b Othmán-b-Madha'ún, Ubád-b-Bashir, Maa'n-b-A'di, Thábit-b-Ḳays-b-Shamás, Abu Dujánah Simák-b-Harb, and others amounting to seventy.|| Musaylamah on the

* One of the Companions held in much favour by Muḥammad. At Badr his sword broke and Muḥammad gave him a dried palm branch which became in his hand a sword with a white blade and a firm handle with which he returned to the battle. He was one of the 70 to whom Muḥammad promised paradise without the judgment being held regarding them. He was 44 years old when Muḥammad died. An Nawawi.

† She married her aunt's son A'bu'l Aási-b-i'r Rabíi' al A'bshami. Ibn Hajr.

‡ His foster-mother Barakah, an Abyssinian slave girl who tended Muḥammad on the death of his father A'bdu'llah, and continued in the capacity of his nurse after the death of his mother Amina. She married Zayd-b-Háritha. Ibn Hajr.

§ The followers of Musaylamah retired into a garden called the "Hadíkatu'l A'bdi'r Rahman, and afterwards 'Hadíkatu'l Mawt, or the garden of death, and there defended themselves to the last. According to the account of Waḥshi quoted in the Raudḥat u's Ṣafa he allows Ibn Amára a share in the death of Musaylamah as they both attacked him at the same time. Hamzah the uncle of Muḥammad was slain at the battle of Ohud.

|| These were only the principal men among the fallen, for says Gilbon "in the

day he was slain was a hundred and* fifty years old, his birth *having taken place* before that of A'bdu'llah the father of the prophet.

In the year 12 A. H. as Ṣiddík sent al A'la-b-u'l Hadhrami to Bahrayn where they had apostatized, and the *armies* met at Jawátha, and the Muslims were victorious. Then he sent A'kramah-b-Abi Jahl to A'mmán where they had also fallen from the faith, and he despatched al Muhájir-b-Abi Umayyah, against the people of Nujayr who likewise had apostatized, and Ziyád-b-Labíd the Auxiliary, against *another* body of the apostates.

In this year died Abu'l A'áṣi-b-u'r Rabíi' the husband of Zaynab daughter of the Apostle of God, and as Saa'd-b-Jaththámah al Laythi and Abu Marthad al Ghanawi.

In this year likewise, after the reduction of the apostates as Ṣiddík sent Khálid-b-u'l Walíd to the land of Baṣrah, who attacked Ubulla and captured it and took Madáin Kisra, the one in Irák, partly by treaty and partly by force. During the same, Abu Bakr undertook the pilgrimage and despatched A'mar-b-u'l A'ás and the army to Syria and there occurred the battle of Ajnadayn in the month of the first Jumáda A. H. 13, and the Muslims were victorious and Abu Bakr received the good tidings of it when he was dying. In this *battle,* there fell A'krahmah-b-Abi Jahl and Hishám-b-u'l A'áṣi and others. In the same year took place the engagement of Marju's Ṣuffar,† where the infidels were defeated and al Fadhl-b-u'l A'bbás and others were killed.

The Collection of the Ḳurán.

Al Bukhári records on the authority of Zayd-b-Thábit that he said, "Abu Bakr sent for me at the time of the slaughter of the people at Yamáma, Omar being with him and said 'verily Omar hath come to me saying, "the slaughter of the men at Yamáma was great and I fear lest

first action thy were repulsed with a loss of twelve hundred men: their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of 1000 infidels and Museilama himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet." Decline and Fall.

* This must be a great exaggeration as it was but a short time before his death that the prophetess Saján fell in love with him for the beauty and manliness of his person. After his death she resided with the Taghlabites and was converted in the Caliphate of Mu'áwiyah. Abu'l Feda Annales, p. 212.

† Close to Damascus. Several skirmishes took place before Damascus, during the siege, little to the credit of the warriors of the Cross. For a detailed account of this period, consult the interesting pages of Ockley.

the loss in action of the readers of the Ḳurán in the provinces becom excessive, and therefore much of the Ḳurán may be lost unless they collec it together, and verily I think that the Ḳurán should be collected." Ab Bakr went on, "and I replied to Omar, how shall I do the thing which th Apostle of God hath not done"? Omar answered "by Allah, it is a goo work," and he did not cease to persist with me in this matter until Go enlightened my mind concerning it, and I have come to think as Oma thinks." Zayd adds, "Omar, was meanwhile seated by him not speaking then Abu Bakr said, "thou art an intelligent youth and I have n doubts regarding thee, and verily thou wert he who recorded the revela tions of the Apostle of God, search therefore for the Ḳurán and collec it." And by Allah, had he charged me with the carrying away of a hil from among the mountains, it would not have been weightier upon me tha that which he commanded me in the collection of the Ḳurán, and I said "how can you two undertake a thing which the Apostle of God hath not done?" and Abu Bakr said, "by Allah, it is a good work," and I did no cease discussing it with him, until God enlightened my mind in tha towards which he had already disposed the minds of Abu Bakr and Omar And I searched for the Ḳurán and collected it from scraps of paper an shoulder-blades* and leafless palm branches, and the minds of men unti I found from the Sura of Repentance (IX) two verses in the possession o Khuzaymah-b-Thábit which I found with no one else *viz.*, "now hatl an Apostle come to you of your own nation" (Kur. IX), to the end. Th pages in which the Ḳurán was collected remained with Abu Bakr unti the Lord took him to Himself, then with Omar until the Lord took hin to Himself, and afterwards with Ḥafṣah daughter of Omar. Abu Ya'l records on the authority of A'li that he said, "the greatest among mer meriting reward for the volumes *of the Ḳurán* is Abu Bakr, for he it wa who first collected the Ḳurán between two boards."

On the things in which he was foremost.

Among these are, that he was the first to embrace Islám, the first to collect the Ḳurán, the first who named it 'Mushaf,' (the Book) the proof of which has been advanced, and he was the first who was called Caliph Aḥmad records on the authority of Abu Bakr-b-Abi Mulaykah, that he said Abu Bakr was *once* addressed "O Vicegerent of God." He replied, "I am

* On comparing the passage with the Ṣaḥíḥ of al Bukhári I find a slight difference in the reading in various places: for 'shoulder-blades' اكناف or as I should prefer to read اكتاف al Bukhari لخاف, has thin whitish stones.

the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God and with this I am content." He was the first who ruled the Caliphate while his father was yet alive, and the first Caliph for whom his subjects appointed a stipend. Al Bukhári records from Ayesha that she narrates, "when Abu Bakr was appointed Caliph he said, "my people know that my profession* is not insufficient for the provision of my family, but I am busied with the affairs of the Muslims and the family of Abu Bakr will soon consume this property *of his* while he is labouring for the Muslims." And Ibn Saa'd from A'tá-b-u's Sáib† that he said, "after allegiance had been sworn unto Abu Bakr, next morning he arose and was going to the market place with some mantles upon his arm, when Omar said to him, "whither art thou going?" He replied, "to the market place:" Omar said, "dost thou do this although thou hast been given to rule over the Muslims?" He answered, "whence, then shall my family be fed?" Omar replied, "Come! A'bu U'baydah shall provide for thee:" and they went to Abu U'baydah and he said "I will set apart for thee, the allowance for one man of the Fugitives—neither that *assigned* to the best, nor to the meanest among them, and a garment for winter and for summer; when thou hast worn a thing out; thou canst return it and take another." Then he assigned unto him every day, half a sheep and the wherewith to cover his head and his person. And from Maymún, "when Abu Bakr became Caliph, they assigned to him two thousand *dirhams*, and he said, "increase *the sum* for me for I have a family, and you have employed me on other work than my own trade"; so they gave him an increase of five hundred dirhams."

At Ṭabaráni records in his Musnad on the authority of al Ḥasan-b-A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib that he said, "when Abu Bakr was near unto death, he said, "O Ayesha, behold the camel, the milk of which we have drank, and the platter in which we prepared our food, and the garments we have worn; verily we made use of them when we governed the affairs of the Muslims. When I die, give them to Omar." When therefore Abu Bakr died, she sent them to Omar, and he said, "the Lord have mercy upon thee, Abu Bakr, for verily thou hast afflicted him who cometh after thee." And Ibn Abi'd Dunya, from Abu Bakr-b-Hafṣ that he said, "Abu Bakr, when he was near unto death, said to Ayesha, "daughter—we have governed the affairs of the Muslims and have not taken for ourselves either a dinár or a dirham, but we have eaten the fill of our bellies with the coarse flour of their food, and clothed our backs with their rough garments and there doth not remain with us of the booty *taken* by the Muslims, save this Nubian slave and this camel

* He was by trade a cloth-merchant.

† Abu's Sáib A'tá-bu's Sáib-b-Málik a member of the tribe of Thakíf and a native of Kúfah, a traditionist of good authority, died A. H. 136 (753-4). De Slane, I. K.

for drawing water, and this coarse garment, but when I die, send them to Omar." He was the first also, to establish a public treasury. Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Sahl-b-Abi Khaythamah and others that Abu Bakr had the public treasury at Sunḥ,* over which no one kept guard. It was said to him "wilt thou not place over it some one to guard it?" He replied, "there is a lock upon it": and he used to give away what was in it till it was empty. But when he removed into the city he transferred it and placed it in his house; and the revenue came in to him, and he used to distribute it amongst the poor and divide it equally amongst them. He used also to purchase camels and horses and arms and give them away for the service of God; and he used to buy garments that were brought in from the desert tracts and distribute them amongst the widows of Medina.

When Abu Bakr died and was buried, Omar summoned the trustees amongst them being A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b -A'uf and Othman-b-A'ffán, and entered with them into the treasury of Abu Bakr; and they opened the treasury, but they did not find a thing in it, neither a dinár nor a dirham.

I observe that this tradition refutes the remark of al A'skari in his Awáyil (Beginnings) that the first who instituted a public treasury was Omar, and that neither the prophet possessed a public treasury nor Abu Bakr. Indeed I have refuted this in the work which I composed on the Awáyil. Moreover I have observed that al A'skari himself adverted to it in another part of his book, for he says that the first who superintended the public treasury was Abu U'baydah b-u'l Jarráh on the part of Abu Bakr. Al Ḥákim says that the first surname in Islám, was the surname of Abu Bakr, Atík.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Jábir that the Apostle of God said *to him,* "when the tribute comes from Baḥrayn I will give thee so much and so much," but when the tribute from Bahrayn came in after the death of the Apostle of God, Abu Bakr said—"he who hath a claim against the Apostle of God or a promise *from him,* let him come to us," and I went and informed him and he said "take," and I took and found that *the promise* was for five hundred dirhams, but he gave me two thousand five hundred.

* In one of the suburbs of Medina about a mile distant from the house of Muḥammad. Yakút, M. B.

On some examples of his gentleness and humility.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Anísah,* that she said, "Abu Bakr settled amongst us three years before he was appointed Caliph, and one year after he became so, and the girls of the tribe used to go to him with their flocks and he used to milk them for them." And Aḥmad in the "Zuhd" from Maymún-b-Mihrán that he said, "a man went to Abu Bakr and said 'peace be to thee, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God.'" He replied "who among these assembled is he?" And Ibn A'sákir from Abu Ṣáliḥ al Ghifári, that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb was in the habit of ministering at night to an aged blind woman in one of the suburbs of the city, and he used to give her to drink and assist her, and it came to pass that he went to her and found another who was before him with her and who did what she required. He went again another time that he might not be anticipated *in attendance* on her, and lay in wait for him and behold it was Abu Bakr who was going to her, he being at that time Caliph, and Omar exclaimed "by my life, thou art the man!" And Abu Nua'ym and others from A'bdu'r Raḥmán al Ispaháni that al Ḥasan the son of A'li went to Abu Bakr, who was then on the pulpit of the Apostle of God, and said "come down from the seat of my father," and he answered, "thou speakest truly for this is thy father's seat"; and he put him on his lap and wept and A'li said, "by Allah, this was not said by my command," and Abu Bakr said, "thou speakest the truth; by Allah, I did not suspect thee."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibn Omar that he said, "the prophet appointed Abu Bakr to lead the pilgrimage in the first pilgrimage that took place in Islám; then the Apostle of God performed it himself the following year, and when the Apostle of God died, and Abu Bakr became Caliph, he appointed Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb to lead the pilgrimage and performed it himself the year following, and when Abu Bakr died and Omar became Caliph, he appointed A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf over the pilgrimage. Subsequently Omar failed not to perform it himself each year till his death, when Othman succeeded to the Caliphate, and he appointed A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Auf over the pilgrimage."

On his illness, death and last testament and the Caliphate of Omar.

Sayf and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Ibn Omar that the cause of the death of Abu Bakr was through excessive grief for the death

* Daughter of Khubayb-b-Yasáf, one of the Auxiliaries. She accompanied Muḥammad in some of his pilgrimages and related traditions from him. Ibn Hajr.

of the Apostle of God, his body continuing to waste away until he died. And Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim on good authorities from Ibn Shiháb, that Abu Bakr and al Hárith-b-Kaladah* were eating broth which had been sent as a present to Abu Bakr, when al Hárith said to Abu Bakr, "withdraw thy hand, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, for by Allah, there is poison in it, *that will do its work* in a year, and I and thou shall both die on the same day." And he withdrew his hand, and these two did not fail to sicken until they died on the same day about the close of the year. And al Ḥákim from Shaa'bi that he said, "what can we expect from this vile world when even the Apostle of God was poisoned and poisoned was Abu Bakr?"

And al Wáḳidi and al Ḥákim from Ayesha that the beginning of the sickness of Abu Bakr, was that he bathed on Monday the 7th of Jumáda'l A'khirah, and the day was cold and he took fever for fifteen days and did not come forth to prayers and died on Tuesday the 22nd of Jumáda'l A'khirah in the thirteenth year of the Hijrah being sixty-three years old (23rd August, 634).

Ibn Saa'd and Ibn Abi 'd Dunya record on the authority of Abu's Safar that the Companions went in unto Abu Bakr in his sickness and said, "O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, shall we call unto thee a physician that he may look to thee?" He replied, "verily he hath already seen me." And they answered "what did he say?" He said, "verily I effect that which I please."† And al Wáḳidi on different authorities, that when Abu Bakr sickened, he summoned A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Auf and said, "tell me of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb." He replied "thou canst not ask me concerning anything but thou art better acquainted with it than I." Abu Bakr said "well, even so." A'bdu'r Raḥmán answered, "by Allah, he is even better than thy opinion of him." Then he summoned Othmán-b-A'ffán and said, "tell me of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb" and he answered, "thou knowest more of him than I." Abu Bakr replied, "Be it so." The other replied, "verily, my knowledge of him is that his inward disposition is better than his outward appearance, and indeed there is not his like

* One of Muḥammad's Companions—of the tribe of Thaḳíf, and a judge of the Arabs. His wife was al Fárigha daughter to Hammám-b-U'rwah, : going into her apartment one morning he found her picking her teeth on which he sent her a sentence of divorce for said he "if you have breakfasted before your time, you are a glutton and if you have passed the night with particles of meat between your teeth, you are a slut." To this she replied that it was neither one nor the other, but that she was removing the fragment of a toothpick. She afterwards married Yusuf-b-U'ḳayl to whom she bore the tyrant at Hajjáj. Ibn Khall.

† Taken with a slight alteration from the Kur. chapters XI and LXXXV.

amongst us." Abu Bakr consulted together with those two, Sa'íd-b-Zayd, and Usayd-b-u'l Hudhayr, and others from among the Fugitives and Auxiliaries, and Usayd said, "verily, I think him the best after thee; he approves what merits approval, and is indignant with what deserves wrath; what he conceals is better than what he suffers to appear, and no one can sway this authority more vigorously than he." Some of the Companions went unto Abu Bakr and one of them spake to him saying, "what wilt thou say to thy Lord, when He asketh of thee regarding the appointment of Omar over us, and verily thou seest his asperity of temper": and Abu Bakr said, "by Allah, dost thou think to terrify me? I shall say O God I have given the best of thy people to rule over them. Tell others from me what I have said." Then he summoned Othmán and said, "write—In the name of God the most merciful and compassionate. This is the testament made by Abu Bakr the son of Abu Kuháfah at the close of his life in the world as he is about to leave it, and at the beginning of his life in the next, being about to enter it, a time when the infidel believeth and the sinner gaineth certitude, and the liar speaketh the truth. I have made Caliph over you after me, Omar-b-u'l Khattáb—therefore hear and obey him, and verily I have not been wanting in my duty to God and His apostle and His religion and myself and you: if therefore he acteth justly, then will my opinion regarding him and my knowledge of him be *justified*, and if he doeth the contrary, then every action receiveth that which it hath earned, and I have intended what is good and know not what is hidden, 'and they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated' (Kur. XXVI) and peace be to you and the mercy of God and His blessing." He then ordered that they should seal the document. After this he commanded Othmán who went forth with the document sealed, and the people swore allegiance and approved it. Then Abu Bakr summoned Omar in private and charged him with what he charged him and Omar left him. Then Abu Bakr lifted up his hands and said, "O God I have wished in this but their good, and I feared discord amongst them, therefore have I done regarding them that which thou knowest and exerted my faculties for them to the utmost; and I have appointed to rule over them the best among them and the most vigorous, and the most zealous of them for that which directeth them aright; and verily what I have recollected of thy commands, I have remembered, therefore put another in my place over them, for they are thy servants and their forelocks* are in thy hands. Instruct, O Lord, their rulers and make him *whom thou appointest*, to be one of the Orthodox Caliphs and render his subjects righteous towards him."

* By "forelocks" may be also signified the chiefs of the nation.

Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Ibn Maṣa'úd that he said, "the most sagacious of mankind were three—Abu Bakr when he appointed Omar as Caliph,—the wife of Moses when she said, "Hire him for *certain** wages" (Kur. XXVIII) and the minister *of Egypt*† when he discerned the character of Joseph from his physiognomy and said to his wife "use him honorably" (Kur. XII). And Ibn A'sákir from Yasár-b-Ḥamzah that he said, "when Abu Bakr was grievously sick, he stood up over the people from a window and said 'O ye men, verily I have made a covenant, therefore consent ye to it;' and the people said, 'we consent, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God;' then A'li stood up and said, 'I shall not consent unless it be *for* Omar,' and Abu Bakr replied, 'verily it is *for* Omar.' And Aḥmad from Ayesha that she said, 'Abu Bakr, when he was nigh unto death said, "what day is this?"' They answered 'Monday:'‡ he said, 'if I die to-night delay not for me *my burial* until to-morrow, for verily the dearest to me of all days and nights is that which is nearest of them to *the time of the death of* the Apostle of God.' And Málik from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr gave to her twenty camel-loads of fruit-cuttings of the palms from his property at Ghábah,§ and when he was nigh unto death, he said, 'O daughter, by Allah, there is not one among the people whose richness is more pleasing to me than thine, and none whose poverty would be more distressing to me after my *death*, and verily I had given to thee twenty camel-loads of the fruit-cuttings of my palms;—if thou hadst cut them and taken them, they would have been thine, but now they are the property of my heirs, who are verily thy two brothers and thy two sisters—then let them divide it according to the book of God.' She replied, 'O father, even had it been so *that I had cut them*, I would have left them, but surely she, *my sister* is Asmá, who then is the other sister?' He said, 'the child that is in the womb of the daughter of Khárijah, whom I think is a girl.' Ibn Saa'd records this tradition and at the end of it adds, 'the child in the womb of the daughter of Khárijah,|| verily it hath been put into my heart that it is a girl therefore take charge of her with kindness,' and from her was born Umm Kulthúm."

* For this story see Ḳurán XXVIII and Sale's notes, p. 319.

† His name was Kitfír or Itfír (a corruption of Potiphar) and he was man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury (al Baydáwi). Sale, p. 189.

‡ According to a tradition attested by an Nawawi and others, on a Monday Muḥammad was born, on a Monday he fled from Mecca, on a Monday, he arrived at Medina. His first revelation was made to him on a Monday, and on a Monday he died.

§ Twelve miles from Medina on the road to Syria.

|| Khárijah-b-Zayd-b-Abi Zuhayr one of the Auxiliaries, of the tribe of Khazraj. Abu Bakr married his daughter whom he left pregnant at his death. Ibn Hajr.

Ibn Saa'd records from U'rwah* that Abu Bakr left away a fifth of his property and said, "take of my good that which God taketh of the booty of the Muslims."† And by a different ascription from the same, that Abu Bakr said, "that I should bequeath a fifth is preferable to me than that I should bequeath a fourth, and to bequeath a fourth is preferable to me than if I bequeathed a third, for he who bequeaths a third, leaves nothing." And Saa'd-b-Manṣúr in his Sunnan (Traditions) from ad Dḥaḥ-hák,‡ that Abu Bakr and A'li bequeathed a fifth of their property to such among their relations as did not legally inherit *from them*.

A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad records in the Zawáid u'z Zuhd from Ayesha that she said, "by Allah, Abu Bakr did not leave a dinár nor a dirham stamped with the name of God." And Ibn Saa'd and others from Ayesha, "when Abu Bakr was grievously sick, I recited this verse appositely,

'By thy life, wealth is of no avail to a man :
On the day when the death-rattle is in his throat and his breast
is contracted by it.'

and Abu Bakr uncovered his face and said, 'it is not so, but say and the agony of death shall come in truth ; this *O man*, is what thou soughtest to avoid' (Kur. L)—behold these my two garments—wash them and shroud me in them, for the living is more in want of new ones than the dead." And Abu Ya'la from Ayesha, "I went to Abu Bakr when he was at the point of death and I said

'He whose weeping ceaseth not when he is veiled ;
Verily at some time it shall flow forth.'

* U'rwah, was the son of Ayesha's sister Asma who received from Muḥammad the title of Ḍátu'n Nitaḳayn "wearer of the two girdles," for having torn her veil in two, with one half of which she tied up the wallet of provisions and the water which Muḥammad and Abu Bakr took with them in their flight to Medina. She was also the mother of the Caliph A'bdu'llah-b-uz Zubayr. Ibn Hajr.

† By the Muḥammadan law, a testator can leave away one-third of his property to whom he chooses, the other two-thirds going to his heirs. Abu Bakr appeared to consider that to leave away the utmost the law allowed would have been ungenerous to his heirs. A fifth of the spoils taken in war by the Muslims became the property of the Caliph for the use of the State.

‡ Ad Dḥaḥhak-b-Sufyán-b-Kaa'b-b-A'bdi'llah of the Banu Kiláb. He was one of the Companions and was counted for his prowess equal to a hundred horsemen. An Nawawi states that it is a glaring error to call him the son of Ḳays, as some authorities do. There were two generals bearing the name of Dḥaḥhák-b-Ḳays, mentioned by De Slane (I. K. Vol. IV, p. 212). He was placed by Muḥammad at the head of the Banu Salím who numbered at that time 900 men, saying to them that one who was equal to a hundred men was well able to command a thousand.

And he said, 'do not say that, but say "And the agony of death shall come in truth ; this, O man, is what thou soughtest to avoid," ' then he said 'on what day did the Apostle of God die,' I answered 'on a Monday': he said, 'I hope *for death* between this and the night ;' and he died on Tuesday and was buried before the day broke." And A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad in the Zawáidu'z Zuhd on the authority of Bakr-b-A'bdillah al Muzani, that when Abu Bakr was nigh unto death, Ayesha seated herself near his head and said,

Unto every possessor of camels, do his camels return for water:
And who so spoileth, shall himself be despoiled.

And Abu Bakr understood it and said, "it is not so, O daughter, but it is as the Lord hath said 'and the agony of death shall come'" &c. And Aḥmad from Ayesha, that she recited appositely this verse when Abu Bakr was dying,

"And one so unsullied in honor that the cloud draweth moisture from his face :
The protection of orphans, the defence of widows."

And Abu Bakr said "that must be the Apostle of God." And A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad in the Zawáid u'z Zuhd from U'báda-b-Ḳays, that when Abu Bakr was nigh unto death, he said to Ayesha, "wash me these two garments and shroud me in them, for verily thy father shall be one of two men, either robed in the best of garments or stripped by an ignoble stripping." And Ibn Abi 'd Dunya from Abu Mulaykah, that Abu Bakr left as his last commands that his wife Asma the daughter of U'mays, should bathe him, and that A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b- Abi Bakr should help her. And Ibn Saa'd from Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, that Omar read prayers over Abu Bakr between the tomb and the pulpit *of Muḥammad* and recited the "Takbir,"* four times. And from U'rwah and al Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr left as his last instructions to Ayesha, that he should be buried by the side of the Apostle of God, and when he died, they dug a grave for him and laid his head on a level with the shoulder of the Apostle of God, and the niche *of his grave* touched the grave of the Apostle of God.† And from Ibn Omar, that Omar, Ṭalḥaḥ, Othmán and A'bdu'r

* In prayers for the dead, the "takbír," that is the saying "Allahu Akbar" God is great, is followed the first time, by the recital of the praises of God, the second time by those of Muḥammad, the third time by prayers for the living and the dead, and the fourth by the salutation of dismissal "peace be to you" &c.

† Muḥammad, Abu Bakr and Omar lie side by side at Medina, the graves in echellon, so that the head of Abu Bakr's grave rests on a line with the shoulder of that of Muḥammad : see a diagram of their position in Burton's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, p. 74. The لحد or niche is cut into the side of the grave and the body rests therein.

Rahmán the son of Abu Bakr descended into the grave of Abu Bakr. And he records likewise on several lines of ascription, that he was buried at night. And from Ibn u'l Musayyab that when Abu Bakr died, Mecca was convulsed by an earthquake, and Abu Ḳuḥáfah said, "what is that?" they answered, "thy son is dead." He said, "It is a terrible calamity—who has arisen in authority after him?" they replied "Omar;" he exclaimed "He was his companion." And from Mujáhid that Abu Ḳuḥáfah returned what he had inherited, from Abu Bakr to the son of Abu Bakr and Abu Ḳuḥáfah survived Abu Bakr only six months and some days, dying in Muharram A. H. 14, at the age of ninety-seven. The learned say that none but Abu Bakr ruled the Caliphate during the lifetime of his father, and the father of none but of Abu Bakr inherited *from his son* as Caliph.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Abu Bakr ruled two years and seven months; and in the history of Ibn A'sákir, *it is stated* with the ascription thereof on the authority of al Aṣma'i, that Khufáf*-b-Nudbah as Salami said, mourning Abu Bakr.

Tell every living thing that there is no permanence for it:
And for the whole universe, its decree is destruction.
The goods of men are but as a trust:
Borrowed on the condition of repayment:
And a man strives, but there is one who lieth in wait for him:
The eye mourneth for him and the ardour of the voice.
He groweth old, or is slain, or subdued:
Sickness that hath no remedy maketh him to lament.
Verily Abu Bakr was as the rain
What time Orion causeth not the herbage to grow with moisture.
By Allah, there shall not attain unto *the excellence of* his days:
Neither the youth that wears the Mízar,† nor one that wears the Rida.
He who strives to attain unto *the excellence of* his days:
Earnestly, is apart and solitary upon the earth.

* Khufáf-b-U'mayr-b-al Hárith, a descendant of Imrál Kays generally known as Ibn Nudbah, the latter being his mother's name. She was a captive in the possession of his grandfather Hárith, who gave her to his son U'mayr, who had by her Khufáf. He was present at the battle of Ḥunayn, and at the conquest of Mecca where he carried the standard of the Banu Salím. He shared with Durayd the honor of being the two greatest poets of the Arab chivalry; died in the Caliphate of Omar. Ibn Hajr.

† The Mízar or drawers, covers the lower part of the body, while the Rida is a garment worn over the upper part of the body.

On the traditions related on his authority ascribed to Muḥammad.

An Nawawi says in his Tahḍib—"As Ṣiddík has narrated one hundred and forty-two traditions from the Apostle of God. The reason of the small number of his narrations is that his death preceded the spreading abroad of the traditions and the solicitude of the Tábi'is in listening to them, and collecting and preserving them." I observe that Omar has mentioned in the tradition regarding the oath of allegiance* preceding, "that Abu Bakr did not omit a thing of what had been revealed regarding the Auxiliaries nor what the Apostle of God had said concerning them, but he mentioned it": and this is the most complete proof of the extent of his memory of the traditions, and the amplitude of his knowledge of the Ḳurán,† and I have thought it expedient to inscribe here, consecutively but briefly his traditions, mentioning after each tradition the authorities that have recorded it, and I purpose to follow them out with their ascriptions in a collected form, if it so please God.

1. *The tradition* of the Flight, (the two Shaykhs and others.)

2. *The tradition*, "The waters of the sea are a means of purifying, its dead are lawful *to eat*." (Dáraḳuṭni.)

3. *The tradition*, "The tooth-stick is a means of purifying the mouth, a cause of approbation to the Lord." (Aḥmad.)

4. *The tradition* that the Apostle of God eat *from* a shoulder *of a sheep* and then prayed without performing ablution. (Al Bazzár and Abu Ya'la.)

5. *The tradition*, "Let none of you perform ablution on account of food that he hath eaten, the eating of which is lawful unto him." (Al Bazzár.)

6. *The tradition*, the Apostle of God forbade the beating of those who were at prayer. (Abu Ya'la and al Bazzár.)

7. *The tradition*, "The last prayers the prophet prayed, *he prayed* behind me, wearing a single garment."

8. *The tradition*, "He who is rejoiced to read the Ḳurán freshly, as it was revealed, let him read it according to the reading of Ibn Umm A'bd." (Aḥmad.)

9. *The tradition* that he said to the Apostle of God, "teach me a prayer, which I may say in my prayers,"—he replied, "O God I have

* See page 71—the word ما should be inserted between لا and ذكره to make it identical with Omar's words in the tradition quoted, though neither the MS. nor printed text have it.

† Here follows a list of those who have related traditions on his authority, which I see no profit in transcribing.

wronged my own soul with a great wronging, and none but Thou forgiveth sins, therefore pardon me in Thy clemency, and have mercy on me, for Thou art the Clement and the Merciful. (Al Bukhári and Muslim.)

10. *The tradition.* "He who prayeth in the morning, is under the protection of God, therefore seek ye not to violate the promise of God, and he who slayeth him *who doth so*, God will summon him and prostrate him upon his face in hell fire." (Ibn Májah.)*

11. *The tradition.* "No prophet ever died, uutil one among his people had stood before him as Imám in prayer." (Al Bazzár.)

12. *The tradition.* "No man committeth a sin, and then performeth his ablution so that it be valid, and then prayeth with two bowings of the head and body, and asketh pardon of God, but He forgiveth him." (Aḥmad and the authors of the Four Sunans, and Ibn Ḥabán.)

13. *The tradition.* "God hath never taken from life a prophet save in the place wherein he desireth to be buried." (At Tirmiḏi.)

14. *The tradition.* "God curse the Jews and the Christians—take ye the sepulchres of their prophets as mosques." (Abu Ya'la.)

15. *The tradition.* "Verily a dead body† is sprinkled with hot water by reason of the lamentations of the living." (Abu Ya'la.)

16. *The tradition.* "Beware of hell fire, though it be but for half a date, for verily it maketh straight the crooked, and preventeth a wicked death, and effecteth for the hungry what it doth for him who is full."

17. *The tradition.* "The obligation of alms-deeds—in full." (Al Bukhári and others.)

18. *The tradition* from Ibn Abi Mulaykah, who said—"Often times the bridle would fall from the hand of Abu Bakr and he would strike the foreleg of his camel and make it kneel down,"—they said to him "why didst thou not command us to give it *to thee*." He replied, "my friend the Apostle of God commanded me to ask nothing of men." (Aḥmad.)

19. *The tradition.* "The Apostle of God commanded Asma the daughter of U'mays when she brought forth Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr, to bathe herself and invoke the name of God."

* Abu A'bdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Yazíd-b-Májah al Kazwíni a celebrated Háfidh is the author of a work in tradition entitled Kitáb us Sunan. He is the author of a commentary on the Ḳurán and a history of Kazwín. His book on tradition is counted one of the six Ṣaḥíḥs (authentic collections); born A. H. 209 (824-5) died A. H. 273 (887). Ibn Khall.

† That is, punished for the profitless lamentations of the living: another tradition says, "verily the dead will be punished for his family's weeping for him. (ان الميت يعذب ببكاء اهله عليه) the reason of which Lane thinks to be, that the Arabs used to charge their families to weep and wail for them, and the dead are obnoxious to punishment for having done this.

20. *The tradition.* The Apostle of God was asked "which are the most excellent actions of the pilgrimage?" He replied, "the raising of the voice *in the* '*talbiyat*,' and the shedding *of the blood of the victims brought for sacrifice.*" (At Tirmiḍi and Ibn Májah.)

21. *The tradition.*—That he kissed the *Black* Stone and said, "were it not that I have, seen the Apostle of God kiss thee, I would not have kissed thee (Ad Dáraḳutni).

22. *The tradition* that the Apostle of God sent to the people of Mecca an ordinance that no idolater should make the pilgrimage after that year, and that no one should make the circuit *of the Kaaba* naked, &c. (Aḥmad.)

23. *The tradition.* "Between my dwelling and my pulpit is a garden of the gardens of paradise, and my pulpit is upon a fountain of the fountains of* paradise." (Abu Ya'la.)

24. *The tradition* of Muḥammad's going to the house of Abu Haytham-b-u'l Tayyihán, in full. (Abu Ya'la.)

25. *The tradition* "Gold with gold, like with like, silver with silver, like with like, but who giveth or asketh over and above shall be in hell fire." (A'bu Ya'la and al Bazzár.)

26. *The tradition.* "Cursed be he who doeth injury to a true believer or defraudeth him." (At Tirmiḍi.)

27. *The tradition,* "The avaricious man shall not enter paradise, nor the deceiver, nor the betrayer, nor he who ruleth evilly, and the first that shall enter paradise is the servant who is obedient to God and obedient to his master." (Aḥmad.)

28. *The tradition.* He who freeth a slave, inherits of him. (Al Dḥiá† al Muḳaddasi in the Mukhtárah.)

29. *The tradition.* "We‡ are not inherited of; that which we leave is the portion of the poor." (Al Bukhári.)

30. *The tradition.* "Verily when the Lord assigneth a means of subsistence to a prophet, and afterwards taketh his life, He continueth it unto him who cometh after him." (Abu Daúd.)

31. *The tradition.* "Evading family descent, though in a trifling degree, is impiety towards God." (Al Bazzár.)

* The text here has نزعة for ترعة erroneously. The MS. has the correct reading. For variations of this tradition, see Burton's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, p. 65.

† Háfidh Dhiá u'ddín Muḥammad-b-Abdi'l Wáhid al Muḳaddasi al Hanbali, died 643 A. H. (1245) The Mukhtárah (chosen) is a work on tradition. Kashf u'd Dhunún.

‡ See page 74.

32. *The tradition.* "Thou and thy goods belong to thy father." Abu Bakr said, "he meant by that only what regards necessary maintenance." (Al Bayhaḳi.)

33. *The tradition.* "He whose feet become dusty in the service of God, God will preserve them from hell fire." (Al Bazzár.)

34. *The tradition.* "I was commanded to war with men." (The two Shaykhs and others.)

35. *The tradition.* "An excellent servant of God and a brother to his kindred is Khálid-b-u'l Walíd, and a Sword of the Swords of God which He hath drawn against the infidels and hypocrites." (Aḥmad.)

36. *The tradition.* "The sun hath never risen upon a better man than Omar." (At Tirmiḏi.)

37. *The tradition.* "He who hath swayed authority over the Muslims and hath appointed over them a governor out of favour, upon him shall be the curse of God—the Lord shall not accept from him either artifice or ransom until He maketh him to enter hell, and he who giveth to any one what is reserved for the Lord, verily violateth unlawfully what is reserved to God, upon him, therefore, shall be the curse of God."

38. *The tradition*—the story of Mái'z* and his stoning. (Aḥmad.)

39. *The tradition.* "He doeth not amiss who asketh pardon though he return *to his fault* seventy times a day." (At Tirmiḏi.)

40. *The tradition* that Muhammad held a council of war. (At Ṭabaráni.)

41. *The tradition* when there was revealed "whoso doeth evil shall be requited for it" etcetera. (Kur. IV)—(At Tírmiḏi, Ibn Habán and others.)

42. *The tradition.* "Verily ye read this verse 'O true believers, take care of your souls'" &c., (Kur. V.) (Aḥmad and the authors of the Four Sunans,† and Ibn Habán.)

43. *The tradition.* "What is thy opinion of two people, of whom God maketh the third?" (The two Shaykhs.)

44. *The tradition.* "O God *let us not die* by spear-thrusts or pestilence." (Abu Ya'la.)

45. *The tradition.* "The Súra of Húd hath made me grey," &c. Ad Dárakuṭni in the Ilal (Defects *impairing the validity of traditions.)*

46. *The tradition.* "Infidelity moves more stealthily among my people than the creeping of an ant," &c. (Abu Ya'la and others.)

* Mái'z-b Málik al Aslami, one of the Companions was stoned on account of adultery.

† The first four of the six Great Masters of Tradition, *i. e.*, al Bukhári, Muslim Abu Dauúd and at Tirmiḏi.

47. *The tradition.* "I said, O Apostle of God, instruct me in something that I should say in the morning time and in the evening" &c. (Al Haytham b-Kulayb in his Musnad, and also at Tirmiḍi and others from the ascription of Abu Hurayrah.)

48. *The tradition.* "Be careful to say, 'there is no God but God,' and to ask pardon of Him, for Satan hath said 'I destroy men by sin, and they destroy me by *saying* there is no God but God, and the asking of pardon, and when I see that, I destroy them through their passions for they think themselves to be rightly guided." (Abu Ya'la.)

49. *The tradition* when there was revealed; "lift not up your voices above the voice of the prophet"* I said "O Apostle of God, I will not address thee save *in the voice* of one who is decrepid." (As Sirár), al Bazzár.

50. *The tradition.* "Every one obtains that which is created for him." (Aḥmad.)

51. *The tradition.* "He who lieth towards me of set purpose or refuseth a thing that I have commanded, shall surely dwell in a chamber of hell." (Abu Ya'la.)

52. *The tradition.* "There is no escape from this thing" &c., is in *that of* "there is no God but God" (Aḥmad and others.)

53. *The tradition.* "Go forth and call out to the people, 'He who confesseth that 'there is no God but God,' shall assuredly possess Paradise;' and I went forth and Omar met me &c." (Abu Ya'la, and this is preserved from the tradition of Abu Hurayrah—recorded by only one authority from the tradition of Abu Bakr.)

54. *The tradition.* "There are two classes of my people that shall not enter paradise—the Murgians† and the Ḳadaríans." (Al Dárakuṭni in the Ilal *Defects invalidating traditions.*)

55. *The tradition.* "Ask safety of God." (Aḥmad, Nasái and Ibn Májah who gives many ascriptions of it.)

* Kur. XLIX. This verse is said to have been occasioned by a dispute between Abu Bakr and Omar concerning the appointment of a governor of a certain place in which they raised their voices so high in Muḥammad's presence, that it was thought necessary to forbid it for the future. Sale.

† These teach that the judgment of every Muslim guilty of grievous sin will be deferred till the resurrection, for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not, and obedience with infidelity profiteth not. This sect is subdivided into four species. For the origin of the name and their further doctrines, consult Sale, p. 123. Preliminary discourse. The Ḳadarians deny absolute predestination, the Muatazalites are by some comprehended under this denomination. See Sale, p. 115.

56. *The tradition.* When the Apostle of God desired anything, he would say, "O God, take for me, choose for me." (At Tirmiḍi.)

57. *The tradition.* "The prayer of submission is, 'O God *who art* the dispeller of grief'" &c. (Al Bazzár and al Ḥákim.)

58. *The tradition.* "Every body that is nourished with forbidden things, hell fire is its proper portion"—and in another reading "there shall not enter Paradise a body that hath been fed on what is forbidden *to it.*" (Abu Ya'la.)

59. *The tradition.* "There is no part of the body that complaineth not of the sharpness of the tongue." (Abu Ya'la.)

60. *The tradition.* "The Lord descendeth on the night in the middle of the month of Shaa'bán, and in it pardoneth every mortal except an infidel, and the man in whose heart is hatred." (Al Dárakuṭni.)

61. *The tradition.* "Verily Dajjál shall come forth from the East from a land called Khurasán, and there shall follow him peoples whose faces are like two-fold shields." (At Tirmiḍi and Ibn Májah.)

62. *The tradition.* "I have been given seventy thousand who shall enter Paradise without judgment being taken of them," &c. (Aḥmad.)

63. *The tradition* of Intercession—in full—concerning the running to and fro of people from prophet to prophet.* (Aḥmad.)

64. *The tradition.* "Were the people to march in one valley and the Auxiliaries marched in *another* valley, I would march in the valley of the Auxiliaries." (Aḥmad.)

65. *The tradition.* "The Ḳuraysh are the masters of this authority, the good among them will follow the good among them, and the wicked among them will follow the wicked among them." (Aḥmad.)

66. *The tradition* that Muḥammad gave a charge regarding the Auxiliaries at the time of his death, and said, "receive those of them that do good, and pardon those of them that do evil. (Al Bazzár and at Ṭabaráni.)

67. *The tradition.* "I know a land called U'mán whose shores the sea washes—in it there is a tribe of Arabs. Were my messenger to go among them, they would not assail him with arrows or with stones." (Aḥmad and Abu Ya'la.)

68. *The tradition* that Abu Bakr passed by al Ḥasan who was playing with some boys and lifted him on to his neck, and said, "by my father, he hath a likeness to the prophet, and hath no likeness to A'li." (Al Bukhári.) Ibn Kathír says, "this comes under the class of uninter-

* The belief being that on the Day of Judgment, people will run from prophet to prophet praying for their intercession.

rupted ascriptions, as it is a confirmation of his remark that the Apostle of God resembled al Ḥasan."

69. *The tradition* that the prophet used to visit Umm Ayman. (Muslim.)

70. *The tradition.* "The thief must be put to death for the fifth *theft*".* (Abu Ya'la and ad Daylami.)

71. *The tradition*, of the narrative of Ohud (at Tayálisi and at Ṭabaráni.)

72. *The tradition.* "While I was with the apostle of God, behold I saw him driving away something from himself, and I did not see *what* thing *it was.* I said, 'O apostle of God, what is it thou art driving away?' He replied 'the world wearied me and I said "away with thee," and it said to me, "what! wilt thou not have me?" ' " (Al Bazzár.)

Thus much has Ibn Kathír recorded in the ascriptions of as Ṣiddiḳ, of those traditions traced uninterruptedly to the prophet, but he has omitted others which I follow up to complete the number mentioned by an Nawawi.†

73. *The tradition.* "Kill a tike wherever you may find it among men." (At Ṭabárani in the Ausaṭ.)

74. *The tradition.* "Reflect whose are the houses ye dwell in! whose the land ye inhabit! and in the path of whom do ye walk!" (Ad Daylami.)

75. *The tradition.* "Be frequent in your prayers over me, for the Lord hath stationed an angel above my grave, and when a man of my people prayeth, the angel sayeth to me, 'verily such a one the son of such a one hath this moment prayed for thee.' " (Ad Daylami.)

76. *The tradition.* The Friday prayer is an atonement for all that occurreth until the next Friday prayer, and ablution on a Friday is an atonement, &c. (Al U'ḳayli in the Dhua'fá (*weak authorities*).

77. *The tradition.* "Verily the heat of hell to my people shall be as that of a hot bath." (At Ṭabaráni.)

78. *The tradition.* "Beware of lying, for lying is an estrangement from the faith." (Ibn Lál in the Makárim u'l Akhláḳ (*noble qualities*).

79. *The tradition.* "To every one who hath fought at Badr, is announced the tidings of Paradise." (Ad Dáraḳutni in the "Afrád" *Traditions recorded but by one authority.*)

* According to the law, the thief loses his left hand for the first offence, his right foot for the second, his right hand for the third and his left foot for the fourth. The ingenuity that could contrive a fifth theft under these disadvantages would seem to deserve commendation rather than death.

† An Nawawi mentions one hundred and forty-two, and as Suyúti gives but one hundred and four. I am grateful for the omission.

80. *The tradition.* "Religion is the weighty banner of God; who is able to sustain it?" (Ad Daylami.)

81. *The tradition.* The Sura Y. S.* is called the "Commonalty" (the throat), &c., (ad Daylami and al Bayhaki in the Shaa'b u'l Imán—*people of the Faith.*)

82. *The tradition.* "A monarch just and humble, is the shadow of God and His spear upon earth, and every night and day shall be placed to his account the good works of sixty just men." (Abu'l Shaykh al U'ḳayli in the Dhua'fá and Ibn Ḥabán in the "Kitab u't Thawáb"—*Record of recompense.*)

83. *The tradition.* "Moses said to his Lord 'What is the reward for one who consoleth the bereaved mother?' He replied 'God will cover him with His shadow.'" (Ibn Shahín in the "Targhíb." (*Incentive*) and ad Daylami.)

84. *The tradition.* "O God! strengthen Islám in Omar b-u'l Khaṭṭáb." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.)

85. *The tradition.* "No game is ever pursued, nor a thorny tree lopped, nor the root of a tree cut, but by reason of *their* infrequency in praising God." (Ibn Rahwayh† in his Musnad.)

86. *The tradition.* "Had I not been sent unto you, Omar would surely have been sent" &c. (Ad Daylami.)

87. *The tradition.* "Were the inhabitants of Paradise to trade, they would trade in stuffs."‡

88. *The tradition.* "He who rebelleth claiming either for himself or for another, while an Imám ruleth the people, upon him is the curse of God, and the angels and the whole people,—therefore slay him." (Ad Daylami in the History of *Hamadan?*)

89. *The tradition.* "He who recordeth on my authority a doctrine or a tradition, the reward thereof shall not cease to be placed to his account

* The meaning of these letters is unknown; some pretend that they stand for Ya insán (O man). This chapter is said to have several other titles given to it by Muḥammad himself, and particularly that of the heart of the Ḳurán. It is read to persons in their dying agony. Sale.

† Abu Yáḳub Isháḳ, a native of Marw, as Sháhján was equally distinguished for his knowledge of law and tradition as for his piety. Ibn Hanbal considered him an Imám among the Muslims and an eminent jurisconsult. His Musnad is well-known. He was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8) and died at Naysabúr A. H. 238 (853). 'Rahwayh, says Ibn Khallakán was a name given to his father, because he was born on the road to Mecca (ráh in Persian signifying road and wayh found.) This word is also pronounced Ráhúya. Ibn Khallakan's philology is not always safe to follow.

‡ Abu Bakr, Othmán, Ṭalḥah A'bdúr Raḥmán-b-A'uf were all cloth-merchants. Ibn Kutayb.

while that doctrine or tradition continueth." (Al Ḥákim in the History *of the doctors of Naysabúr.*)

90. *The tradition.* "He who walketh barefoot in the service of God, God will not ask of him on the Day of Judgment regarding what was obligatory upon him." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.)

91. *The tradition.* "Whoso would be glad that God should protect him from the heat of hell and bring him under His own shadow, let him not be harsh with the true believers, but merciful unto them." (Ibn Lal in the Makárim u'l Akhláḳ and Abu'l Shaykh and Ibn Ḥabán in the "Thawab" *Recompense.*)

92. *The tradition.* "He who riseth in the morning purposing to worship God, God will write down to him the recompense of his day, even though he sinneth against Him." (Ad Daylami.)

93. *The tradition.* "No people hath abstained from warring in the cause of the Lord, but He hath included them in one common punishment." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.)

94. *The tradition.* "A slanderer shall not enter Paradise." (Ad Daylami but without ascription.)

95. *The tradition.* "Despise not any of the Muslims, for the meanest of the Muslims is great before God." (Ad Daylami.)

96. *The tradition.* God says "if ye desire my mercy, be merciful unto my people." (Abu'l Shaykh, Ibn Ḥabán and ad Daylami.)

97. *The tradition.* "I asked of the apostle of God regarding the nether garment, and he touched the muscle of his leg, and I said 'O apostle of God increase *the length* for me;' then he touched the lower part of the muscle, and I said 'increase *the length* for me,' he replied, 'it would not be good to have it lower.' I said, 'O apostle of God we are undone:' he answered, 'O Abu Bakr, be guided aright, and take the middle course, thou wilt be safe.'" (Abu Nua'ym in the Huliyah.)

98. *The tradition.* "My palm and the palm of A'li are exactly equal." (Ad Daylami and Ibn A'sákir.)

99. *The tradition.* "Neglect not to invoke God against Satan, for if ye do not regard him, he is not heedless of ye." (Ad Daylami but without ascription.)

100. *The tradition.* "He who buildeth a temple unto God, God will build for him a mansion in Paradise." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.)

101. *The tradition.* "He who hath eaten of this unclean* herb, let him not approach our temple." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.)

102. *The tradition* of the lifting up of the hands in the beginning of

* Garlic. In two traditions given in the Kitáb u'l Iktifá, onions are included in this prohibition. These will be found in the life of Omar in that work.

prayer, in the bowing of the head, and in prostration.* (Al Bayhaḳi in the Sunan.)

103. *The tradition.* "Give a Camel to Abu Jahl."† (Al Isma'íli in the Mua'jam *alphabetical Dictionary of the Traditionists.*)

104. *The tradition.* "Looking upon A'li is worship." (Ibn A'sakir.)

On what hath been handed down of as Ṣiddíḳ in comment on the Ḳurán.

Abu'l Ḳásim al Baghawi records on the authority of Ibn Mulaykah that Abu Bakr was asked regarding a verse of the Ḳurán and he said, "what earth would sustain me and what sky would overshadow me, were I to speak that concerning the book of God which God hath not intended." And Abn U'baydah from Ibrahím at Taymi, that Abu Bakr was asked regarding the saying of the Most High, "grapes and clover" (Kur. LXXX) and he said, "what sky would overshadow me and what earth would sustain me, did I speak regarding the book of God that which I know not." And al Bayhaḳi and others from Abu Bakr that he was asked regarding *the meaning* of "al Kalálah,"‡ and he answered "I will presently give an opinion regarding it and if it be just, it is from God, but if it be faulty *it cometh* from me and from the Evil One. I think it to mean lacking parent and offspring;" and when Omar became Caliph, he said, "verily, I forbear from setting aside a thing that Abu Bakr hath spoken."

Abu Nua'ym records in his Huliyah from al Aswad-b-Hilál, that Abu Bakr said to the Companions, "What say ye concerning these two verses, 'As for those who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly' (Kur. XLI)—'and they who believe and clothe not their faith with injustice' (Kur. VI). They replied, 'and who behave uprightly,'—*that is*, who do not sin and do not clothe their faith with sin." He replied, "ye have placed upon it a meaning which it will not bear;" then he said, "Who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly"—*that is*, "who do not incline

* In the beginning of prayers, lifting up the hands is the universal practice, the Sháfi'i school alone adopting it in the bowings and prostrations.

† The uncle of Muḥammad.

‡ Kur. IV. الكلالة translated by Sale—"a distant relation." Zamakshari in his great Commentary gives it three meanings:—

1. One who has neither son nor father alive.
2. One who has neither father living nor any issue.
3. One who has no living relative in the direct paternal line, nor through his own children.

to a God other than Him, and who do not clothe their faith *with infidelity* by associating others with Him." And Ibn Jarír from Abu Bakr as Ṣiddík, regarding the saying of the Most High, "They who do right *shall receive* a most excellent reward and a superabundant addition" (Kur. X), that he said it signified the looking upon the face of the Lord; and regarding the words of the Most High, "Those who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly," that he said, "Verily the people say this, but he who dieth according to this *precept*, he it is who behaveth uprightly."

On what has been handed of established traditions from as Ṣiddík on the subject of his words, decisions, discourses and prayers.

Al Lálakái* records in his Sunnat on the authority of Ibn Omar that a man went to Abu Bakr and said, "dost thou think that fornication in a man is predestined?" He answered, "Yes." Then he said, "if God hath predestined it concerning me, will He punish me for it?" He replied "yes, thou son of an uncircumcised woman, and by Allah, were a man by me, I would command him to bring thee to reason." And Abu Dauu'd in his Sunan from Abu Abdu'llah as Ṣunábihi,† that he *once* prayed behind Abu Bakr at evening prayers, and Abu Bakr read during the first two bowings of the head, the first chapter of the Kurán and a Sura of the shorter sections,‡ and he read in the third bowing, "O Lord, cause not our hearts to swerve *from truth* after thou hast directed us" (Kur. III.) And Ibn Abi Khaythamah and Ibn A'sákir from Ibn U'aynah, that when Abu Bakr was engaged in condoling with a man he used to say, "there is no harm in patience and no profit in lamentation: death is easier to bear than that which precedeth it, and more severe than that which cometh after it: remember the death of the apostle of God, your sorrow will be lessened and may God increase your reward." And Ibn Abi Shaybah and ad Darakuṭni from Sálim-b-U'bayd§ who was a Companion, that he said, "Abu Bakr

* Abu'l Ḳásim Hibatu'llah-b-Ḥasan-b-Manṣúr ar Rázi.

† Abu A'bdúllah A'bdúr Raḥman-b-Asalat as Ṣunábiḥi, the latter is a branch of Banu Murád.

‡ The Mufaṣsal is that portion of the Kurán from the XLIXth Chapter to the end, according to the most correct opinion and so called because of the many divisions between its chapters.

§ Abu A'bdu'llah Sálim-b-U'bayd-b-Rabíi'h, the freedman of Abu Huḍayfah the Companion. Abu Nua'ym denies this pedigree, and others assert him to be the son of Ma'ḳal. He was of Persian origin, one of the most eminent of the Companions and Auxiliaries. Omar thought so highly of him, that at his death he is reported to have

used to say to me, 'Stand between me and the dawn that I may eat my morning meal.'* And from Abu Ḳilábah and Abú's Safar that they said, 'Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ used to say, "shut the door that we may eat our morning meal."' And al Bayhaḳi and Abu Bakr-b-Ziyád of Naysabúr, in the Kitab u'l Ziyadát from Huḍayfah†-b-Usayd, that he said, 'verily I observed Abu Bakr and Omar and what they did in the early part of the forenoon, with the intention that the example of those two might be followed.' And Abu Daud from Ibn A'bbás that he said, 'I testify that Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ said, "eat of fishes those only that swim."' And as Sháfi'i‡ in the Aa'm (Universal) from Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ, that he was averse to the sale of flesh in exchange for a live animal. And al Bukhári, that he placed the grandfather in the same degree as the father, that is, in regard to inheriting. And Ibn Abi Shaybah in his Musannaf, from Abu Bakr, that he said, 'a grandfather stands in the place of the father, if there be no father but he, and the grandson in place of the son, if there be no other than he.' And from al Ḳásim, that a man was brought before Abu Bakr, who had been disowned by his father, and Abu Bakr said 'smite *him* on the head for Satan is in *his* head.' And from Ibn Abi Málik, that *once* when Abu Bakr prayed over a dead man, he said, 'O God! his people, and his goods and his kindred have forsaken this Thy servant, and his sin was grievous but Thou art merciful and compassionate.' "

Sa'id-b-Manṣúr records in his Sunan on the authority of Omar, that Abu Bakr decided the case of A'áṣim,§ the son of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb in favour of the mother of A'áṣ'im, saying, "her breath and fragrance and kindness are better for thee (A'áṣim) than thine (Omar)." And al Bayhaḳi from Ḳays-b-Abi Ḥázim, that a man went to Abu Bakr

said that had Sálim been alive, he would not have named a Council of Consultation to elect for the Caliphate. Sálim fought at Badr and Ohud and the battle of the Ditch and was killed at Yamámah where he carried the standard of the Muslims embracing it with the stumps of his arms after his hands had been hewn off. An Nawawi.

* After the rise of the true dawn فجر الصادق' the day begins, and everything by which fasting would be broken, becomes unlawful to him who fasts.

† Ḥuḍayfah-b-Usayd one of the Companions—present at Ḥuḍaybyah and was one of those who swore to be faithful to Muḥammad when he was seated under the lote tree. According to Ibn Ḥabán, he died A. H. 42. Ibn Hajr.

‡ Born A. H. 150 (767—8), died A. H. 204 (820) and buried in the lesser Karáfah cemetery at old Cairo near Mount Muḳattam. His life and teaching are well enough known to dispense with an account of them here. Consult Ibn Khallakán.

§ A'ásim was then a child, and Omar having a quarrel with the mother, wished to remove the boy from her control, but Abu Bakr decided against it. The boy became the grandfather of Omar-b-Abdi'l A'ziz the Caliph.

and said, "my father desireth to take my property, *saying*, that he is in need of the whole of it," and Abu Bakr said to his father, "Surely that only of his property is thine which is sufficient for thy sustenance;" he answered, "O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, did not the Apostle of God say, 'thou and thy goods belong to thy father!' He replied, 'Yes, but he meant by that only necessary maintenance.' And Aḥmad from the grandfather of A'mr-b-Shu'ayb,* that Abu Bakr used not to kill a freedman in retaliation for a slave. And al Bukhári from the grandfather of Ibn Abi Mulaykah, that a man had bitten the hand of another who *in return* knocked out his teeth, and Abu Bakr suffered it to pass with impunity. And Ibn Abi Shaybah and al Bayhaḳi from A'krimah† that Abu Bakr adjudged *the loss of* a ear *to be repaid* by fifteen camels and said, 'the hair and turban will conceal the disgrace of it.' And al Bayhaḳi and others from Abu Imám al Júni, that Abu Bakr sent troops to Syria and appointed over them Yazíd-b-Abi Sufyán and said, "I commend to thee ten precepts. Slay not a woman nor a child, nor an aged man, and cut not down a tree that beareth fruit, and lay not waste a cultivated country, and destroy not a sheep, nor a camel, save for food, and lop not a date tree nor burn it, and conceal not plunder and be not faint of heart." ' "

Aḥmad, and Abu Daaúd and an Nasái record on the authority of Abu Barzah al Aslami, that he said, "Abu Bakr was enraged with a man and his anger became violent, and I said, to him, 'O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God shall I cut off his head?' He replied, 'woe unto thee—that is not lawful for any one after the Apostle of God.' And Sayf in the Kitáb u'l Futúḥ, (*Record of Conquests*) on the authority of his Shaykhs, that two female singers were brought before Muhájir Ibn Abi Umayyah who was ruler of Yamámah, one of whom had sung in contumely of the prophet, and he cut off her hand and pulled out her teeth; the other had sung deriding the Muslims, and he cut off her hand and pulled out her teeth; and Abu Bakr wrote to him, *saying*, 'I have heard what thou hast done to the woman who sang in contumely of the prophet, and if thou hadst not been beforehand with me in it, I would have ordered thee to put her to death, for punishment in regard to the prophets is not as other punishments—he among the Muslims, therefore, who doeth such a thing is an

* Abu Ibrahím A'mr-b-Shua'yb-b-Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'llah of the Ḳuraysh, in point of time next to the Tabi'is. A great many distinguished Traditionists relate on his authority and his reputation is high amongst them for accuracy. An Nawawi.

† There are two of this name, one the son of Abu Jahl, and the other the freedman of Ibn A'bbás, one of the most distinguished of the Tabi'is the accuracy of whose traditions is much praised by al Bukhári, he died A. H. 104. An Nawawi.

apostate, or being a tributary subject, is a treacherous enemy: but she who sang deriding the Muslims, were she among those who profess Islám then correction and deprivation *of substance* without mutilation *would have been sufficient*, but were she a tributary subject, then by my life, if I forgave her infidelity, it would be a great mercy, and had I been beforehand with thee in the like of this, I would assuredly have afflicted her sorely, but rather choose thou clemency, and beware thou of mutilating men, for it is a sin and a thing to be avoided save in retaliation.' "

Málik and ad Dáraḳuṭni record on the authority of Ṣafíyah, the daughter of Abu U'bayd, that a man seduced a slave girl, a virgin, and confessed to it, and Abu Bakr passed order on him, and he was scourged and banished to Fadak.* And Abu Ya'la from Muḥammad-b-Ḥáṭib that a man was brought before Abu Bakr who had committed theft, and his feet and hands had been cut off and Abu Bakr said to him, " I do not find that anything *can be done* to thee save what hath been adjudged regarding thee by the Apostle of God, on the day that he commanded thy death,† for verily he had knowledge of thee," and he ordered him to be put to death. And Málik from al Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad, that a man of the people of Yaman, whose hand and foot had been cut off *for theft* came and abode with Abu Bakr and complained to him that the governor of Yaman had treated him unjustly (and the man used to pray during the night), and Abu Bakr said, " by thy father, thy night is not like unto the night of a thief." After a little time they lost an ornament belonging to Asma, daughter of Umays, the wife of Abu Bakr, and the man went round with them *searching* and saying, " O God! with thee *be retribution* upon him who hath plundered by night the people of this just house." Afterwards, they found the ornament with a goldsmith who affirmed that the mutilated man had brought it to him. Then the mutilated man either confessed or it was proved against him, and Abu Bakr passed an order upon him and his left hand was amputated, and Abu Bakr said, " By Allah, his imprecation upon himself was, to me, more grievous for him than his theft." And ad Dáraḳuṭni from Anas that Abu Bakr ordered amputation for *the theft of* a shield, the value of which was five dirhams. And Abu Nua'ym in his Huliyah, on the authority of Abu Ṣáliḥ that when the people of Yaman came‡ in the time of Abu Bakr and heard the Ḳurán, they began to weep, and Abu Bakr said " Thus were we, and afterwards our hearts became hardened." Abu Nua'ym adds—" that is, strengthened, and tranquil

* A village in Hijáz two days journey from Medina.

† See page 94, note.

‡ That is, when Abu Bakr meditated the conquest of Syria and sent letters to the chiefs of Arabia Felix summoning them with their followers.

with the knowledge of the Most High." And al Bukhári from Ibn Omar that Abu Bakr said, "behold, Muḥammad in the people of his House." And Abu U'bayd* in the Gharíb from Abu Bakr that he said, "happy was he who died remaining in his abode," that is, in the beginning of Islám before the breaking out of sedition.

The Four *Traditionists* and Málik record on the authority of Ḳabíṣah† that a grandmother went to Abu Bakr as Siddik inquiring of him regarding her inheritance and he said, "nothing is due to thee according to the book of God, and I know of nothing for thee in the traditions of the prophet of God, therefore come back *another time*, so that I may inquire of the people, and he inquired of the people and al Mughírah‡-b-Shu'bah said, "I was present when he gave *such as* her one sixth;" and Abu Bakr said, "was any other with thee?" whereupon Muḥammad-b-Maslamah arose and said the same that al Mughírah had spoken, and Abu Bakr ordered *the like* for her. And Málik and Dáraḳuṭni, from al Ḳásim-b-Muḥammad, that two grandmothers went to Abu Bakr demanding their inheritanee, the mother of a mother and the mother of a father and he accorded the inheritance to the mother of the mother. Thereupon A'bdúr Raḥmán-b-Sahl the Auxiliary who had fought at Badr, and was an associate of the Banu Ḥárith said to him, "O vicegerent of the apostle of God dost thou bestow it upon her who, if she died, would not be inherited of?"§ so he divided it between the two. And Abdur Razzáḳ in his Musannaf records on the authority of Ayesha, the tradition of the wife of Rufáa'h who was divorced from him and married afterwards A'bdúr Raḥmán-b-u'z Zubayr who was unable to consummate his marriage, and she desired to return to Rufáa'h, but the Apostle of God said, "No, not till your marriage be consummated;"

* Abu U'bayd al Ḳásim-b-Sallám, was born at Herát and was Káḍhi of Tarsus for eighteen years. He was conspicuous for his piety and learning in various branches of literature, and his traditions are received as authentic. He died at Mecca in A. H. 224 according to al Bukhári. The book alluded to in the text is Gharíb u'l Hadíth (*obscure* expressions occurring in the Traditions). He also wrote a work called "Gharíb u'l Musannáf, (original collection of rare expressions.) Ibn Khall.

† Ḳabíṣah-b-Ḍuayb one of the Tábi'is, born in the year of the conquest of Mecca and died in the Caliphate of A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán under whom he acted in the capacity of Secretary. An Nawawi.

‡ Abu A'bdu'llah-b-Shu'bah of the tribe of Thaḳíf a native of Kúfah, one of the Companions. He was present at nearly all the expeditions and actions that took place in his time. Omar gave him the government of Baṣrah and afterwards of Kúfah wherein he was confirmed by Othmán and subsequently deposed, but again re-instated by Mu'áwiyah. and died at Kúfah A. H. 50. It is said that he married three hundred women, and some say, a thousand. An Nawawi.

§ According to the Muḥammadan law a grandson does not inherit from his maternal grandmother.

this much is in the Saḥíḥ, and A'bdu'r Razzáḳ adds, "then she tarried some time and then went to hím and informed him that he had touched her, but he forbade her to return to her first husband and said, 'verily if it were thus with her that she returned to Rufáa'h, her marriage would not be consummated for the second time:"* then she went to Abu Bakr and Omar during their Caliphate but they prohibited her. And al Bay-haḳi from U'kbah-b-A'ámir† that A'mr-b-u'l A'ás and Shuraḥbíl-b-Ḥasa-nah‡ sent him as a messenger to Abu Bakr with the head of Bannán the Syrian general, and when he came to Abu Bakr, he expressed his disapproval, and U'kbah said to him, 'O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, they do the same with us,' and he replied, 'do those two follow the example of the Persians and Greeks? let no head be brought to me for verily letters and news are sufficient.' And al Bukhári from Ḳays-Ibn-Ḥázim,§ that Abu Bakr went to a woman of the tribe of Aḥmas called Zaynab, and he observed that she did not speak, and he said, 'why doth she not speak?' They replied, 'she has made the pilgrimage and is under a vow of silence.' He said to her, 'speak! for this is not lawful, this is one of the practices of the time of Ignorance:' and she spoke and said 'who art thou?' and he said 'One of the Fugitives;' she said, 'which of the Fugitives?' he replied, 'of the Ḳuraysh.' She asked, 'of what family of the Ḳuraysh?' He said, 'verily thou art very inquisitive—I am Abu Bakr.' She said, 'How long shall be our continuance in this holy rule which God hath brought since the time of Ignorance?' He replied, 'your continuance in it shall be as long as your Imáms act uprightly.' She said, 'and what are the Imáms?' He answered 'Are there not in thy tribe, chiefs and leaders who govern them and whom the tribe obey?' She said, 'yes'. He replied, 'then they are those men.' And from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr had a slave who used to pay him an impost *on his earnings* and Abu Bakr used to eat of *the fruits of* this impost, and he one day brought him a thing, of which Abu Bakr eat, and the slave said to him, 'dost thou

* The Muḥammadan law insists on the consummation of the marriage with the second husband, before the first can receive the divorced wife back.

† One of the Companions, distinguished for his manner of reading the Ḳurán—he governed Egypt for Muáwiyah-b-Abi Sufyán and died there in A. H. 58. He carried the news of the taking of Damascus to Omar and reached Medina in seven days and returned to Syria in two and a half through the help of his invocations at Muḥammad's tomb. An Nawawi.

‡ He was appointed by Abu Bakr and subsequently by Omar to the command of the army in Syria, and continued as Omar's lieutenant in that country till his death of the plague A. H. 18, at the age of sixty-seven. Ibid.

§ One of the Tábiís. He was born before the propagation of Islám and set out to pay his homage to Muḥammad who, however, died before Ḳays arrived. He was a resident of Kúfah and died A. H. 84. Ibid.

know what this is?' Abu Bakr said, 'what is it?' he replied, 'I once told the fortune of a man in the time of Ignorance, and my divination was not just inasmuch as I deceived him, but he met me and gave me this, of which thou hast eaten;' whereupon Abu Bakr put his hand *in his throat* and rejected everything that was in his stomach."

Aḥmad records in the "Zuhd" from Ibn Sirín that he said, "I do not know any one who sought to reject the food that he had eaten except Abu Bakr," and he related the story. And an Nasâi from Aslam, that Omar beheld Abu Bakr who seized hold of his own tongue and said, "this it is that hath brought me to that to which I have come." And A'bu U'bayd in the "Gharíb," from Abu Bakr, that he passed by A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf who was quarrelling with a neighbour and he said to him, "speak not in anger with thy neighbour for that remaineth but men pass away from thee." And Ibn A'sákir from Músa-b-U'kbah, that Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ was once preaching, and he said, "Praise be to God—the Lord of created things I glorify Him and implore His assistance, and ask His mercy in what cometh after death, for my hour and yours are approaching—and I bear witness that there is no God but God above who hath no copartner and that Muḥammad is His servant, and His prophet, whom He hath sent in the Truth as a messenger of good tidings, and an admonisher and a shining light that he may warn the living and certify the Word to the unbelievers—and he who obeyeth God and his prophet, verily he hath followed the right way, and he who hath sinned against those two, verily hath erred with a manifest erring: I commend unto ye devotion to God, and adherence to the commands of God which He hath laid down for ye and, given for your guidance, for verily the whole of the precepts of Islam after the profession of faith, are the hearing and obeying those whom God hath appointed to rule over ye, and verily he who obeyeth God and those who enjoin goodness and prohibit what is unlawful hath prospered and hath performed what is incumbent upon him of his obligations; and beware ye of following vain desire, for verily he prospereth who is preserved from lust and greed and anger: and beware ye of pride, for what pride belongeth to him who is made of earth, and who afterwards returneth to earth and then *the worm* devoureth him? for to-day he is alive and to-morrow he is dead; therefore act ye uprightly from day to day and from hour to hour, and fear the prayer of the oppressed, and number yourselves among the dead; and be ye patient for every work is accomplished through patience, and be ye watchful, for watchfulness is profitable. Act uprightly for a good act is acceptable to God, and refrain from the things against which the Lord hath warned ye under pain of His wrath: and vie ye with one another in hastening *to obtain* the things which the Lord hath promised ye in His mercy; and teach ye, and yourselves comprehend, and be heedful

and in fear, for verily the Lord hath declared unto ye the things for which He hath destroyed those that were before ye, and the things through which He hath delivered those whom He delivered before ye. Verily He hath manifested unto ye in His Book His commands and His prohibitions and the works He approveth, and those He abhorreth: and verily by my soul, I will not be wanting to you—and God is He whose assistance is implored, and there is no power nor strength but in the Lord. And know ye, verily, that in your works in which ye have been sincere with God, ye then obeyed God, and preserved your portion of excellence, and attained unto your desire, and what ye have done over and above what is enjoined for your faith, keep before ye as religious merits, that ye may make satisfaction for those who have gone before ye,—and make your charitable donations even at the time of your poverty and self-need of them. Then bethink ye—O servants of God—of your brethren and your companions those that have departed, for they have attained to the works that they sent before them, and abide by them and are settled in misery or happiness in the state that cometh after death. Verily the Lord hath no copartner, and between Him and any of His creatures there is no mediatory influence that can bestow good upon him or avert from him evil save in His worship and obedience to His commands, for verily there is no good in the good after which cometh hell-fire, and no evil in the evil after which cometh heaven. I say unto ye these words, and may God have mercy upon me and ye, and bless ye the prophet and peace be upon Him and the mercy of God and His blessing."

Al Ḥákim and al Bayhaḳi record on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-U'kaym that he said, "Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ preached to us and he glorified God and praised Him as befitted Him, and then said, 'I commend unto ye piety to God and that ye praise Him as befitteth Him, and that ye mingle desire with fear, for the Lord God praised Zachariah and the people of his house, and said, "These strove to excel in good works and called upon us with love and with fear and humbled themselves before us" (Kur. XXI.) Therefore, know, O servants of God, that the Lord hath your lives as a pledge for what is due to Him, and hath taken your compacts* regarding it, and hath purchased of ye a little that is perishable, in exchange for eternal abundance; and this Book of God is among ye, whose light cannot be extinguished, nor its wonders end; therefore seek ye illumination from

* "And when thy Lord drew forth thy posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, *saying*, am I not your Lord? They answered. *Yea, we* do bear witness, *Kur. VII.* The commentators say that God stroked Adam's back and extracted from his loins his whole posterity and assembled them in the shape of ants, and after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on Him, they were returned to the loins of Adam. See Sale.

its light, and accept counsel from His Book and seek light from it in the day of darkness, for verily He hath created ye for His worship and hath appointed for ye *guardian angels* "honourable *in the sight of God* writing down *your actions* who know that which ye do." (Kur. LXXXII). And know, O servants of God that ye proceed and draw nigh unto an appointed time, the knowledge of which, verily, is hidden from ye, therefore if ye are able so to do, that the appointed periods be fulfilled while ye are engaged in the works of the Lord, then so act ye, but this ye cannot do save with the permission of the Lord. Vie ye with one another *in fulfilling the obligation* of your appointed times before your appointed periods are completed, lest they cast ye upon the evillest of your works; and, verily, there are some who have made over the obligations of their appointed times on others, and have taken no heed of themselves, therefore I forbid ye to be like unto them. Then haste! haste! flee! flee! for behind ye is a nimble pursuer—swift of deed.' And Ibn Ab'id Dunya, and Aḥmad in the 'Zuhd' and Abu Nua'ym in the 'Ḥuliyah' from Yahya-b-Abi Kathír, that Abu Bakr used to say in his discourse, 'where are the comely, beautiful of countenance—exulting in their youth? Where are the monarchs who built cities and entrenched them round about? Where are they who gave victory on fields of battle? verily their pillars were overthrown when Fortune betrayed them, and they went down into the darkness of the grave. Haste! haste! flee! flee!' And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from Salmán,* that he said, 'I went to Abu Bakr and said, "leave me an injunction," and he replied, "O Salmán, fear God, and know that there shall shortly be victories, but I know not what may be thy portion among them, of what thou may mayest put into thy belly or cast upon thy back, but, know, that he who prayeth the five appointed times of prayer, verily he is under a covenant with God, and walketh under the protection of the Most High: therefore slay not any of the people of God's covenant, lest thou betray God in His covenant and the Lord throw thee prostrate on thy face in hell fire." And from Abu Bakr that he said, "the good shall be taken away, the best, followed by the next in merit, until there remain the dregs of the people, like the husk of dates and of barley—the Lord shall not take heed of them." And Sa'id-b-Manṣúr in the Sunan from Mu'áwiyah-b-Ḳurrah that Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ used to say in his prayers, "O Lord! render thou the best of my life its close, and the best of my deeds the last, and the best of my days the day of Thy meeting." And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from al Ḥasan, "I heard that Abu Bakr used to say in his prayers, "O God verily I ask of Thee that which may be the best for me in the end—O God! vouchsafe that the last good that Thou

* There are two Companions of the name, one the freedman of Muḥammad, a native of Persia by birth, and the other Salmán-b-A'ámir. Consult an Nawawi.

bestowest upon me, be Thy approbation, and the loftiest places in the gardens of delight." And from A'rfajah* that Abu Bakr said, "he who is able to weep let him weep, or if not, let him endeavour to weep." And from Abu Bakr on the authority of A'rzah, "the most deadly of things are the two that are red—gold and saffron."† And on the authority of Muslim-b-Yasár,‡ "the true believer is rewarded in everything, even in affliction—for, in the breaking of a shoe-latchet, or some trifle in his sleeve, should he lose it, and be in fear for it, he will find it by his side." And on the authority of Maymún-b-Mihrán that a raven with large wings was brought to Abu Bakr, and he turned it over and said, "no game is hunted and no tree is felled save it hath neglected the praises of God." And al Bukhári in the "Adab," and A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad in the Zawáid u'z Zuhd from as Sunábiḥi, that he heard Abu Bakr say that the prayer of a brother for his brothers in God is accepted." And A'bdu'llah in the Zawáid u'z Zuhd from Labíd the poet, that he went to Abu Bakr and repeated this verse—

"Is not every thing but God unprofitable?"

He replied. "Thou hast spoken truly." And Labíd continued:

"And every joy is surely fleeting."

Abu Bakr exclaimed, "thou hast spoken falsely—there is with God a joy that never passeth away,"—and when Labíd had gone, he said "Sometimes a poet speaketh words of wisdom."

On his sayings which manifest the greatness of his fear of his God.

Abu Aḥmad al Ḥákim records on the authority of Mu'áḍ-b-Jabal that Abu Bakr entered a garden, and, behold, there was a ringdove in the shade of a tree, and he heaved a deep sigh and said, "happy art thou, O bird, that eatest of the trees and seekest shelter beneath them, and art not called to account—would that Abu Bakr were like unto thee." And Ibn A'sákir from al Asma'í that when Abu Bakr was once praised, he said, "O Lord, Thou knowest more of me than I myself, and I know more concerning myself than they—O God, make me better than they think me, and forgive me that which they know not, and call me not to account for what

* A'rfajah-b-Asa'd-b-Safwán, one of the Companions, of the Banu Tamím.

† These are said to destroy women, that is the love of gold and perfumes, as flesh meat and wine called also الاحمران are said to destroy men.

‡ A'bu A'bdu'lla Muslim-b-Yasár of Baṣrah. Some say he was the freedman of Othmán, others of Ṭalḥaḥ. He was distinguished for his knowledge of jurisprudence, he died A. H. 100-1. An Nawawi.

they say." And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from Abu I'mrán al Júni, that Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ said, " I would I were a hair in the side of a servant, a true believer." And from Mujáhid, that Ibn u'z Zubayr when he rose to prayers was as a stock of wood in abasement, and I have been told that Abu Bakr was the same. And from al Ḥasan that Abu Bakr said, " by Allah, verily I would I were this tree which is eaten of and felled." And from Ḳatádah that he said, " it has been related to me that Abu Bakr said 'I would that I were pasture that cattle might eat me.' " And from Dḥamrah-b-Habíb that a son of Abu Bakr's was near unto death, and the youth kept looking towards a cushion, and when he was dead, they said to Abu Bakr, " we saw thy son looking towards a cushion," and they moved him from the cushion and they found underneath it five or six dinars. Then Abu Bakr struck one hand upon the other, and uttered the two professions of faith, and kept saying 'verily we belong to God and unto Him shall we return.' O such a one, how greatly doth thy body desire that it should be amplified for this."* And from Thábit al Bunáni that Abu Bakr applied this verse by way of similitude.

Thou shalt not cease to announce the death of a friend until thou art as he is
And verily the youth cherisheth a hope, and dieth without attaining it.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibn Sírín, that, after the death of the prophet, there was no one more apprehensive on account of what he knew not, than Abu Bakr, and no one after Abu Bakr more apprehensive on account of what he knew not, than Omar, and when a case came before Abu Bakr, and he could not find its exemplar in the Book of God, nor a tradition regarding it in the Sunnat, he would say, " I will act to the best of my judgment, and if it be just, then it is from God, and if erroneous, then it is mine, and may God pardon me."

On what has been handed down of him regarding the interpretation of dreams.

Sa'íd-b-Manṣúr records on the authority of Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab that he said, "Ayesha dreamed that there came down into her house, three

* "On the *Day of Judgment, their treasures* shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their forehead and their sides and backs shall be stigmatized therewith." Kur IX. As Suyútí in his Commentary (Tafsír u'l Jalálayn) says on this passage, that the bodies of these reprobates will be inflated and extended in order to become capable of receiving the brand of each coin that they have treasured. The identical word توسع is employed by him to express this meaning.

moons, and she related it to Abu Bakr who was one of the most learned in interpretation among men. He said, "verily thy dream hath spoken truly—there shall be buried verily in thy house, three of the best of mankind." And when the prophet died, he said, "O Ayesha, this is the best of thy moons." And from Omar-b-Shurḥabíl, that the apostle of God said, "I dreamed that I drove before me some black sheep, then I drove after them white sheep, so that the black could not be seen among them." And Abu Bakr said, "O apostle of God, as for the black sheep, verily they signified the Arabs who shall embrace the faith, and increase in numbers, and the white sheep are the barbarians who shall be converted until the Arabs shall not be seen among them by reason of their numbers." The apostle of God replied, "so the angel interpreted it this morning." A tradition is also also ascribed to him from Ibn Abi Laylah that the apostle of God said, "I dreamed I was at a well drawing from it, and there approached me black sheep and behind them grey sheep;" and Abu Bakr said, "suffer me to interpret it" and he continued as above.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Muḥammad Ibn Sírín that he said, "the most learned in interpretation of this people after their prophet is Abu Bakr." And from Ibn Shiháb, that the apostle of God had a dream and related it to Abu Bakr and said, "I dreamed as it were that I and thou were vying with each other in mounting a ladder, and I preceded thee by two steps and a half." He replied, "O apostle of God, the Lord will take thee unto His forgiveness and mercy and I shall live after thee two years and a half." Al Bayhaḳi records in the Proofs on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Buraydah that the apostle of God sent A'mr-b-u'l A'aṣ at the head of a body of troops, among them being Abu Bakr and Omar, and when they arrived at the field of war, A'mr commanded that they should not light fires, and Omar was wroth and purposed going to him, but Abu Bakr prevented him and explained to him, *saying*, "the apostle of God hath not placed him* over thee, but for his knowledge of wars this therefore cometh from him." And from an ascription of Abu Ma'shar that the apostle of God said "verily I shall appoint a man over the people who is the best among them, who may be vigilant of eye and clear-sighted in war."

Khalífah-b-Khayyáṭ and Aḥmad-b-Hanbal, and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Yazíd-b-u'l Asamm,† that the prophet said to Abu Bakr "Am I the greater or thou?" He replied "thou art the greater and nobler, but I am older than thou." This tradition is interrupted in trans-

* The printed text has يستعلمه. for يستعمله

† Abu A'uf Yazíd-b-u'l Asamm a native of Kúfah and a Tabi'í. He dwelt at Rakkah and died there A. H. 103. He was the son of the sister of Maymuna wife of Muḥammad and the traditions related by him are considered authentic. An Nawawi.

mission and narrated but by one authority, but if it were substantiated, this answer should be accounted *as a proof* of his sagacity and reverence; but this reply is commonly ascribed to A'bbás. And the same is ascribed to Sa'íd-b-Yarbún (recorded by at Ṭabaráni) and its reading, that the Apostle of God said to him, "which of us is the greater?" he replied, "thou art greater and better than I, but I am the elder."

Abu Nua'ym records that it was said to Abu Bakr, "O vicegerent of the apostle of God, wilt thou not employ in service those who fought at Badr?" He replied, "I know their dignity but I am loth to defile them with the world." And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from Isma'il-b-Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr divided *the spoil* into portions and divided it, equally among the people, and Omar said to him, "dost thou apportion it equally among the men of Badr and the rest of the people?" Abu Bakr replied, "verily the world is a sufficiency, and the best sufficiency is that which is most comprehensive, but verily the superiority of these* lies in their spiritual rewards."

Aḥmad records in the Zuhd on the authority of Abu Bakr-b-Hafṣ that he said, "I have heard that Abu Bakr used to fast in summer, and break his fast† in winter." And Ibn Sa'ad from Hayyán the goldsmith that the impression on the signet ring of Abu Bakr was, "excellent is the omnipotent God!"—At Ṭabaráni records on the authority of Músa-b-U'ḳbah that he said, "I do not know four people who attained with their sons to the time of the prophet, save these four, Abu Ḳuḥáfah and his son Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ,—and his son Abdu'r Raḥmán—and Abu A'tíḳ son of A'bdu'r Raḥmán whose name was Muḥammad." And Ibn Mandah and Ibn A'sákir from Ayesha, that the parents of none among the Fugitives embraced Islám, save the parents of Abu Bakr.—Ibn Saa'd and al Bazzár

* That is, the men of Badr.

† This would seem to imply that even when the Ramaḍhán fell in winter, so orthodox a believer did not comply with the indispensable duty of fasting during that month. The explanation however, though so immaterial a point scarcely deserves it, is perhaps as follows. According to Lane, the present months of the Muhammadan year, were named by Kiláb-b-Murrah, an ancestor of Muḥammad, about two centuries before Islám. These months were lunar, and from this period, with a view of adopting their year to the solar, the Arabs added a month, which they called النسي at the end of every three years, until they were forbidden to do so by Ḳurán (Ch. IX). The abolition of the intercalation was proclaimed by Muḥammad at the pilgrimage in the tenth year of the Flight. It is obvious from the derivations of the Arabic names of the months, that they were called after the seasons in which they fell. The رمضان (from رمضي signifying vehement heat) occurred between the middle of July and the middle of August: while the years were yet adapted to the solar, there would be a fixity of recurrence, or nearly so, of the months in the same seasons, and thus Abu Bakr might well have fasted in summer frequently enough to account for the tradition.

record on good authorities from Anas that the oldest in years of the companions of the apostle of God were Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ and Suhayl-b-A'mr-b-Baydhá.

Note—Al Bayhaḳi records in the "Proofs" on the authority of Asma daughter of Abu Bakr that she said, "In the year of the conquest of Mecca, a daughter of Abu Ḳuḥáfah went forth and some horsemen met her, and upon her neck was a necklace of gold pieces, and a man wrenched it from her neck. And when the apostle of God entered the mosque, Abu Bakr stood up and said 'I call upon God and Islám for the necklace of my sister'—and by Allah, no one answered him. He repeated it then a second time, but no one answered him. Then he exclaimed, 'O sister reckon *upon a reward of God* for thy necklace, for by Allah, there is little honesty among men now-a-days.'"

Note—I have seen in the handwriting of the Háfidh ad Ḍahabi, *the names of* those who were unequalled in their time, in their special qualifications. Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ in genealogy, Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭab in steadfastness in the commands of God, Othmán-b-A'ffán in modesty, A'li in judicial decision, Ubayy-b-Kaa'b in reading the Ḳurán, Zayd-b-Thábit, in the law of inheritance, Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ in honesty, Ibn A'bbas in comment on the Kurán, Abu Ḍarr in truthfulness of speech, Khálid-b-u'l Walíd in courage, al Ḥasan al Basri in admonition, Wahb-b-Munabbih in narration, Ibn Sírín in interpretation of dreams, Náfi' in reading the Kurán, Abu Ḥanífah in jurisprudence, Ibn Isháḳ in accounts of military expeditions, Mukátil in expounding obscurities, al Kalbi in narrations from the Ḳurán, al Khalíl in prosody, Fudhayl-b-I'yádḥ in devotion, Síbawayh in grammar, Málik in science, as Sháfai in knowledge of tradition, Abu U'baydah, *in interpreting* obscure words *occurring in traditions*, A'li-b-u'l Madíni in defects *invalidating traditions*, Yahya-b-Ma'ín in traditional authorities, Abu Tammám in poetry, Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal in the Sunnah, al Bukhári in discrimination of traditions, al Junayd in mysticism, Muḥammad-b-Naṣr al Marwazi in reconciling the contradictory meanings of traditions, al Jubbai in expounding the tenets of the Mua'tazalites, al Ashári in scholastic theology, Muḥammad-b-Zakaríya ar Rázi, in medicine, Abu Ma'shar in astrology, Ibrahím al Kirmáni in interpretation of dreams, Ibn Nubátah in preaching, Abu'l Faraj al Isbaháni in debate, Abu'l Ḳásim at Ṭabaráni on traditions of the highest authority, Ibn Ḥazm in the literal interpretation of the Ḳurán, Abu'l Ḥasan al Bakri in lying, al Haríri in his discourses, Ibn Mandah in extent of travel, al Mutanabbi in poetry, al Mausili in vocal music, as Ṣúli in chess, al Khaṭíb al Baghdádi in quickness in reading the Kurán, A'li-b-Hilál in calligraphy, A'tá as Salími* in fear,

* Ibn Khallaḳán gives the life of A'ta-b-Abi Rabáh Aslam Mufti of Mecca, and a devout ascetic. The 'fear' may therefore signify 'the fear of God' if this be the in-

al Káḍhi al Fádhil, in composition, al Aṣma'i in singular anecdotes, Asḥa'b in covetousness, Ma'bid in singing, Avicenna in philosophy.

OMAR-B-U'L KHAṬTA'B.

Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb, b-Nufayl-b-A'bdu'l A'za, b-Riyáḥ-b-Ḳurṭ-b-Razáh-b-A'di-b-Kaa'b-b-Luayy, the Prince of the Faithful, Abu Hafṣ, al Ḳurayshi, al A'dwi, al Fárúk, (*the Discriminator*) embraced Islám in the sixth year of the prophetic mission being seven and twenty years of age (ad Ḍahabi). An Nawawi says that Omar was born thirteen years after the year of the elephant.* He was one of the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh and was charged with the duties of an envoy in the time of Ignorance; for the Ḳuraysh, whenever a war took place among themselves, or between themselves and others, used to send him as envoy, that is as a representative, and whenever a challenger would contend against their honor, or a boaster contest their glory, they would send him to vie and to contend *in their name.* He embraced the faith early—after the conversion of forty men and ten women—or as some say, after thirty-nine men, and twenty-three women, and others, forty-five men and eleven women. He had no sooner embraced Islám, than he openly declared his faith at Mecca and the Muslims rejoiced at it. An Nawawi adds, that he was one of the converts, and one of the ten to whom Paradise was promised, and one of the just Caliphs, and one of the fathers-in-law of the Apostle of God, and one of the most learned and most ascetic of the Companions. Five hundred and thirty-nine traditions direct from the Apostle of God are ascribed to him. Traditions are related on his authority by Othmán-b-A'ffán by A'li and Ṭalḥah and Saa'd, and Ibn A'uf and Ibn Masa'úd, and Abu Ḍarr, and Omar-b-A'basah, and his son A'bdu'llah, and Ibn A'bbás, and Ibn úz Zubayr, and Anas, and Abu Hurayrah, and A'mr-b-u'l A'áṣ, and Abu Músa al Asha'ri, and al Baraá-b-A'ázib, and Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, and others of the Companions and some besides them. I remark, that I will here devote some chapters to the principal observations of note connected with his biography.

dividual meant. I can discover no other name bearing any resemblance with that in the text.

* The year of the defeat of Abraha-b-u'l Sabáh surnamed al Ashram or the slit-nosed-king or viceroy of Yaman, who marched against Mecca at the head of an army, wherein were several elephants, to avenge the profanation of the Christian Church at Sanáa, by some of the tribe of Kenánáh. His fate and that of his army is well-known. See the story in Sale and his comments thereon. In this year Muḥammad was born.

On the accounts which have been handed down regarding his conversion.

At Tirmiḍi records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that the prophet said, "O God, glorify Islám by the most endeared to Thee of these two men, Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb or Jahl the son of Hishám." And al Ḥákim from Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet said, "O God, glorify Islám by Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb in particular." And Aḥmad from Omar that he said, "I went forth to hinder the Apostle of God, but I found that he had preceded me to the mosque, and I stood up behind him and he sought to expound the Surah 'al Ḥáḳkah.'* And I began to wonder at the composition of the Ḳurán and I said, 'by Allah, this is a poet, as the Ḳuraysh say.' Then he read, 'This is the discourse of an honorable apostle and not the discourse of a poet—how little do ye believe,' &c., (LXIX). And the true faith entered into my heart with a full possession." And Ibn Abi Shaybah from Jábir that he said, "the beginning of the conversion of Omar was *thus as* Omar hath related, 'the pains† of labour seized my sister in the night, and I went forth from the house and entered the precincts of the Kaa'bah, and the prophet came and entered the enclosure and upon him were two garments, and he prayed to God for that which God willed and then departed. And I heard a thing the like of which I had not heard before, and he went forth and I followed him and he said, "who is that?" and I replied, "Omar," then he said, "O Omar wilt thou not leave me night or day?" and I feared lest he should curse me, and I said, "I testify that there is no God but God, and that thou art the Apostle of God." He answered "keep this secret." I replied, "No, by Him who sent thee in the truth, I will surely proclaim it, as I proclaimed my infidelity." And Ibn Saa'd, and Abu Ya'la, and al Ḥákim and al Bayhaḳi in the "Proofs" on the authority of Anas, that Omar went forth girt with his sword and a man of the Banu Zuhrah met him and said, "whither art thou going, O Omar?" and he replied, "I intend to slay Muḥammad;" the other said, "how wilt thou be secure from the Banu Háshim and the Banu Zuhrah, if thou shouldst slay Muhammad?"‡ He replied, "I cannot but think that thou hast changed thy faith." He answered, "shall I not assure thee

* Ch. LXIX, entitled "the Infallible"; the original words is one of the epithets of the Day of Judgment.

† In the text the word مَخاضَ is pointed as the objective instead of the nominative case.

‡ The father of Muḥammad belonged to the former tribe, his mother to the latter.

of a strange thing, that thy brother-in-law,* and thy sister have changed their faith and abandoned thy religion?" Then Omar departed and went to those two with whom was Khabbáb,† and when he heard the sound of Omar *approaching* he hid himself in the house. And Omar entered and said, "what is this muttering"—(for they were reading the T. H.)‡—and they said, "it is nothing but a discourse we were holding among ourselves." He said, "then perhaps you two have changed your religion," and his brother-in-law replied to him, 'O, Omar suppose the truth were in another religion than thine!" whereon Omar sprang upon him and trampled him heavily under foot; his sister then came to push him aside from her husband, but he struck her a blow with his hand, and her face bled: then being angry she said, "and suppose the truth were in another religion than thine! verily I testify that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle." Then Omar exclaimed, "give me the book which you have, that I may read it." His sister said, "verily thou art unclean and 'none shall touch it except those who are clean' (Kur. LVI)—therefore rise and bathe or perform ablution." And Omar rose and made his ablutions and took the book and read the T. H., until he came to "Verily I am God; there is no God besides me; wherefore worship Me and perform *thy* prayers in remembrance of Me" (Ḳur. XX). Then Omar said, "direct me to Muḥammad;" and when Khabbáb heard the words of Omar, he came forth and said, "Rejoice with good tidings, O Omar, for verily, I trust that the prayer of the Apostle of God on Wednesday night§ may be for thee *when he said*, 'O God, glorify Islám by Omar, the son al Khaṭṭab, or A'mr|| the son of Hishám.' " The Apostle of God was at the time in the original house¶ which stands at the foot of as Ṣafá, and Omar went

* Sa'íd-b-Zayd.

† Abu Abdu'llah Khabbáb-b-u'l Aratt was one of the earliest converts. He had been taken prisoner in the time of Ignorance and sold as a slave at Mecca. He is said to have been a freedman of Anmár daughter of Sabáa' of the tribe of Khuzáa'h confederate of the Banu Zuhrah. He died at Kúfah A. H. 37 in the Caliphate of A'li and was buried outside the city at his special request. It had been the custom in Kúfah for people to be buried at the doors of their houses, but after Khabbáb's death and by his example, the custom was abolished, and the dead were buried outside the icty.

‡ The XXth Ch. of the Ḳurán is so entitled. The meaning of the letters is uncertain.

§ The day of the Arabs begins at sunset, the night of Thursday is therefore our Wednesday night.

|| This was Abu Jahl's name. An Nawawi describes him in his biography, as Abu Jahl, the enemy of God, "the Pharaoh of this people"—this latter epithet was given to him by Muḥammad as he gazed upon his dead body after the battle of Badr where he fell fighting against the new faith.

¶ The house alluded to belonged to Arḳam of the Banu Makhzúm, one of the

on until he reached the house, at the door of which were Ḥamzah and Ṭalḥah and others. And Ḥamzah said, "this is Omar; if God desireth* his good, he will be converted, and if He desireth otherwise, his death will sit lightly upon us." The narrator adds, "the prophet was then within, under the divine inspiration, and he came forth and went to Omar and clasped him round all his garments and his sword belt, and said 'wilt thou not cease, O Omar, until God sendeth upon thee calamity and chastisement such as He sent upon al Walíd-b-u'l Mughírah.'† And Omar said 'I testify that there is no God, but God and that thou art the servant of God and His Apostle.'"

Al Bazzár, and at Ṭabaráni and Abu Nua'ym in the "Huliyah," and al Bayhaḳi in the "Daláil" record on the authority of Aslam‡ that he narrates: "Omar said to me—I was the most violent of men against the Apostle of God, and while I was one sultry day in the noontide heat in one of the streets of Mecca, a man met me and said, 'I wonder at thee, O son of al Khaṭṭáb, that thou thinkest that thou art this and that while verily an event has occurred at thy house.' I said, 'and what is that?' He replied, 'thy sister hath embraced Islám'—Then I turned back in wrath until I knocked at the door. They asked, 'who is there?' I replied, 'Omar.' Then they hastened away and hid from me, and verily, they had been reading a paper before them which they had left and forgotten. Then my sister arose and opened the door, and I said, 'O enemy of thyself, hast thou changed thy faith?' and I struck her upon the head with a thing that was in my hand and the blood flowed and she wept and said, 'O son of al Khaṭṭáb! what thou soughtest to do, do, for verily I have changed my faith.' Omar continued, and I went in and sat upon a bedstead, and I looked upon the paper and said, 'what is that? give it to me'—she said, 'thou art not worthy of it for thou art not purified from uncleanness, and this book "none shall touch it, except those who are clean;"' but I did not desist until she gave it to me, and I opened

earliest converts to the faith, and was a favourite resort of Muḥammad's. From the converts made therein, it was styled, according to al Waḳidi, the house of Islám. See, Muir, Vol. II, p. 118.

* The printed edition is here in error, there should be no 'tashdíd' over this verb, which is the 4th form of رود apocopated by the particle ان.

† One of the "scoffers" alluded to in Ḳur. ch. XV. Passing by some arrows, one of them hitched in his garment, and he, out of pride, not stooping to take it off, the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death. See the tragic end of the other four in Sale, p. 214. Sale spells the name Mugheirah, but I can find no authority for it. An Nawawi is clear upon its pronunciation.

‡ The freedman of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb. According to some, he had been one of the prisoners of Yaman—others say that he was an Abyssinian. An Nawawi.

it, and behold! there was in it 'whatever is in the heavens and the earth singeth praise unto God.' (LVII), and I was terrified, and I read unto 'Believe in God and his Apostle.' Then I exclaimed, 'I testify that there is no God but God,' and those who had fled away, came forth to me and magnified God and said, 'rejoice with good tidings, for the Apostle of God prayed on Monday and said, "O God, glorify Thy faith by the most endeared to Thee of two men, either Abu Jahl the son of Hishám or Omar!"' and they directed me to the prophet to the house at the foot of as Ṣafá. And I went on until I knocked at the door, and they said, 'who is it.' I replied 'the son of al Khaṭṭáb,' and, verily, they knew my violence against the Apostle of God, and no one was bold enough to open the door until Muḥammad said, 'open for him,' and they opened for me and two men seized my arm, until the prophet came to me and said, 'stand off from him.' Then he caught me round my garment and drew me to him and said, 'be converted, O son of al Khaṭṭáb. O God! direct him aright.' Then I made the profession of faith. Thereupon the Muslims magnified God, with a 'takbir' that was heard in the defiles of Mecca. They had hitherto sought concealment, and I* never wished to see a man, beating or being beaten, but I beheld him while nothing of this could befall me. Then I went to my maternal uncle, Abu Jahl, the son of Hishám, and he was a man of high consideration, and I knocked at his door and he said, 'who is that?' I replied, 'the son of al Khaṭṭáb, and verily I have changed my religion,' and he said, 'do it not.' Then he went within and shut the door upon me, and I said, 'this is nothing;' and I went on to a man of the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, and called out to him, and he come forth to me and I addressed him in the same words as to my uncle, and he replied to me, as my uncle had replied, and he went in and shut the door upon me and I said, 'this is nothing! shall the Muslims be beaten and I not be beaten?' Then a man said to me, 'dost thou wish that thy being converted to Islám, should be known?' and I said 'yes.' He replied, 'when the people assemble in the precincts *of the Kaabah*, go to a certain man who cannot keep a secret and say to him that which is to be between thee and him, *viz.*, verily I have changed my faith, for it is rare that he can conceal a secret.' And I went when the people had assembled in the enclosure, and I mentioned what was to be between me and him, saying, 'verily I have changed my faith.' He replied 'Hast thou really done so?' I said 'yes.' Then he cried out at the top of his voice, 'verily the son of al Khaṭṭáb hath changed his

* The Arabic idiom here, is so difficult to transfer with any closeness of translation, into English, that I fear I have sacrificed intelligibility to a desire to be literal. Omar means to say, that either before his conversion, or before it was made known, his position as a chief of the Ḳuraysh secured him from all insult.

faith;' then they fell upon me, and I did not cease to beat them, nor they to beat me, while the people gathered round me. Then my uncle said, 'what is this gathering?' they said to him, 'Omar hath changed his faith.' Then he stood up in the enclosure and waved his sleeve *saying*, 'verily I take under my protection the son of my sister,' and they gave way from me. But I did not like to see one of the Muslims beating or being beaten, but I would see him and say, 'this is nothing, perchance it may befall me,'* and I went to my uncle and said 'thy protection is returned to thee' and I did not cease from beating and being beaten until God exalted Islám."

Abu Nua'ym in the "Daláil," and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Ibn Abbás that he said, "I asked of Omar, 'why art thou called al Fárúḳ? (*the discriminator*)?' and he said, 'Ḥamzah embraced Islám three days before me, and I went to the mosque, and Abu Jahl hastened to the prophet and reviled him, and Ḥamzah was informed of it; so he took his bow and went to the mosque towards a group of the Ḳuraysh in which was Abu Jahl, and he leaned upon his bow over against Abu Jahl and regarded him, and Abu Jahl saw that mischief was in his countenance,' and he said, 'what is the matter with thee O! Abu U'márah?'† and Ḥamzah lifted up his bow and struck him with it upon the two cupping-veins of the neck and cut them, and the blood flowed, whereupon the Ḳuraysh adjusted the matter amicably, fearing mischief." Then Omar continued, "the Apostle of God was at that time concealed in the house of Arḳam the son of A'bu'l Arḳam al Makhzúmi, and Ḥamzah went away and embraced Islám. Three days afterwards, I went forth when behold! there came a certain man of the tribe of the Banu Makhzúm, and I said, 'hast thou turned away from the faith of thy fathers and followed the faith of Muhammad?' and he replied, 'if I have done so, then verily, one hath done so likewise who hath a greater claim upon thee than I.' I said—'and who is that?' He answered, 'thy sister as well as thy brother-in-law.' And I departed *and reached the house*, and I heard a low whispering, and I entered and said, 'what is this?' and words did not cease to pass between us, until I took my brother-in-law by the head and smote him and covered him with blood, but my sister rose against me

* That is, I hope it may befall me. The MS. has حتى for the قد of the printed edition which makes the sense clearer. This passage is similar to the one I have already noted in a preceding page, with the difference, that he is now describing a state of feeling arrived at since his conversion had been made public. His zeal as a convert and his natural pugnacity would not permit him to behold a Muslim being beaten without wishing to share in the unpopularity of the new faith. His fervour would not be content with anything but hard knocks which, however, he returned as freely as he received them.

† His surname: it was also that of al Bará-b-A'ázib—the Companion.

and seized my head and said, 'verily that hath been done in spite of thee.' And I was ashamed when I saw the blood and I sat down and said, 'show me this writing,' but she replied, 'none shall touch it except those who are clean.' And I arose and bathed, and they brought out to me a paper in which was 'In the name of God, the most merciful and Compassionate' (and I said 'names, good *and* holy'). T. H. we have not sent down the Ḳurán unto thee that thou should'st be unhappy *and I read on* to His words 'most excellent names' (Kur. XX). And there arose in my heart a great awe and I said, 'is it from this the Ḳuraysh have fled?' and I embraced Islám and said, 'where is the Apostle of God?' She replied 'verily he is in the house of Arḳam,' and I went and knocked at the door and the people gathered together and Ḥamzah said to them, 'what is it with ye?' They said, 'it is Omar'; he replied, 'what! Omar! open the door to him, and if he cometh to us amicably, we will receive him, and if he turneth away from us we shall slay him;' and the Apostle of God heard that, and he came forth and Omar made the profession of faith. Then the people of the house magnified God with a 'takbír' that was heard by the dwellers in Mecca. I said, 'O Apostle of God, are we not in the Truth?' he replied, 'yes.' I said, 'then wherefore this concealment?' So we came forth in two ranks, I at the head of one of them and Ḥamzah, of the other, until we entered the mosque, and the Ḳuraysh looked upon me and upon Ḥamzah, and a great grief fell upon them. The Apostle of God therefore, named me the Discriminator, from that day, because Islám was made manifest and truth distinguished from falsehood." Ibn Saa'd records from Ḍakwán* that he narrates, "I said to Ayesha, who named Omar, the Discriminator?" she replied, "the prophet." And Ibn Majah and al Ḥákim from Ibn A'bbás, that he said, "when Omar embraced Islám, Gabriel descended and said, 'O Muḥammad, verily the dwellers in heaven announce with rejoicing the conversion of Omar.'" Al Bazzár records, and al Ḥákim, who verifies it on the authority of Ibn A'bbás, that when Omar was converted, the idolaters said, "verily, to-day, the sect have avenged themselves upon us," and the Lord revealed,† "O prophet! God is thy support, and such of the true believers that have followed thee" (Kur. VIII). And al Bukhári from Ibn Masa'úd that he said, "we continued increasing in honour from the time when Omar was converted." And Ibn Saa'd and at Ṭabaráni from Ibn Masa'úd, that he said, "the conversion of Omar

* There are seven of this name mentioned by Ibn Hajr. The one referred to in the text is probably the freedman of Muḥammad.

† Some say this passage was revealed in a plain called al Beidá, between Mecca and Medina during the expedition of Badr. Sale.

was a conquest, his flight* a victory, and his Imámate a divine mercy, and verily, we said that we were unable to pray in the House of *God* until Omar was converted, and when Omar was converted, he fought with them until they left us alone and we prayed *therein.*" Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim record from Ḥuḍayfah, that he said, "when Omar was converted, Islám was as a man advancing who doth not progress without approaching, and when Omar was slain, Islám was as a man retreating, who doth not progress without receding." And at Ṭabaráni from Ibn A'bbás, that he said, "the first who openly manifested Islám was Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb." His authorities are trustworthy and excellent. And Ibn Saa'd from Ṣuhayb, "when Omar was converted, Islám was declared and the people openly invited to it, and we sat in a circle round the temple and went in procession round the temple, and avenged ourselves on those who had oppressed us, and returned back upon them somewhat of that which they had brought *upon us.*" And Ibn Saa'd from Aslam, the freedman of Omar, "Omar was converted in the month of Ḍu'l Hijjah in the sixth year of the prophetic mission, and he was then six and twenty years old."

On his Flight.

Ibn A'sakir records on the authority of A'li, that he said, "I never knew any one flee unless secretly, except Omar-bu'l Khaṭṭáb, for he, when he resolved on flight, girt on his sword and slung over him his bow and grasped in his hand its arrows, and went to the Kaa'bah where in its quadrangle were the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, and he went round about it seven times, then prayed two rakaa'hs† at the station *of Abraham*, and went to each, one by one, in their circle and said, 'may the faces be foul of such as desire that his mother be bereaved of him and his child be left an orphan and his wife a widow, *and if there be such a one*, let him meet me behind this valley'—but no one followed him." And from al Bará,‡ that he said, "the first man who came to us, of the Fugitives was Muṣaa'b-b-U'mayr, then Ibn Umm Maktúm,§ then Omar-bu'l Khaṭṭáb with

* To Medina with the prophet.

† A rakaa'h is a single act of standing in prayer, followed by an inclination of the head, and two prostrations.

‡ Ibn Hajr gives six of the name—the reference in the text is probably to al Bará-b-A'ázib, one of the Auxiliaries of Medina.

§ Some say his name was A'bdu'llah, others A'mr-b-Ḳays. His mother's name was A'átikah of the Banu Makhzúm. He resided at Medina after Badr, being then blind, and used to officiate as Imám at public prayers when Muḥammad was absent in his expeditions. A'wárifu'l Ma'árif of Ibn. Kutaybah.

twenty horsemen, and we said, 'what is the Apostle of God doing?' He replied, 'he cometh after me;' then then Apostle of God arrived and with him Abu Bakr."*

An Nawawi says that Omar was present with the Apostle of God in all his expeditions, and was of those who remained steadfast to him on the day of Ohud.

On the traditions handed down regarding his merit, other than what has preceded in the life of Abu Bakr.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "while I was asleep, I saw myself in Paradise, and beheld there was a woman performing her ablutions by the side of a house; I said, 'whose is this house?' they replied 'Omar's.' Then I recollected thy jealousy and I turned back." And Omar wept and said, "should I be jealous of thee, O Apostle of God!" And from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God said, "whilst I was asleep, *I dreamt that* I drank (morning milk) so that I saw the stream issuing from my nails, and I gave it to Omar." They said, "how dost thou interpret it, O Apostle of God!" He answered, "*it was* knowledge." And from Abu Sa'íd, al Khudri, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'whilst I was sleeping, I saw the people presented to me, and upon them were garments, some of them reaching to the breast and some of them reaching below it, and Omar was presented to me and upon him a garment which he was dragging along.' They said, 'how dost thou interpret it, O Apostle of God!' He answered—'*it was* religion.'" And from Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳḳáṣ, that the Apostle of God said, "O son of al Khaṭṭáb—by Him in whose hand is my life, the devil hath never met thee walking in a road, but he hath taken a road other than thy road." And al Bukhári from Ibn Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "verily there have been among those who have gone before ye among the nations, men inspired, and if there be such a one among my people, it is Omar." And at Tirmiḍi from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, "verily God hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar the son of al Khatṭáb and upon his heart."

Ibn Omar says, "never did a thing come upon the people, and they said *one thing regarding it*, and Omar *another*, but the Ḳurán revealed it after the manner that Omar had said." And at Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim,

* Al Bará as quotedl by an Nawawi, places four others between Ibn Umm Maktúm and Omar, *viz.*, A'mmár-b-Yásir Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳkáṣ, Ibn Masa'úd and Bilál.

who has verified it from U'ḳbah-b-A 'ámir, record, that the Apostle of God said, "if there were to be a prophet after me, it would be Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb." And at Tirmiḍi, from Ayesha, that the Apostle of God said, "verily I behold the evil spirits among Genii and men, fleeing from before Omar." And Ibn Májah and al Ḥákim from Ubayy-b-Kaa'b, that the Apostle of God said, "the first with whom Truth joineth hands, and the first it blesseth, and the first it taketh by the hand and entereth Paradise, is Omar." And from Abu Ḍarr that he narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'verily the Lord hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar, by which He speaketh.' And Aḥmad and al Bazzár from Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, 'verily the Lord hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar and upon his heart.' And Ibn Maníi' in his Musnad from A'li, that he said, 'we the Companions of Muḥammad did not doubt that the divine presence spake by the tongue of Omar.' And al Bazzár from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, 'Omar is the lamp of the dwellers in Paradise.' And from Ḳudámah-b-Madhu'ún on the authority of his brother,* Othmán-b-Madhu'ún, that the Apostle of God said, 'this is the bolt against discord'—and he pointed with his hand to Omar—'there shall not cease to be between you and discord, a gate strongly bolted, as long as he liveth among you.'"

At Ṭabaráni records in the A'usaṭ from Ibn A'bbás, that Gabriel came to the prophet and said, "greet Omar with a salutation and tell him that his anger is glory and his approval, command." And Ibn A'sakir from Ayesha, that the prophet said, "verily Satan avoideth Omar." And Aḥmad on the ascription of Buraydah,† that the prophet said, "verily Satan avoideth thee, O Omar!": and Ibn A'sákir from Ibn A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, "there is not an angel in heaven, but he revereth Omar, and not a demon on earth but he fleeth from Omar." And at Ṭabaráni in the Ausa't from Abu Ḥurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "verily God gloried regarding the pilgrims of A'rafah‡ in general and Omar in particular." And at Ṭabaráni and al Daylami from al Fadḥl b-u'l A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, "the Truth after me is with Omar wherever he may be."

* The text and MS. have 'uncle' which appears to be an error.

† Abu A'bdu'llah Buraydah b-u'l Ḥuṣayb, one of the Companions. He resided at Medina, afterwards at Baṣrah and removed subsequently to Marw where he died A. H. 62. He related 164 traditions from Muḥammad. An Nawawi.

‡ This is given differently by different authorities. In the Kitab u'l Iktifa (كتاب الاكتفافي فضل الاربعة الخلفا) by Ibráhim-b-Abdu'lla, al Waṣábi, al Yamani, as Sháfi'i—God vied with his angels regarding men on the day of A'rafah. Lane gives another reading, "the angels vied with them." The day of A'rafah is the 9th of Ḍu'l Hijjah—for its ceremonies, consult Burton.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Ibn Omar and Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "whilst I was sleeping, I saw myself by a well, upon which was a bucket, and I drew up from it what God willed; then Abu Bakr took it and he drew up a bucket-full or two, and there was feebleness in his drawing and may God have mercy upon him. Then came Omar and he sought to draw, and *the bucket* became changed into a large bucket, and I have not seen a chief of the people do his wonderful deeds, so that the people satisfied their thirst and abode at the water."

An Nawawi says in his Tahdíb, that the learned assert that this is an indication of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and Omar, and the numerous conquests and triumphs of Islám during the time of Omar. At Ṭabaráni records on the authority of Sadísah,* that the Apostle of God said, "verily Satan hath never met Omar since his conversion but he hath fallen prostrate on his face." And from Ubayy-b-Kaa'b that the Apostle of God said, "Gabriel said to me, 'verily Islám will weep at the death of Omar.'" And in the Ausaṭ from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said, "he who hateth Omar, hath hated me, and he who loveth Omar, hath loved me, and verily, the Lord gloried regarding the people on the evening of the day of A'rafah in general, and rejoiced over Omar in particular, and the Lord hath never sent a prophet, but there was among his people one inspired, and if there be such a one among my people, it is Omar." They said "O Apostle of God, how inspired?" He replied, "the angels speak by his tongue." (His authorities are good.)

On the sayings of the Companions and the early Muslims regarding him.

Abu Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ said, "there is not upon the face of the earth a man dearer to me than Omar." (Ibn A'sakir.) It was said to Abu Bakr in his illness, "what wilt thou say to thy God, now that thou hast appointed Omar to rule?" He replied, "I will say to Him 'I have appointed over them the best of them." (Ibn Saa'd.) A'li said, "when the righteous are mentioned, then quick and mention Omar: we used to say not without reason that the divine presence speaketh by the tongue of Omar." (At Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ.) And Ibn Omar said, "I never saw any one after the Apostle of God, from the time that he died, more vehement and yet more beneficent than Omar." (Ibn Saa'd.) And Ibn Masa'úd "if the

* The freedwoman of Ḥafṣah, the daughter of Omar. She belonged to the Auxiliaries. Ibn Hajr.

wisdom of Omar were placed in the scale of a balance, and the wisdom of living things upon the earth in *the other* scale, the wisdom of Omar would outweigh them, and verily people used to think that he bore away nine-tenths of wisdom." (At Ṭabaráni in the Kabír and al Ḥákim.) And Ḥudayfah—"it is as if the wisdom of mankind lay hidden in the bosom of Omar;" and, "by Allah I know not a man whom the reproof of the censurer in what relateth to the service of God, doth not touch, but Omar." And Ayesha speaking of Omar said, "by Allah, he was active in affairs, singly undertaking their management." And al Mu'áwiyah, "Abu Bakr sought not the world and it sought not him, but Omar, the world sought though he sought it not, while we are plunged in it up to the middle." (Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár in the Maukifiyát.)

Jábir relates that A'li went to Omar when he was at prayers and said, "may the mercy of God be upon thee! there is *no one* with the record of whose actions it would be more pleasing to me to meet God, (after the Companionship of the prophet) than this performer of prayers." (Al Hákim). And Masa'úd has said, "when the righteous are mentioned, then quick and mention Omar—verily Omar was the most learned of us in the book of God, and the most profoundly versed in the religious ordinances of the Most High." (At Ṭabaráni and al Ḥákim.) Ibn A'bbás was asked regarding Abu Bakr, and he said "he was like goodness itself;" and he was asked regarding Omar, and he said, "he was like a wary bird that seeth a snare in every path, to take it;" and he was questioned about A'li, and he said, "he was full of resolution and vigilance and wisdom and dignity" (recorded in the Tuyúriyát).

At Ṭabaráni records on the authority of U'mayr-b-Rabíi', that Omar said to Kaa'b al Aḥbár,* "what description of me dost thou find?" "I find thy description to be a horn of iron,"† he said, "and what is a horn of iron?" He replied, "a resolute prince whom the reproof of the censurer in what relateth to the service of God, doth not touch." Omar said, "then what?" He replied "there shall come after thee a Caliph whom a cruel faction shall slay." He asked, "then what?" He answered, "then shall follow calamity." And Aḥmad and al Bazzár and at Ṭabaráni from Ibn Masa'ud that he said, "Omar, the son of al Khaṭṭáb, was distinguished above men, for four things:

* A Jew who embraced Islám in the time of Omar and a constant companion of that Caliph. D'Herbelot gives the name, to a book in which are recorded many fabulous stories of Islám. The author he adds, is unknown and his work contains many Christian traditions, among them, that of the guardian angels. According to the the Muntaha l' Arab, al Aḥbár is incorrect—it should be Hibr, (حِبْر) which signifies a Jewish or Christian doctor of science.

† Kings xxii. 11.

1. "In the affair of the prisoners on the day of Badr,* whom he ordered to be put to death, and God revealed, 'unless a revelation had been previously delivered from God,' &c., (Kur. VIII).

2. "In the affair of the veil.† He commanded the wives of the prophet that they should be veiled and Zaynab said to him, 'thou art against us, O son of al Khaṭṭáb, and yet the divine inspiration descends within our house;' then God revealed, 'and when ye ask *of the prophet's wives*, what ye may have occasion for, &c.,' (Kur. V).

3. "By the prayer of the prophet, 'O God strengthen Islám by Omar.'

4. "By his voice in favour of Abu Bakr, he being the first to swear allegiance to him."

Ibn A'sákir records from Mujáhid, that he narrates, "we used to say that the devils were chained during the rule of Omar, and were unloosed when he perished." And from Sálim-b-A'bdi'llah‡ that he said, "news of Omar was long in reaching Abu Músa, and he went to a woman possessed by a devil, and he asked her about him and she said, '*stay* till my demon cometh,' and he came and she asked of him regarding Omar, and he said, 'I left him, girt round with a garment smearing with pitch the public camels,§ and that man, no devil seeth but he falleth upon his nostrils, the angel is before his eyes, and Gabriel speaketh by his tongue.'"

Sufyán‖ al Thauri says "whosoever thinketh that Ali had more right to the Caliphate, than Abu Bakr or Omar, hath ascribed blame to Abu Bakr, Omar, the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries. And Sharík¶ has

* For an account of this, consult Sale, p. 146.

† Consult Sale, p. 349.

‡ The grandson of Omar distinguished for the piety and austerity of his life, died at Medina, A. H. 105-8.

§ "The abstinence and humility of Omar," says Gibbon "were not inferior to the virtues of Abu Bakr: his food consisted of barley-bread or dates: his drink was water: he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places, and a Persian satrap who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosque of Medina." Decline and Fall.

‖ Abu A'bdu'llah Sufyán at Thauri-b-Sa'íd-b-Masrúḳ was a native of Kúfah and of the highest authority in traditions and other sciences. He was made Káḍhi of Kúfah by al Mahdi, but he fled and concealed himself to avoid the honour and its heavy responsibility—an amusing account of this is given by Ibn Khallikán, Sufyán was born A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4), and died at Baṣrah A. H. 161 (777-8).

¶ The printed edition has Shurayk, but this is an error. There is no one of any note bearing that name, while Abu A'bdu'llah Sharík an Nakha'i was the person who was appointed Káḍhi of Kúfah, after Sufyán at Thauri s flight. He was a strong upholder of Ali's merits, and his evidence is therefore adduced in proof of the superiority,

observed, ‘no one who hath goodness in him, placeth A’li before Abu Bakr and Omar.’ And Abu Usámah says ‘do ye know who were Abu Bakr and Omar?—those two men were the father of Islám and its mother. And Jaa’far as Ṣádiḳ,* ‘I am quit of any one who mentioneth Abu Bakr or Omar otherwise than favorably.’”

On the coincidences of the sayings of Omar with the Ḳurán *which some of* the learned *compute at more than twenty.*

Ibn Mardawayh records on the authority of Mujáhid that Omar would form a judgment and the Ḳuran would reveal it. And Ibn Asákir from Ali, that he said, “verily there are in the Ḳurán some judgments after the judgment of Omar;” and from Ibn Omar, an ascription reaching to the prophet, “the people never spake regarding a thing, Omar likewise having spoken regarding it, but the Ḳurán was revealed after the manner that Omar had spoken.” And the two Shaykhs from Omar that he said, “I was in accordance with my Lord in three things; I said ‘O Apostle of God if we were to take the station of Abraham for a place of prayer, and there was revealed, take the station of Abraham for a place of prayers’ (Kur. II): and I said, ‘O Apostle of God, there go unto thy women the righteous and the sinner, and did thou but command them to be veiled!’—then was revealed the verse regarding the veiling; and the wives of the prophet assembled in indignation and I said, ‘if he divorce you, his Lord can easily give him in exchange better wives than you.’ (Kur. LXVI) and the like unto that was revealed.” And Muslim from Omar that he said, “I was in accordance with my Lord in three things—regarding the veiling—regarding the prisoners of Badr—and the station of Abraham.” Therefore in this tradition there is a fourth instance: again according to the Tahḍíb of an Nawawi, the Ḳurán was revealed coincidently with his judgment, regarding the prisoners of Badr—the veiling—the station of Abraham and the prohibition of wine. Thus

universally acknowledged, of Abu Bakr and Omar. I can, however, find in Ibn Khallikán no hint of Sharik’s assertion of the pre-eminence of Abu Bakr and Omar—the evidence seems quite the other way, and I strongly suspect that as Suyúṭi’s citation is not to be trusted.

* The Imám Abu A’bdu’llah Jaa’far as Ṣádiḳ (the Veracious) fourth in descent from Ali-b-Abi Ṭálib, born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699), died and buried at Medina A. H. 148 (765). The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muḥammad al Bákir, his grandfather A’li Zayn u’l A’ábidín and his grandfather’s uncle, al Hasan son of A’li. “How rich a tomb,” says Ibn Khallikán “in generosity and nobility!”

a fifth instance is added, the tradition regarding which is in the Sunan and the Mustadrak of al Ḥákim, namely, that he said, 'O God, manifest unto us regarding wine, a distinct declaration;' God then revealed its prohibition.*

Ibn Abi Ḥátim records in his Commentary on the authority of Anas that Omar said, "I was in accordance with my Lord in four things—the following verse was revealed, 'we formerly created man in a finer sort of clay' &c. (Kur. XXIII) and when it was revealed, I said, 'wherefore, blessed be God, the most excellent Creator,' and then came down, 'Wherefore blessed be God, the most excellent Creator.'† (Kur. XXIII). A sixth instance is thus added in this tradition, and for the tradition there is another line of ascription which I have adduced in the Tafsír u'l Musnad. Again I have seen in the work 'Fadháil u'l Imámayn' (*Distinguishing merits of the two* Imáms), by Abu A'bdu'llah as Shaybáni, that Omar was in accordance with his Lord in one and twenty instances. He mentions these six and adds

7th. "The story of A'bdu'llah-b-Ubayy." I observe that its tradition is in the Ṣaḥíḥ on the authority of Omar who said, "when A'bdu'llah-b-Ubayy died, the Apostle of God was invited to read prayers over him, and he stood over him, but I arose *and advanced* until I was abreast of him and said, 'O Apostle of God! what! over the enemy of God, the son of Ubayy who said one day such and such a thing,—and by Allah, but a little while after there came down "Neither do thou pray over any of them who shall die" &c.'" Kur. IX).‡

8th. "'They will ask thee concerning wine &c.' (Kur. II).

9th. "'O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk' (IV). I remark that these two with the verse from the *Sura of the* 'Table' (IV) are but one single instance, and the three are in the preceding tradition.

10th. "When the Apostle of God was frequent in asking pardon for a faction, Omar said, 'it shall be equal unto them;' then God revealed 'It shall be equal unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them' (Kur. LXIII). I observe that at Ṭabaráni has recorded this on the authority of Ibn A'bbás.

11th. "When Muḥammad consulted the Companions regarding the advance to Badr, Omar counselled the advance, and there came down 'as the Lord brought thee forth from thy house, &c.,' (Kur. VIII).

* In Chs. III and V.

† These words are ascribed by Sale to A'bdu'llah-b-Saa'd, Muḥammad's amanuensis. See Sale's Ḳur. p. 108.

‡ For the story, consult Sale, p. 159.

12th. "When he consulted the Companions regarding the affair of the Falsehood,* Omar said, 'who gave her to thee in marriage, O Apostle of God?' He replied 'Allah'—Omar said, 'dost thou then think that thy Lord would put a deceit upon thee regarding her? God forbid! this is a grievous calumny,' (Kur. XXIV), and the like was revealed.

13th. "The account concerning him in the matter of the fast when Omar went in unto his wife after waking from sleep, and that was forbidden in the beginning of Islám; and there was revealed, 'it is lawful for you on the night of the fast, &c.' (Ḳur. II). I note that Aḥmad has recorded this in his Musnad.

14th. "The words of the Most High 'whoever is an enemy to Gabriel, &c.,' (Ḳur. II). I note that Ibn u'z Zubayr and others have recorded this with numerous lines of ascription and the nearest of these to coincidence *with the Ḳurán* is that recorded by Ibn Abi Ḥákim on the authority of A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Laylah, *viz.*, that a Jew met Omar and said, 'verily Gabriel, he whom your master speaketh of, is an enemy to us;' and Omar said to him, 'whosoever is an enemy to God, or his angels, or his Apostles, or to Gabriel or Michael, verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers.' (Kur. II). Thus it was revealed by the tongue of Omar.

15th. "The words of the Most High. 'And by thy Lord, they will not *perfectly* believe, &c.,' (Kur. IV). I observe that Ibn Abi Ḥátim and Ibn Mardawayh have recorded the story of this, on the authority of Abu'l Aswad, who said, 'two men carried their dispute for decision before the prophet, and he judged between them, and the man against whom he had decided, said, "let us appeal to Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb," and they went to him, and the *other* man said, "the Apostle of God has judged in my favour against this man, but he exclaimed let us appeal to Omar;" and Omar said, "was it so?" He replied "yes." Then Omar said, "stay where ye are until I come out unto you,"' and he went out to them grasping his sword, and he smote him who had said, 'let us appeal to Omar,' and slew him and the other went back and said, 'O Apostle of God! Omar hath slain my Companion.' He answered 'I should not have thought that Omar would dare to slay a true believer.' Then God revealed, 'and by thy Lord they will not *perfectly* believe,' &c. Thus the blood of the man was made lawful and Omar was absolved from *the guilt of* his death. To this tradition there is also concurrent testimony which I have adduced in the Tafsir u'l Musnad.

16th. "The asking permission to enter, and this was because his slave went in to him, while he was sleeping, and he said, 'O God! forbid their

* The imputations against the conduct of Ayesha when she was accidentally left behind on the return march to Medina after the expedition against the Banu Musṭaliḳ, see Sale, p. 288.

entrance;' and there was revealed the verse regarding the asking permission (Kur. XXIV.)

17th. "His words concerning the Jews. 'Verily they are a people not seeing the right course.'*

18th. "The words of the Most High, 'And there shall be many of the former and many of the latter.' (Kur. XXXVI) I note that Ibn A'sákir has recorded the story of this in his history, on the authority of Jábir-b-A'bdu'llah and it is in the Asbáb u'n Nuzúl *(Reasons of Revelation)*.

19th. "He adduced the citation† 'The man and woman of advanced years when they commit adultery,' &c.

20th. "On the day of Ohud, when Abu Sufyán called out, 'is there a certain one among the people?' his saying, 'do not answer him,' and the Apostle of God acted conformably to his counsel. I note that Aḥmad has recorded this in his Musnad."

As Shaybáni continues, "and there should be added to this, that which Othmán-b-Sa'íd a'd Dárami in the work 'The Refutation of the Jahmíyah,'‡ has recorded from Sálim-b-A'bd'illah, that Kaa'b al Ahbár said, 'woe unto the king of earth from the king of heaven;' and Omar exclaimed, 'save unto him who calleth himself to account,' and Kaa'b replied 'by Him in whose hand is my life, verily it is in the Pentateuch—thou hast indeed said according to it,' and Omar fell worshipping."

I have also seen in the Kámil of Ibn A'di on the authority of Ibn Omar that Bilál used to call out, when he summoned to prayers, "I testify that there is no God, but God—come ye to prayers," and Omar said to him, "say at the end of it, 'I testify that Muḥammad is the Apostle of God;' and the Apostle of God said, 'say as Omar hath spoken.'"

On his miracles.

Al Bayhaḳi and Abu Nua'ym have both of them recorded in the proofs of prophecy, and al Lálakái in the commentary on the Tradition, and ad Dayr§ A'áḳúli in his observations, and Ibn al Aa'rábi|| in the "Miracles

* This refers to Ḳur. II. فبهت الذى كفر

† A case of this kind was brought before Omar, and he directed them to be stoned, quoting at the same time this verse which was revealed but never written. It is not to be found in the Ḳurán, but retains all the authority of the written ordinances.

‡ A sect of the Ḳadaris who deny absolute predestination.

§ Dayr u'l A'ḳúl is a town situated on the Tigris fifteen parasangs distant from Baghdad. The traditionist here alluded to is probably Yahya Abdu'l Karím-b-u'l Haytham who died in A. H. 278. Yakúṭ M. B.

|| Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-Ziyád, a genealogist and philologer of the highest

of the saints," and al Khaṭíb in the Traditionists of Málik, on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he said, "Omar had despatched an army at the head of which was a man called Sáriyah, and while Omar was *one day* preaching he began to call out, 'O Sáriyah! the hill!' three times. After this arrived a messenger from the army, and Omar questioned him and he said, 'O prince of the faithful, we were being routed, and while we were thus, lo! we heard a voice calling out, "O Sáriyah! the hill," three times, so we stayed our backs against the hill, and the Lord put them to flight.' He adds—'they said to Omar, "verily thou didst call out so." This hill near to which Sáriyah was, is by Naháwand in Persian Irák.'" Ibn Mardawayh records from Ibn Omar that he said, "Omar was preaching on a Friday, when he uttered vague words in his discourse saying, 'O Sáriyah! the hill! he who asketh of the wolf to keep guard, doth wrong:' and the people looked one upon the other, and A'li said to them, 'let him explain what he hath said.' And when he ceased, they asked of him, and he replied, 'we thought that the infidels had routed our brethren, who verily were passing by a hill, and if they inclined towards it, they would have to fight on one front only, and if they passed beyond it they would be destroyed; then there went forth from me what ye thought ye heard.' He adds that a messenger arrived a month afterwards, and said that they had heard the voice of Omar on that day, and he continued, 'we inclined towards the hill and God gave us the victory.'"

Abu Nua'ym records in the "Proofs" from A'mr-b-u'l Háriṭh* that he said, "while Omar was preaching on a Friday, lo! he abruptly checked his discourse and exclaimed—'O Sáriyah! the hill!' twice or three times, and then proceeded with his preaching, and some who were present exclaimed 'verily he raveth—surely he is mad.' Whereon A'bdu'r Raḥman-b-A'uf who had confidence in him, went to him and said—'thou givest them occasion to speak against thee, for whilst thou wert preaching, behold! thou didst cry out "O Sáriyah, the hill!"—what meaneth this?' He replied, 'verily, by Allah, I could not restrain it! I saw them fighting near a hill, and they were being attacked in their front and rear, and I could not help exclaiming "O, Sáriyah! the hill," that they might gain the hill.' And they tarried until the messenger of Sáriyah arrived with his despatch, *saying*, "the enemy met us upon a Friday, and we fought them until, when the hour of congregating for prayer arrived, we heard

reputation; a list of his works is given by Ibn Khall. He was born A. H. 150 (767) and died at Sarraman-ráa A. H. 231 (846).

* A'mr-b-u'l Háriṭh b-Abi Dḥirár, a native of Kúfah and a Companion. He was the brother of Juayríyah one of Muḥammad's wives and of the Banu Musṭaliḳ. An Nawawi.

one calling out 'O Sáriyah! the hill!' twice, and we gained the hill and we continued to prevail over our enemy until the Lord defeated them and slew them."' Then those that had reproached Omar, said, 'leave this man alone, for verily he is in collusion with him.'"

Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Bishrán in his Fawáid records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that Omar b-u'l Khaṭṭáb said to a man, "what is thy name?" He replied, "Jamrah" (*a live coal*). He said, "The son of whom?" He answered, "the son of Shiháb" (*flame*). He asked, "of what tribe?" he replied, "al Ḥurḳah" (*heat*). He said, "where is thy dwelling?" he answered, "at al Ḥarrah" (*warmth*). He asked, "at which of them?" He replied "of Ḍát Ladha" (*blazing*). Then Omar said, "go to thy family for verily they have been burnt." And the man returned and found that his people had been burnt to death.

Abu'l Shaykh records in the Kitáb u'l A'dhamat (*Book of greatness*) on the authority of Ḳays-b-u'l Hajjáj, who had it from one who related it to him, that when Egypt was conquered, A'mr-b-u'l A'ás arrived on a certain day of one of the Coptic months, and the people said to him, "verily our Nile hath an observance without which it will not rise." He asked "and what is that?" They said, "when eleven nights of this month* have elapsed, we seek a girl, a virgin, living with her parents, and we obtain the consent of her parents, and we robe her with garments and ornaments, the best that can be had, and throw her into this Nile." And A'mr said to them—"this can never be in Islám for verily Islám destroyeth what preceded it." They therefore departed, and the Nile rose neither little nor much, so that they meditated leaving their country. And when A'mr saw that, he wrote to Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭab concerning it, and Omar replied to him, *saying*, "verily thou hast acted rightly in what thou hast done, for verily, Islám destroyeth what preceded it," and he sent a slip of paper within his letter, and wrote to A'mr, *saying*, "verily, I have sent thee a slip of paper within my letter, which cast into the Nile." And when the letter of Omar reached A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, he took the slip of paper and opened it, and behold, there was in it, "From the servant of God, the Prince of the Faithful, to the Nile of Egypt—Now, if thou didst rise of thy own power, then rise not, but if the Lord caused thee to rise, then I implore the Lord, the One, the Conqueror, to make thee rise!" And he cast the slip of paper into the Nile, a day before† *the Festival of* the Cross. And when they entered upon the next morning,

* Abu'l Mahásin determines this to be the Coptic month of Búnah, that is, the Syrián month of Huzayrán or our June approximately. Nujúm uz Záhirah.

† Abu'l Mahásin has قبل يوم عيد الصليب بيوم This date, according to the Calendars of the Eastern and Western Churches, is the 14th September.

verily the Lord had caused it to rise sixteen cubits in a single night; thus the Lord put an end to this custom among the people of Egypt up to this day.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ṭárik-b-Shiháb* that he said, "if a man spoke with Omar in conversation and told him a falsehood, he would say, 'withhold this,' then as he continued the conversation, he would say, 'withhold this also,' and the man would say to him, 'all that I said to thee was the truth, except what thou didst command me to withhold.' And from al Ḥasan that he said, 'if there was a man who knew a falsehood when it was spoken, it was Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb.'"

Al Bayhaḳi records in the Proofs on the authority of Abu Hudbah al Ḥimṣi that he said, "Omar was informed that the people of Irák had pelted with stones their governor, and he went forth in a violent anger and prayed, but was distracted in his prayers, and when he came to the salutation, he said, 'O God, verily they have put confusion upon me, therefore put thou confusion upon them, and place over them a youth of the Banu Thaḳíf who may rule over them after the manner of the rule of the time of Ignorance, not receiving with favour the beneficent among them, and not pardoning their evildoers.'" I observe that he referred by this, to al Hajjáj. Ibn Lahía'h† says that at that time al Hajjaj was not born.

On some particulars of his character.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of al Aḥnaf-b-u'l Ḳays‡ that he said, "we were seated at Omar's door, when there passed by a slave girl,

* Abu A'bdu'llah, Ṭáriḳ b-Shiháb the Companion. He was born before the rise of Islám, and fought in about thirty or forty expeditions under Abu Bakr and Omar. He was a native of Kúfah and died there in A. H. 83. An Nawawi.

† Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán A'bdu'llah-b-Lahía'h al Gháfiki, a native of Egypt was a narrator of traditions and historical narratives and pieces in prose and verse but of weak memory and of little repute. He was appointed Ḳádhi of Old Cairo by Abu Jaa'far al Manṣúr A. H. 155 (A. D. 772) and removed from office A. H. 164. He was the first Ḳádhi who made it his duty to be present when watch was kept for the new moon in Ramadhán but this custom was discontinued under the Fatimite dynasty and re-established by Saláḥ ud Dín. He died at Old Cairo A. H. 174 (790) or some say A. H. 170, aged eighty-one. Ibn Khall.

‡ Abu Bakr ad Dahhák-b-Ḳays (a different person from the one who fell at Marj Ráhit) surnamed at Tamími, was generally known as al Aḥnaf or the Clubfoot. He was chief of his tribe and held high rank among the Tabi'ís and possessed a great

and they said, 'she is the concubine of the Prince of the Faithful.' And Omar exclaimed, 'she is not a concubine of the Prince of the Faithful and is not lawful to him, verily she is the property of the Lord.'* Then we said, 'what then is lawful to him of the property of the Most High God?' He replied, 'verily, nothing is lawful to Omar of what belongeth to the Lord, but two garments, a garment for winter and a garment for summer, and what may enable him to perform the pilgrimage and the religious visitations, and my sustenance and that of my family is like unto that of a man of the Ḳuraysh, neither the richest nor the poorest of them. Beyond this I am but a man among the Muslims.' Khuzaymah-b-Thábit† says, that when Omar appointed a ruler, he would write to him and make it conditional upon him, that he should not ride a palfrey, nor eat delicacies, nor clothe himself in fine garments, nor close his doors against the needy, for if he should do this, verily punishment would come upon him." A'krimah-b-Khálid and others narrate, that Hafṣah‡ and A'bdu'llah and some others expostalated with Omar and said, "if thou wert to eat good food, it would confirm thee in *maintaining* the truth:" he exclaimed, "are ye all of this opinion?" They said, "yes." He replied, "I understand your counsel, but I have left my two Companions upon a road, and if I depart from their road, I shall not find them at the journey's end." He adds, "and a dearth fell upon the people, and he eat that year, neither butter nor fat." Ibn Abi Mulaykah narrates that U'ḳbah-b-Farḳad spoke to Omar about his food, and he exclaimed, "fie on thee, shall I eat of good things during my life in this world, and seek enjoyment in them." Al Ḥasan states that Omar went in to his son A'ásim who was eating flesh meat, and he exclaimed, "what is this?" He replied, "I had a great craving for it." Omar retorted, "dost thou eat everything thou hast a craving for? It would be sufficiently immoderate in a man that he should eat all that he desired." Aslam mentions that Omar said, "a craving for fresh fish hath come upon me." He continues, "whereon Yarfá§ mounted his

reputation for acuteness, learning and prudence. His influence was such, that, as Mu'áwiyah's sister said of him, if he were angered, he had one hundred thousand of the tribe of Tamím to share his anger without asking him the reason of it. He died at Kúfah about A. H. 67. The notice of his life in Ibn Khall will repay perusal.

* *I. e.* The State Treasury, used for the benefit of all the Muslims.

† Abu U'márah Khuzaymah-b-Thábit, was one of the Auxiliaries, and a native of Medina. Surnamed also Khaṭmah, from his once smiting a man on the nose (خطم) He fought al Badr and other battles, and was present with A'li at the fight of the Camel, and at Siffín where he himself was killed A. H. 37. An Nawawi.

‡ His daughter (wife of Muḥammad); A'bdu'llah was his son.

§ The freedman of Omar.

camel and rode four *miles* on and four *miles* back and purchased a basketful of a miktal weight,* and brought it, and then betook himself to his camel and washed it down and repaired to Omar who said, 'come, that I may see the camel,' and he looked upon it and exclaimed, 'thou hast forgotten to cleanse this sweat that is under its ear. An animal hath been punished to serve the appetite of Omar—no, by Allah, Omar shall not taste of thy basket.'"

Ḳatádah says, that Omar when he was Caliph, used to wear a garment of woollen stuff patched partly with leather, and would wander through the streets with a scourge over his shoulders with which he chastised the people, and passing by bits of rag and dates, he would gather them up and throw them into the houses of people, that they might make use of them. Anas says, "I saw between the shoulders of Omar, four patches in his shirt." And Abu Othmán an Nahdi, "I saw upon Omar a nether garment patched with leather." And A'bdu'llah-b-A'ámir-b-Rabíi'h,† "I made the pilgrimage with Omar, and he erected neither a tent of goat's hair, nor one of wool—he would throw his cloak, and mat of dressed skin upon a bush and seek shelter beneath it." And A'bdu'llah-b-Isa, "upon the face of Omar were two dark furrows *worn* from weeping." And al Ḥasan, "Omar would come to a verse of the Ḳurán of his daily recitation, and would fall down in a faint so that it would be some days before he recovered." And Anas, "I entered an enclosure and I heard Omar say—and between me and between him there was a wall"—"Omar, son of al Khaṭṭáb, Prince of the Faithful! good! by Allah, thou must fear God, son of al Khaṭṭáb, or He will surely punish thee!" And A'bdu'llah-b-Aámir-b-Rabíi'h, "I saw Omar take up a straw from the ground, and he said, 'would that I were this straw! O! would that I were nothing! would that my mother had not borne me!'" And U'baydu'llah-b-Omar-b-Hafṣ, "Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb carried upon his neck a skin of water, and people expostulated with him regarding it, and he said—'my spirit made me vain, and I wished to abase it.' And Muḥammad-b-Sirín, a kinsman of Omar's went to him and besought him to make him a grant from the public treasury, but Omar reproved him and said, 'dost thou wish that I should meet God a faithless prince?' and he bestowed upon him ten thousand dirhams from his own property." And an Nakha'i, "Omar used to carry on trade while he was Caliph." And Anas, "the stomach of Omar used to rumble from eating

* About 80 lbs.

† Descended from A'nz the son of Wáil and a confederate of al Khaṭṭáb the father of Omar. He was born four years before Muḥammad's death, and his father was a Companion of note. He died A. H. 85. An Nawawi.

olive oil in the year of destruction,* and verily he had forbidden himself *the use of* butter, and he tapped his stomach with his finger and said 'verily there is nothing else for us but that, until the people have the means of living.' And Sufyán-b-U'aynah narrates that Omar said, 'the most beloved of men to me, is he who discovers to me my faults.' Aslam says, 'I saw Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb take a horse by the ear, and with the other hand holding his own ear, leap upon the back of the horse.' And Ibn Omar, 'I never saw Omar, in a passion, but he restrained himself from what he sought to do when God was mentioned to him or the fear of God put into him, or a man read him a verse of the Ḳurán.' Bilál said to Aslam, 'what do you think of Omar?' He replied, 'he is the best of men, but when he is angry, it is a fearful thing,' and Bilál said, 'if thou art by him when he is angry, thou hast but to read the Ḳurán to him until his anger departs.' Al Aḥwaṣ-b-Ḥakím narrates on the authority of his father, that some flesh-meat was brought to Omar dressed with butter, but he refused to eat them and said 'they are both delicacies.' Ibn Saa'd gives all these details and records on the authority of al Ḥasan that Omar said, 'The simple way by which I govern the people is that I frequently change their rulers.' "

On his appearance.

Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Zirr,† that he said, " I went forth with the people of Medina on a festival day, and I saw Omar walking barefoot; he was advanced in years, bald, of a tawny colour—a left-handed man, tall and towering over the people." Al Wákidi observes, " it was not known to us that Omar was tawny coloured, unless it was that Zirr saw him in the year of destruction, when verily, his colour might have altered while he eat olive oil." Ibn Saa'd states on the authority of Ibn Omar that *the latter* was describing Omar and said, " he was a man fair of complexion, a ruddy tint prevailing, tall, bald and grey." And from U'bayd-b-U'mayr " Omar used to overtop the people in height." And from Salimah-b-u'l Akwaa', " Omar was ambidexter, that is, that he could use both his hands *equally well.*"

* The 17th year of the Flight in which men and cattle perished in great numbers. The word comes from رماد ashes;—being thus called, because the earth became like ashes by reason of the drought. Lane.

† Probably Abu Miriam Zirr, Hubaysh-b-Hubása, a member of the tribe of Asad and a native of Kúfah. He was a great master in the art of reading the Ḳurán and celebrated as a philologer. He died at a very advanced age A. H. 82 (A. D. 701). De Slane, I. K.

Ibn A'sákir records from Abu Raja al U'ṭáridi that he said, "Omar was a man, tall, stout, very bald, very ruddy, with scanty hair on the cheeks, his moustache large, and the ends of it reddish." In the history of Ibn A'sákir, it is recorded with various ascriptions, that the mother of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb, was Ḥantamah, the daughter of Hishám b-u'l Mughírah, and sister of Abu Jahl-b-Hishám; thus Abu Jahl was his maternal uncle.

On his Caliphate.

He assumed the Caliphate according to the bequest of Abu Bakr in Jumadá'l A'khirah, the thirteenth year of the Flight. Az Zuhri says that Omar was elected to the Vicegerency on the day of the death of Abu Bakr and that was on Tuesday, the 22nd of Jumáda'l A'khirah, (recorded by al Ḥákim). He directed the government with the most complete success and victories were numerous during his time. A. H. 13. A. D. 634.

In the year 14 A. H. Damascus was taken, partly by convention, partly by force: Emessa and Baa'lbek* by convention, and Baṣrah and Ubullah, both by force. In the same year, Omar assembled the people for the prayers called at Taráwíh† (al A'skari in the Awáil).

In the year 15 A. H. the whole of the country of the Jordan was subdued by force of arms, save Tiberias which was taken by convention; and in the same, occurred the battles of Yermúk‡ and Ḳádisíyyah. (Ibn Jarír.) During the same Saa'd§ founded Kúfah, and Omar established stipends for the soldiers and instituted the registers, and assigned allowances according to priority *of merit.*||

In the year 16 A. H. al Ahwáz was taken and al Madáin, and in the latter, Saa'd held the Friday prayers in the hall of Khusrau, and this was the first congregation assembled in Iráḳ, and that was in the month of Safar. In the same year was the battle of Jalúlá¶ in which Yezdajird grandson of Khusrau was defeated and fled to Rai; Takrít was captured and

* According to Yakút, the pronunciation of this is بعلبك—Ba'lubakka.

† See Note, p. 21.

‡ Hieromax, a stream formed by the springs of Mount Hermon, which loses itself in the Jordan below the lake of Tiberias.

§ Ibn Abi Waḳḳáṣ.

|| See an Nawawi. Art. Omar.

¶ A river that flows through Ba'kúba, and where the Persians were defeated with great slaughter, no less than a hundred thousand it is said, having fallen. The river took its name of Jalúla, says Yakút, from the excessive (جلل) number of the slain.

Omar marched and took Jerusalem, and preached at al Jabíyah* his famous discourse. And in the same Ḳinnasrín was taken by force of arms, and Aleppo and Antioch, and Manbij by treaty and Sarúj by force, and Ḳirḳísíyah by treaty. In the month of Rabíi' u'l Awwal, the Era of the Flight was adopted by the advice of A'li.

A. D. 638. A. H. 17. In the year 17 A. H. Omar enlarged the mosque of the prophet, and a famine occurred in Hijáz and it was called the year of destruction and Omar through *the merits* of A'bbás prayed for rain for the people. Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Niyár al Aslami, that when Omar went forth to pray for rain he appeared with the mantle of the Apostle of God upon him. And from Ibn A'un† that he said, "Omar took the hand of Abbás, and lifted it up and said, 'O God! I implore Thee by the uncle of Thy prophet, that Thou wilt cause this drought to pass away from us, and send down rain upon us;' and they did not quit the place till it rained, and the heavens poured down rain upon them for days." During the same year al Ahwáz was taken by treaty.

In the year 18 A. H., Jundaysábúr was occupied by convention, and Hulwán by force. A pestilence also occurred at Emaus; Edessa and Sumaysáṭ were taken by force, and Harrán and Naṣíbín and a part of Mesopotamia by force (though some say by convention), and Mosal and its adjacent districts.

In the year 19 A. H., Cæsarea‡ was overpowered. In the year 20 A. H. Egypt was conquered by force of arms, though it is also said, that with the exception of Alexandria which was taken, the whole of Egypt *surrendered* under convention. Ali-b-Rabáḥ says that the whole of Mauritania was won by force of arms,§: Tustar|| was also taken possession of. In the same died the Roman Emperor (*Heraclius*), and Omar expelled the Jews from Khaybar and Najrán and apportioned Khaybar and Wádi u'l Ḳura *among those who had been present at the expedition.*¶

In the year 21 A. H. Alexandria was taken by storm, and Naháwand, and after this the Persians were unable to muster an army: also Barḳah and other places.

* In the province of Jaydúr in Palestine—Omar's discourse will be found in the Futúhu's Shám of al Azdi, p. 227.

† The freedman of Miswar-b-Makhramah, the Companion.

‡ This word in the original should be spelt with a ص instead of a س

§ Gibbon places the complete conquest seven years later under Othmán, the conduct of the invasion being entrusted to the foster-brother of the Caliph, A'bdu'llah-b-Saa'd, the amanuensis of Muḥammad.

|| The present Shúster in Khúzistán. Yaḳúṭ.

¶ Wadi u'l Ḳura is between Tayma and Khaybar. The expedition directed by Muḥammad took place A. H. 7. For the apportionment of the lands, my authority is Yaḳúṭ.

In the year 22 A. H. Ádarbíján was subdued by force, others say *surrendered* under convention, and Dínaur, Másabdán, and Hamadán captured, and Tripoli in Morocco and Rai and A'skar and Kúmas. A. H. 22. A. D. 642-3.

In the year 23 A. H. took place the conquest of Kirmán, Sajistán, and Makrán of the mountainous districts, and Ispahan and its dependencies.

Towards the close of the year occurred the death of our prince Omar, after his return from the pilgrimage, he being martyred. Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab says that when Omar returned from Mina,* he made his camel kneel in the watercourse and throwing himself backwards, lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O God! I am advanced in years and my strength has failed, and my zeal dissipated; take me therefore to thyself while as yet I have not fallen short of my duty nor exceeded due bounds;" and the month of Dú'l Hijjah did not elapse before he was slain, (al Hákim) (3rd November 643).

Abu Sálih as Sammán† narrates that Kaa'b u'l Ahbár said to Omar, "I find in the Pentateuch that thou wilt be martyred." He replied, "how can martyrdom be mine, I being in the land of Arabia?" And Aslam, that Omar said, "O God, give me for my portion, martyrdom in thy cause, and grant that my death may be in the city of Thy Apostle," (al Bukhári). Maa'dán-b-Abi Talhah narrates that Omar preached and said, "I beheld a vision as if a fowl had struck me with its beak one or two blows, and verily I see in it but my approaching death. And verily there are some who enjoin me to name a successor, and indeed the Lord will not neglect‡ His faith and His Vicegerency, but if anything overtake me, then the Vicegerency is to be determined by consultation among those six with whom the Apostle of God, when he died, approved". (al Hakim). Az Zuhri states that Omar used not to suffer a captive who had reached the age of puberty, to enter Medína, but al Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah, being in Kúfah, wrote to him and mentioned to him that he had with him, a youth, a cunning workman, and asked his permission that he might enter Medína, and added that he was a master of several trades profitable to the people, for he was a blacksmith, an engraver and a carpenter. Omar therefore gave him permission to send him to Medína, and al Mughírah put a tax§ upon him of one hundred dirhams a month. He, however, went to Omar

* The return from Mina to Mecca during the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, is called an Nafr or the Flight.

† Abu Sálih as Sammán named also Dhakwán and surnamed az Zaiyát, was a Mawla of the tribe of Ghátfán and an eminent Traditionist, died at Medína A. H. 101 (719-20). De Slane, I. K.

‡ Compare Kur. II, وما كان الله ليضيع ايمانكم

§ That is, that he was to pay that sum to his master from his earnings.

A. H. 23. and complained of the severity of the tax, but Omar replied that the tax
A. D. 643. was not excessive ; he, therefore, departed indignantly murmuring. Omar waited some days and then sent for him and said, "was not I informed that thou sayest, that if thou wouldst thou art able to make a mill that will grind by means of the wind?" He looked upon Omar sullenly and said, "verily I will make a mill for thee that men shall talk about," : when he retired, Omar said to those that were about him, "the slave but now threatened me." After a little, Abu Lúlúah* took a double-bladed dagger, having its haft in the middle, and hid in a corner of one of the recesses of the mosque before day-break, and remained there until Omar came forth rousing the people to prayers, and when he drew near him, he stabbed him with three blows. (Ibn Saa'd.) A'mr-b-Maymún the Auxiliary narrates, that Abu Lúlúah, the slave of al Mughírah, struck Omar with his double-bladed dagger, and wounded together with him twelve men, of whom six died, and a man of Irák threw a garment over him, and when he was suffocating in it, he slew himself. Abu Ráfi',† states, that Abu Lúlúah the slave of al Mughírah, used to make mills, and al Mughírah tasked him daily with an impost of four dirhams, and he met Omar and said, "O Prince of the Faithful, verily al Mughírah hath been hard upon me, therefore speak to him;" and he answered, "act well towards thy master," and it was the intention of Omar to speak to al Mughírah regarding it. But the other grew angry and said, "the justice of Omar is extended unto all the people, save unto me." He therefore purposed his death, and took a dagger and sharpened it and poisoned it, and while Omar was exclaiming, "get ye into your ranks, before the takbír is said," the slave went and stood over against Omar in the rank and smote him in the shoulder and in the side, and Omar fell, and he wounded thirteen men with him, of whom six died. Omar was carried to his family, and the sun being about to rise, A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf read prayers before the people from the two shortest Súras. They brought Omar date-wine, and he drank of it and it came out of his wound, but it could not be distinguished *from the blood;* they therefore gave him milk, and it came out of his wound, and they said, "there is no harm to thee" and he answered, "if there be harm‡ in being slain, why then I am slain." The people then began to

* The slave's name.

† There are several of this name. The one referred to is probably the freedman of Muḥammad. He had been given by A'bbás to Muḥammad who gave him his liberty on hearing of the conversion of A'bbás. Some say he died before Othmán's murder, others, during the Caliphate of A'li. Ibn Hajr and an Nawawi.

‡ In other narrations given in the Kitab u'l Iktifá on the authority of A'mr-b-Mayyún the outflow of the milk from the wound, was decisive in regard to the wound being mortal. The physician who was called in, told him he could not live till the evening.

praise him, saying, "thou wert such and such," but he said "yet, by Allah, I would that I might escape *from judgment* with these as a sufficiency,* nothing due by me nor to me, and that the Companionship of the Apostle of God were a security unto me." Then Ibn A'bbás praised him, but he said—"if the fulness of the earth in gold were mine, assuredly I would ransom myself therewith from the terror of the day of resurrection,† and verily, I have made *the election to the Caliphate* to be determined in consultation by Othmán, A'li, Ṭalḥah, az Zubayr, A'bd'ur Raḥman-b-A'uf, and Saa'd." And he commanded Ṣuhayb to pray before the people, and appointed for the six a term of three days‡ wherein to deliberate (al Ḥákim). Ibn A'bbás says that Abu Lúlúah was a Magian. A'mr-b Maymún narrates that Omar said, "praise be to God, that he hath not caused my death by the hand of a man who professeth Islám." Then he said to his son, "O A'bdu'llah, see what debts I owe;" and they computed and found them to be eighty-six thousand *dirhams*, or about that. And he said, "if the property of the family of Omar be sufficient, then pay it from their goods, otherwise ask of the Banu A'di, and if their goods be not sufficient, then ask of the Ḳuraysh. Go to Ayesha, the Mother of the Faithful, and say, 'Omar asketh leave that he may be buried with his two Companions.' And A'bdúllah went to her and she said, 'I wished it (meaning the place) for myself, but now I shall assuredly give him the preference over myself.' And A'bdúllah went *back* and said, 'verily she hath given permission;' then Omar praised the Most High God. They said also to him "make a testament, O prince of the Faithful, and appoint a successor." He answered, "I do not see any one more entitled to this authority than those men with whom the Apostle of God, when he died, was content," and he named the six. He added, "let A'bdu'llah the son of Omar be present with them, but he must have no part in the affair, and if the

A. H. 23.
A. D. 643.

* و ددت ان ذلک کان کفافا This is the reading of the same tradition on the same authority, in the Kitáb u'l Iktifa. The ذلک referring to the praises which were being made of him.

† المطلع lit. "the place whence one will look down *on the day of resurrection*, but it may be taken as a noun of time and applied to the day of judgment, see Lane art. طلع.

‡ This is made clear from the Kitáb u'l Iktifá, in two traditions from Simák-b-Harb and Anas respectively. Omar ordered the father of Ṭalḥah to take fifty men and post themselves at the door of the house where the six were to deliberate, and to suffer no one to enter, nor the third day to elapse without the election being concluded. According to the former tradition, the Anṣárs were directed to confine the six for three days in a house, and if by that time their deliberations were not satisfactorily concluded, they were to enter and slay them. An effectual method of quickening the most hesitating judgment.

A. H. 23. government fall to Saa'd, then let him be the man, but if not, then let
A. D. 643. whichever of ye be named to rule, seek his assistance, for verily I did not remove him either for incapacity or treachery."* He went on to say, "I commend to the Caliph after me, the fear of God, and I commend to him the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries, and I commend to him the welfare of the people of the provinces," with other similar charges. And when he died, we went forth with him at a foot-pace and A'bdu'llah the son of Omar, saluted and said, "Omar desireth permission," and Ayesha replied "bring him in;" and he was taken in and placed there with his Companions. When his burial was over, and they had returned, those of the Council assembled, and A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf said, "delegate your authority unto three among you." Then az Zubayr said, "I give my authority to A'li," and Saa'd said, "I give my authority to A'bdu'r Raḥmán," and Ṭalḥah said, "I give my authority to Othmán." *The narrator* continues, "then those three went apart and A'bdu'r Raḥmán said, 'I do not desire it'—now which of you two will be quit of this affair? and we will put it to him (and God be his witness and Islám) to consider the best among *the Muslims* in his own judgment, and to strive for the welfare of the people." Then the two Shaykhs A'li and Othmán were silent, whereon A'bdu'r Raḥmán said, "give *the choice* unto me, and the Lord be my witness, I shall not fail ye in *choosing* the best of ye." The two agreed and he retired apart with A'li and said, "thou hast the priority in Islám and kinship with the Apostle of God as thou well knowest, the Lord be thy witness, that if I give thee the authority, thou wilt do justice, and if I put another over thee, thou wilt hear and obey!" He said, "yes." Then he retired apart with the other and said the same to him, and when he received their promises, he swore allegiance to Othmán, and A'li likewise swore him allegiance.

It is recorded in the Musnad of Aḥmad on the authority of Omar that he said, "if my death overtake me, and Abu U'baydah be yet alive, I appoint him my successor, and if my Lord enquireth of me, I shall answer that I heard the Apostle of God say, 'every prophet hath one in whom he confides, and my trusted one is Abu U'baydah the son of al Jarráh; but if my death overtake me and Abu U'baydah be dead, I appoint as successor Mu'áḍ the son of Jabal, and if my Lord enquire of me why I appointed him, I shall answer that I heard the Apostle of God say that he

* The people of Kúfah complained to the Caliph against Saa'd, on account of his injustice and oppression, and his unorthodox manner of reading prayers, and Omar removed him from his government and appointed in his place A'mmár-b-Yásir. Ibn Athír. Ockley ascribes the removal of Saa'd to Othmán, in the 35th year of the Flight.

would be raised up on the day of resurrection in front of the doctors of science, a little apart."* However they both died during his Caliphate. In the same Musnad it is stated on the authority of Abu Ráfi', that Omar when dying was spoken to regarding the appointment of a successor, and he said, "verily, I have seen among my Companions an evil covetousness, and if one of two men were attainable to me, and I could make over this authority to him, I would trust him, *viz.*, Salim† the freedman of Abu Ḥuḍayfah, and Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarráh." A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

Omar was stabbed on Wednesday the 26th of Ḍu'l Hijjah and was buried on Sunday the first of the Sacred month of Muḥarram being sixty-three years old—some say he was sixty-six, and some sixty-one, and others sixty, which al Wáḳidi prefers. Again, according to some, he was fifty-nine, and to others, fifty-five or fifty-four. Ṣuhayb prayed over him in the mosque.

According to the Tahḍíb of al Muzani,‡ the impression on the signet ring of Omar was "Death is a sufficient admonisher."

At Ṭabaráni records on the authority of Ṭáriḳ-b-Shiháb, that Umm Ayman said on the day that Omar was slain, "Islám is to-day rent." And from A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Yasár,§ "I witnessed the death of Omar and the sun was eclipsed on that day." (His authorities are trustworthy.)

On the things in which he was foremost.

Al A'skari says that he was the first who was called Prince of the Faithful, and the first who adopted the Era of the Flight, and the first who established a public treasury, and the first who instituted the prayers (*at Taráwíḥ*) of the month of Ramadhán, and the first who went the rounds at night, and the first who punished lampooning, and the first who gave eighty *stripes* for indulgence in wine, and the first who prohibited marriage limited to a term, and the first who forbade the sale of female

* According to an Nawawi the tradition makes the distance a bow shot. ياتي معاذ يوم القيمة رتوة بين العلماء

† Salim was slain at Yamámah. See, note §, p. 98.

‡ Abu Ibrahím Isma'íl-b-Yahya al Muzani, was a disciple of the Imám as Sháfi'i and a native of Egypt. He was of most austere life, a Mujtahid, and a profound thinker. He was the author of many works, the most celebrated being the Mukhtaṣaru'l Mukhtaṣar (Abridgement abridged) a treatise on the legal doctrines of the Sháfiites. He died at Miṣr A. H. 264 (878). Muzani signifies belonging to Muzayna a well-known tribe named after Muzayna, daughter of Kalb. Ibn Khall.

§ The MS. has Bushár, the printed edition. "Yasár" with (Bushár) in brackets. I can find no notice of the individual alluded to, in any works to which I have access.

A. H. 23. slaves who had borne children to their masters, and the first who assembled
A. D. 643. the people to prayers over the dead with four Takbírs, and the first who instituted the public register, and the first who made conquests, and made a survey of the Sawad,* and the first who brought corn from Egypt by the bay of Aylah *(Aḳaba)* to Medína, and the first who constituted the poor-rate in Islám to be used unalienably for the service of God, and the first who adopted the deviation by excess in *the division* of inheritances,† and the first who instituted the dedication of horses for religious service, and the first who said, "may God lengthen thy life," (he said it to A'li); and the first who said, "may God strengthen thee," (he said it to A'li). This is the end of al A'skari's narration.

An Nawawi mentions in his Taḥḍíb, that he was the first who adopted the use of the scourge. Ibn Saa'd states this in his Ṭabaḳát, and adds that it used to be said afterwards "verily the scourge of Omar is more terrible than your swords." He continues, "he was the first who established Ḳáḍhis in the provinces, and the first who founded the cities of Baṣrah and Kúfah, and *placed in a flourishing condition* Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and Mosal."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ismá'íl-b-Ziyád, that he said, that A'li, passing by the mosques in the month of Ramadhán in which lamps were burning, exclaimed, "may the Lord illumine Omar in his grave as he hath illumined for us our mosques."

Ibn Saa'd says that Omar established meal-houses, and placed within them flour and parched barley-meal, and dates and currants, and what might be necessary to aid the disabled traveller, and he stored along the road between Mecca and Medína, what would relieve those unable to continue their journey. He likewise demolished the mosque of the prophet and increased and enlarged it and floored it with pebbles. It was he who expelled the Jews from Hijáz to Syria, and transferred the people of Najrán to Kúfah. He also put back the praying station of Abraham, to the place where it now stands, it having before adjoined the Temple.

* The particulars of this survey will be found in Yakút art. بسواد

† For the explanation of the term عول I must refer the reader to the Muḥammadan Law of Inheritance, as it is too lengthy to transcribe here. Consult also Lane art. عول

On some accounts of him and his decisions.

Al A'skari records in the Awáil, and al Ṭabaráni in the Kabír, and al Ḥákim on the ascription of Ibn Shiháb that Omar-b-A'bdil A'zíz inquired of Abu Bakr-b-Sulaymán b-Abi Ḥathmah, *saying*, "how was it in the time of Abu Bakr that it used to be written, 'From the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,' and afterwards Omar used at first to write 'From the Vicegerent of Abu Bakr?' Who then first wrote, from the prince of the Faithful?" He answered, "as Shifá who was one of the Fugitive women, told me that Abu Bakr used to write, 'From the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,' and Omar used to write, 'From the Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,' until Omar wrote to the prefect of Irák to send him two sturdy men, whom he might question regarding Irák and the people thereof; and he sent him Labíd-b-Rabíi'h and A'di-b-Ḥátim. They arrived at Medina and entered the mosque, and found A'mr-b-u'l A'áṣ, and they said, 'ask permission for us to see the prince of the Faithful.' A'mr replied, 'by Allah, ye have hit his name.' And A'mr went in to him and exclaimed, 'peace be to thee O prince of the Faithful.' He said 'how hast thou come by this name? verily thou must explain what thou hast said.' Then the other informed him of what had happened and said 'thou art the prince and we, the Faithful.' Thus the letters have continued to be so inscribed up to this day." A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

An Nawawi in his Tahḍíb says that A'di-b-Ḥátim, and Labíd-b-Rabíi'h, called him by that name when they went to him from Irák, and some say, that al Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah called him by it. Again it is asserted that Omar said to the people, "you are the Faithful, and I am your prince;" he was therefore called prince of the Faithful, and before that he was addressed as 'Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, but they gave up that phrase on account of its length. Ibn A'sakir records on the authority of Mu'áwiyah-b-Kurrah that he said, "it used to be written, 'From Abu Bakr, Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,' and when Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb ruled, they wished to address him Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, but Omar said, 'this is too long.' They answered, 'not so, but we have made thee to rule over us and thou art our prince.' He said, 'yea—ye are the Faithful and I am your prince.' Thus it came to be written, Prince of the Faithful."

Al Bukhári records in his history on the authority of Ibn u'l Musayyab that the first who adopted the usage of dating was Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb two years and a half after his accession to the Caliphate, and he dated from the 16th year of the Flight, by the advice of A'li. As Silafi in the Tuyyúriyát records from Ibn Omar, that Omar wished to write

A. H. 23. a record of memorable actions, and he prayed for the blessing of God for
A. D. 643. a month, and he arose one morning determined upon it, but after a little he said, "verily I remember a people* who were before ye, who used to write books, and they gave themselves up to it, and neglected the Book of God." And Ibn Saa'd from Shaddád,† that the first sentence that Omar uttered when he ascended the pulpit, was, "O God, verily I am rough in temper, therefore soften me, and verily I am weak, therefore strengthen me, and verily I am avaricious, therefore make me generous." And Ibn Saa'd and Sa'íd-b-Manṣúr and others from Omar, that he said, "I place myself with regard to the property of the Lord, in the position of a guardian of an orphan's property. If I am in good circumstances, I refrain from touching it, and if I am in distress, I take of it with moderation, and when I am again in good circumstances, I repay it."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb, when he was in need, would go to the Superintendent of the public treasury, and ask a loan of him, and he was often in distress, and the Superintendent of the treasury would go to him to exact the debt and press him, and Omar would be evasive with him, but sometimes his stipend would be due, and he would pay *the debt.* And from Ibn u'l Bará-b-Ma'rúr,‡ that Omar went forth one day, and complained of a sickness, and honey was recommended to him, and *he was told* that a bottle of it was in the public treasury, and he said, "if ye permit me, I will take it, otherwise it is unlawful for me," and they gave him permission. And from Sálim-b-A'bdi'llah, that Omar would put his hand into the saddle gall *of his camel* and say, "verily I fear lest I may be brought to account for what hath befallen thee."

And from Ibn Omar, that when Omar desired to hinder the people from anything, he would go to his family and say, "verily I know not any one who hath done a thing which I have forbidden, but I doubled his punishment."

It has been related to me from another source, that Omar went forth one night wandering about Medína, as he was frequently in the habit of

* He refers to the Jews and Christians.

† Shaddád-b-Aus the Companion. He belonged to the tribe of the Najjár, and was a native of Medina, but he lived much at Jerusalem and died there A. H. 58, aged 75. His tomb, says an Nawawi, "is still to be seen outside the Gate of Mercy," one of the twenty gates of the great Masjid.

‡ Bishr-b-u'l Bará-b-Ma'rúr the Companion, an Ansár of the tribe of Khazraj He was present at Aḳabah, Badr and Ohud and died at Khaybar from eating of the sheep of which Muḥammad partook and which the Jews are said to have poisoned, Some say he died at once, others after great suffering. An Nawawi.

doing, when he passed by *the house of* one of the women of the Arabs whose door was bolted upon her, and she was saying, A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

This night whose stars wander in their nightly journey, is wearisome
And keeps me sleepless, for I have none with whom I may be merry.
And, by Allah, were there no God whose issues were to be feared!
But I fear a Watcher, who keepeth ward:
Over our souls, and whose recorder never is negligent.
The fear of the Lord and shame hindereth me:
And my husband, too worthy of honor that his place should be taken.

He therefore wrote to his prefects in the field that no one should be detained on military service against the enemy for more than four months.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Salmán that Omar said to him, "am I a monarch or a Caliph?" and Salmán answered him, "if thou tax the land of the Muslims in dirhams, less or more, and putteth them to unlawful use, thou art a monarch and not a Caliph," and Omar took warning by it. And from Sufyán-b-Abi'l A'rjá, that Omar said, "by Allah, I know not whether I am a Caliph or a monarch, if I be a monarch, it is a terrible thing." A speaker said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, there is a difference between the two." He said, "what is it?" He replied, "a Caliph doth not take save lawfully, nor give save where it is due, and thou, thanks be to God, art such, but a monarch oppresseth the people, and taketh from this and giveth to that:" and Omar was silent. And from Ibn Maṣaúd that Omar was riding a horse, and his garment fell back from his thigh, and the people of Najrán saw upon his thigh a dark mole and they said, "this is he whom we find in our books that he is to turn us forth from our land." And from Saa'd al Jári that Kaa'b al Aḥbár said to Omar, "I find thee verily in the Book of God, *posted* at one of the gates of hell, hindering the people from falling into it, and when thou diest, they will continue to rush headlong into it, till the day of judgment." And from Abu Maa'shar, that he narrates, "my Shaykhs told me that Omar said, 'this authority cannot be rightly conducted except by severity without haughtiness and leniency without weakness.'"

Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of Ḥakam-b-U'mayr,* that Omar wrote, "now, let not the Commanders of armies and divisions inflict upon any one the scourging ordained by law until he arriveth at Darb†, lest rage *inspired by* Satan induce him to desert to the

* Ḥakam-b-U'mayr al Thamáli. Thamálah is a branch of the tribe of Azd Ibn Hajr has little to say of him but that he was present at Badr and that his traditions are not to be relied upon.

† The ancient Derbe near the Cilician gates, the chief mountainous pass from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs into the Greek Empire. Lane.

A. H. 23. infidels." Ibn Abi Ḥátim records in his Commentary on the authority of
A. D. 643. as Shaa'bi, that the Roman Emperor wrote to Omar saying, "verily my messengers who come to me from thee, pretend that thou hast with thee a tree, which in its nature has none of *the qualities* of a tree. It sprouteth like asses' ears, then it openeth out like a pearl, then it becometh green like the green emerald, then it turneth ruddy and becometh like a red ruby, next it ripeneth and cometh to maturity, and turneth into the most delicious honey-cake that is eaten. Next it drieth up and becometh the preservation of the dweller in his house, and a store for the traveller; now if my messengers have spoken truly then I cannot think this tree to be other than one of the trees of paradise." Whereupon Omar wrote to him, *saying*, "From the servant of God, the prince of the Faithful, to Cæsar the Roman Emperor—verily thy messengers have spoken truly. This tree which we possess, is the same which the Lord caused to sprout* for Mary when she bore Jesus her Son. Therefore fear God and assume not Jesus to be God, besides God, for, 'verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of God is as the likeness of Adam: He created him out of the dust,'" &c., (Kur. III).

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Omar issued an order to his prefects, among them being Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳḳáṣ, and *in accordance therewith* they wrote *the amount of* the property in their possession and Omar shared their property with them, and took half and gave them half. And from as Shaa'bi, that Omar when he employed a prefect wrote down the amount of his property. And from Abu Imámah-b-Sahl-b-Hunayf† that he said, "Omar remained some time without supporting himself from the public treasury until poverty thus came upon him, and he sent to the Companions of the Apostle of God and took counsel of them and said, 'verily I have diligently employed myself in this authority, what therefore do I deserve from it?' And A'li said, 'morning and evening food,' and Omar accordingly took that." And from Ibn Omar, that Omar made the pilgrimage and spent during his pilgrimage sixteen dinars, and he said *to his son* "O A'bdu'llah, I have been wasteful of this money."

A'bdu'r Razzáḳ‡ records in his Musannaf on the authority of Ḳatádah and as Shaa'bi, that a woman went to Omar and said, "my husband rises

* This was a certain palm tree which the Muḥammadan tradition supposes Mary to have leaned upon for support, and though a withered trunk, it put forth leaves and fruit that she might gather and eat, Kur. XIX. The stupidity of the Roman and the effrontery of the Arab are only to be matched by the mendacity of the narrator.

† One of the Companions belonging to the Anṣárs.

‡ Probably A'bdu'r Razzáḳ as Sanáni one of the most celebrated traditionists of his age. People travelled to Yaman from all parts to hear him. Died A. H. 211 (826-7). De Slane, I. K.

in the night *to pray* and fasts all day," and Omar said " verily thou hast praised thy husband highly." Whereon Kaa'b-b-Siwár exclaimed, " but she complains *of him !*" And Omar said, " how ?" He replied, " she means that she has not her share of her husband's *society*." He answered, " then if thou thinkest that, judge between them." He said, " O prince of the Faithful, the Lord hath permitted to him four wives, and to her of every four days, one day, and of every four nights one night." And from Ibn Jurayḥ* that he said, " one whom I can believe, told me that while Omar was wandering *about Medina*, he heard a woman say:— A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

' The night is wearisome and its bounds gloomy
And it hath kept me sleepless while
I have no friend with whom to be merry.
And were there no fear of God whose like there is not !'

And Omar exclaimed, ' what is the matter with thee ?' She replied, ' thou hast sent my husband on service for some months, and I pine for him.' He said, ' dost thou desire to do evil ?' She replied, ' God forbid !' Then he said, ' restrain thyself, for verily, a messenger *shall go* to him,' and he sent for him, and wrote that the troops should not be kept on service for more than four months." And from Jábir-b-A'bdi'llah that he went to Omar complaining to him of the treatment he had met with from his women, and Omar said " verily, I find the same, so much so that when I ask for anything I want, *my wife* says to me, ' thou goest only after the girls of a certain tribe, watching for them.' Thereupon A'bdu'llah-b-Musa'úd said to him, ' hast thou not heard that Abraham, upon whom be peace, complained to the Lord of the temper of Sarah, and it was said to him verily she was made from a rib,† therefore put up with what she does as long as thou seest no unsoundness in her faith.' And from A'krimah b-Khálid, that a son of Omar's went to him, and he had anointed and combed his hair, and put on fine garments, and Omar smote him with his scourge until he made him cry, and Hafṣah said to him, ' why dost thou strike him ?' He answered, ' I saw that his spirit had made him vain, and I wished to abase it within him.' And from Layth-b-Abi Salím that Omar said, ' give not as names al Ḥakam or A'bdu'l Ḥakam, for the Lord is the only ruler (Hakam), and call not a road Sikkah.' "‡

* The MS. has Jurayj and not Jurayḥ as in the printed text—of Jurayh, I can find no mention. A'bdu'l Malik-b-Jurayj, according to Ibn Khallaḳán was celebrated for his learning ; and it is said that he was the first after the promulgation of Islám who composed books. He was a native of Mecca and a member by adoption of the Ḳuraysh. Born A. H. 80 (699-70), and A. H. 149 (766).

† Meaning that she was crooked by nature and hard. ' A crooked rib' is a metaphor for a woman amongst the unpolished sons of the desert.

‡ The only reason I can suggest for this prohibition is the tradition ما دخلت

A. H. 23. A. D. 643. Al Bayhaḳi records in the Shaa'b u'l I'mám on the authority of ad Dhahhák that Abu Bakr said, "by Allah, I would I were a tree by the wayside, that camels might pass by me and seize me and take me in their mouths and chew me and swallow me, then cast me forth as ordure, and that I were not a mortal man." And Omar said, "would that I were a ram, that my people might fatten me as it appeared *good* to them, so that when I became as fat as could be, those whom they loved might visit them, and they might kill me for them, and make part of me roast and part of me dried flesh, and eat me, and that I were not a mortal man." And Ibn A'sakir from Abu'l Bakhtari,* that Omar Ibn u'l Khattáb was preaching from the pulpit, when al Ḥusayn the son of A'li stood up against him and said, "come down from the pulpit of my father!" and Omar replied, "it is the pulpit of thy father, not the pulpit of my father, who hath counselled thee to this?" Then A'li rose and said, "by Allah, no one counselled him to this—but (*turning to his son*) I will assuredly make thee smart, O traitor;" and Omar said, "hurt not the son of my brother, for he hath said truly that it is the pulpit of his father." (The authorities are trustworthy.) Al Khatíb in his Ruwát (*narrators*) records on the authority of Abu Salamah-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán and S'aíd-b-u'l Mussayyab, that Omar and Othmán were disputing on a certain point among themselves, when a looker on exclaimed, "verily they will never agree," but they did not separate except upon the best and most admirable *agreement*, regarding it. And Ibn Saa'd from al Ḥasan, that at the first discourse that Omar preached, he praised God and glorified Him, and then said, "verily I am tried with ye and ye are tried with me, and I have followed as Vicegerent among ye after my two Companions. As to those who are with us, we have undertaken their affairs in person, and as to those who are away from us, we have appointed over them as rulers, men of power and trust, and he who doeth well, we will give him increase of benefits, and whoso doeth evil, we will punish, and may the Lord have mercy upon me and ye." And from Jubayr-b-u'l Ḥuwayrith that Omar took counsel of the Muslims regarding the establishing of registers and A'li said to him, "divide every year the revenue that is

السكة دار قوم الا ذلوا "The ploughshare enters not the abode of a people, but they become abased" The same word signifying, "a ploughshare" and "a road." Omar might have held its use as of ill-augury to his people. The real meaning of the tradition however is, that with the introduction of agriculture begins the extortion of rulers.

* Abu'l Bakhtari Wahb-b-Wahb of the Ḳuraysh and a native of Medína: he removed from Medina to Baghdad under the Caliphate of Harún ar Rashíd. He was appointed Ḳadhi of Medína and afterwards removed. He died at Baghdad A. H. 200 (815-16) under the Caliphate of al Mámún. He was liberal with his purse, but notorious as a fabricator of traditions and Ibn Ḥanbal calls him a liar. Ibn Khall.

collected for thee and keep not back anything." And Othmán said, "I see that there is a large revenue sufficient for the people, and if they do not keep a register so that he who hath received may be distinguished from him who hath not received, I fear that affairs will fall into confusion." Then al Walíd-b-Hishám-b-i'l Mughírah said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, verily I have been to Syria, and I have seen that its princes have established registers and organized armies, therefore establish registers and organize troops," and he took his counsel. Then he summoned A'kíl-b-Abi Ṭálib and Makhramah-b-Naufal and Jubayr-b-Muslim who were among the most skilled genealogists of the Ḳuraysh, and he said, "write down the people according to their degrees," and they wrote beginning with the Banu Háshim, then followed them up with Abu Bakr and his people, then Omar and his people, in the Caliphate, and when Omar looked into it, he said, "begin with the kindred of the prophet, the nearest after the nearest, until ye place Omar where God hath placed him." And from Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, that Omar established the registers in the month of Muharram the 20th year of the Flight. And from al Ḥasan, that Omar wrote to Ḥuḍayfah, *saying*, "give the men their stipends and rations," and he replied, "verily I have done so and a large sum is over." Thereupon Omar wrote to him, "verily the booty which God hath given unto them, belongeth not to Omar nor to the family of Omar,—divide it among them."

A. H. 23.
A. D. 643.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Jubayr-b-Muṭi'm, that he said "while Omar was standing upon the mount of A'rafah,* he heard a man call out and say, "O Caliph, O Caliph." And another man heard him, (and they were taking provisions for the way) and said "what is the matter with thee—may Allah cleave thy uvula." Then I advanced towards the man and called out to him." Jubayr continues: "verily the next day I was standing with Omar at al Aka'bah,† casting stones at it when there came a stone with force, striking violently the head of Omar. Then I turned that way and heard a man from the mount say,—"dost thou know, by the Lord of the Kaa'bah that Omar shall never again stand in this station after this year?" Jubayr adds. "And lo! it was he who had called out among us the day before, and the thing weighed heavily upon me." And from Ayesha that she said, "at the time of the last pilgrimage which Omar performed with the mothers of the true believers,‡ when we returned

* This was on the second day of the pilgrimage called the Yaum A'rafah the 9th of Ḍu'l Ḥijjah.

† Jamrat u'l A'ḳabah, or as it is vulgarly termed, Shaytán al Kabír, the great devil—one of the three pillars stoned during the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. See Burton Vol. III, pp. 238-282.

‡ The wives of Muḥammad.

A. H. 23. from A'rafah, passing by al Muhaṣṣab,* I heard a man upon his camel
A. D. 643. saying, 'where was Omar the prince of the Faithful!' and I heard another man reply, 'here was the prince of the Faithful;' then he made his camel kneel down and raised his voice, wailing, and said—

'Upon such an Imám as thou be peace and bless
May the hand of God, that lacerated exterior.
Whoso† goeth with speed or rideth upon the wings of the ostrich:
To overtake that which thou hast sent before thee yesterday, will be out-stripped.
Thou hast adjudged affairs but left behind them
Calamities in their sleeves not yet unloosed.'

And that rider moved not, nor was it known who he was, and we used to say that he was a Jinn. And Omar returned from that pilgrimage and was stabbed (*with a dagger*) and died." And on the authority of Omar that he said, "this authority shall rest with the men of Badr as long as one of them is left; then with the men of Ohud as long as one of them is left, and then with such and such, but there shall be no part in it for a liberated slave, nor for the son of a liberated slave, nor for a Muslim *become so* at the conquest *of Mecca.*" And from an Nakha'í, that a man said to Omar, "wilt thou not name as successor, A'bdu'llah-b-Omar?" He said, "may Allah smite thee! by Allah, never have I desired this of God that I should appoint as successor a man who knoweth not properly how to divorce his wife."‡ And from Kaa'b that he said, "there was amongst the children of Israel a king;§ when I recall him, I think of Omar, and when I recall Omar, I think of him. And he had with him a prophet who was inspired, and the Lord inspired the prophet to say to him, 'make thou thy covenant, and write unto me thy testament, for verily thou art a dead man in three days.'" The prophet therefore told him this, and when it was the third day he fell down between the wall and the bed. Then he turned to his Lord and said, "O Lord! if Thou knewest that I was just in government, and, when affairs became troubled that I followed Thy

* The name of the way between the mountains, opening upon the part called الابطح between Mecca and Mina, so called from the pebbles in it. Lane.

† سعى also signifies running to and fro between as Ṣafá and al Marwah. The meaning is probably that the merits acquired by Omar in his pilgrimage are not to be surpassed. I prefer to read يُسبق for يَسبق as otherwise the من is left 'en l' air,' without its complement.

‡ A'bdu'llah once attempted to put her away at a time when divorce was not permitted by the Muḥammadan law.

§ Ezechias, Kings iv. xx.

guidance, and was such and such, then lengthen my life, that my son may grow up and my people be set in order." And the word of the Lord came to the prophet, *saying*, "verily he hath said so and so, and indeed hath spoken truly, and verily I have added to his life fifteen years, and during that *there is time* that his son may grow up and his people be set in order." And when Omar was stabbed, Kaa'b said—"if but Omar were to ask of his Lord, He would surely preserve him." Omar was informed of this, and he said, "O God, take me to Thyself *while as yet I am not* enfeebled nor under reproach." And from Sulayman-b-Yasár, that the Jinns mourned over Omar. A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Málik-b-Dínár* that a voice was heard on the mount of Tabálah† when Omar was slain, saying,

"Let him who wept, weep for Islám:
For verily they are about to be laid prostrate, and their appointed time hath not been exceeded.
And the world hath gone back and its good withdrawn:
And verily he is wearied of it who was confident in the promise."

Ibn Abi 'd Dunya records on the authority of Yahya-b-Abi Ráshid of Baṣrah, that Omar said to his son, "be moderate in *the expenses* of my shroud, for verily if there be aught of good with God in my favour, he will give me in exchange what is better than it, and if I have been otherwise, He will strip me and be swift in my stripping. And be moderate in my grave *that ye dig for me*, for verily if there be aught of good with God in my favour, he will widen it unto me as far as my eye can reach, and if I have been otherwise, he will straighten it upon me until my ribs interlace. And let no woman go forth with me, and praise me not for that which is not in me, for the Lord knoweth best what I am. Therefore when you go forth, hasten in your going, for if there be aught of good with God in my favour, you will speed me on to that which is my good, and if I have been otherwise, ye cast from your necks an evil that ye bear."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ibn A'bbás that al A'bbás said, "I asked of the Lord a year after Omar died, that he would show him unto me in sleep," and I saw him after a year and he was wiping the sweat from his forehead and I said to him, "with my father—mayest thou *be ransomed*, and with my mother—how is it with thee?" He replied, "it

* Abu Yahya, Málik-b-Dínár of Basrah, an ascetic and one of the Tabiís. He was freedman of one of the women of the Banu Nájíah. He is regarded as a trustworthy authority, died A. H. 123 or 129. An Nawawi.

† Eight days' march from Mecca and six from Ṭáif.

A. H. 23. is but now that I am free *from the Judgment* and Omar would have
A. D. 643. perished,* had I not indeed met One *who is* Merciful and Compassionate." And from Zayd-b-Aslam,† that Abdu'llah-b-Omar-b i'l A'áṣ saw Omar in sleep and he said, "how hast thou done?" he replied, "how long is it that I left you?" He answered, "twelve years ago." He said "verily it is even now that I am free from Judgment." Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Sálim-b-Abdi'llah-b-Omar that he said, "I heard a man of the Auxiliaries say, 'I prayed to God that he would show me Omar in sleep, and I saw him after ten years and he was wiping the sweat from his forehead and I said, O prince of the Faithful, what hast thou been doing?" He replied, "I have but now been freed from Judgment, and had it not been for the mercy of my God, I had perished."

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of as Shaa'bi that A'átikah the daughter of Zayd-b-A'mr b-Nufayl said, mourning Omar—

"Eye! let thy tears and weeping be abundant:
And weary not—over the noble chief.
Death hath afflicted me in *the fall of* a horseman
Distinguished in the day of battle and of contumely.
The stay of Faith, the defence against *inclement* fortune:
And a champion unto the afflicted and oppressed.
Say unto the hopeless and the desolate, die!
Since death hath given us to drink the cup of dissolution."

Among the distinguished people who died during Omar's time were, U'tbah-b-Ghazwán,—al A'lá-b-u'l Hadhrami,—Ḳays-b-u's Sakan—Abu Ḳuḥáfah father of as Ṣiddíḳ—Saa'd-b-U'bádah—Suhayl-b-A'mr—Ibn Umm Maktúm the Muaddin—Ayyásh-b-Abi Rabíi'h—A'bdu'r Raḥmán brother of az Zubayr-b-A'wám—Ḳays-b-Abi Ṣa'ṣaa'h one of those who collected the Ḳurán—Naufal-b-u'l Ḥárith-b-i'l Muṭṭalib—his brother Abu Sufyán—Máriyah, mother of the Sayyid Ibrahím—Abu Ubaydah-b-u'l Jarráḥ Maa'd-b-Jabal—Yazíd-b-Abi Sufyán—Shuraḥbíl-b-Ḥasanah—al Fadhl-b-u'l A'bbás—Abu Jandal-b-Suhayl—Abu Málik al Asha'rí—Ṣafwán-b-u'l Mua'ṭṭal—U'bayy-b-Kaa'b—Bilál the Muaddin—U'sayd-b-u'l Ḥudḥayr—al Bará-b-Málik the brother of Anas—Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh—A'yádh-b-Ghanam Abu'l Haytham-b-u't Tayyihán—Khálid-b-u'l Walíd—al Járúd, chief of the Banu Abdi'l Ḳays—an Nu'mán-b-Muḳarran—Ḳatádah-b-u'n Nu'mán—al Aḳra'-b-Ḥábis—Saudah, daughter of Zama'h—U'waym-b-Sáidah—Ghilán at Thaḳafi—Abu Miḥjan at Thaḳafi—and others of the Companions.

* Lit. his means of support would have been destroyed—or his dwelling would have been demolished.

† Abu Usámah Zayd-b-Aslam the freedman of Omar, a native of Medína, and one of the Tábi'ís, distinguished for his piety and theological learning, and much sought after for his instructions and discourses. He died at Medína about A. H. 136. An Nawawi.

A. H. 23.
A. D. 643.

OTHMA'N-B-A'FFA'N.

Othmán-b-A'ffán-b-Abi'l A'áṣ-b-Umayya-b-Abdi's Shams-b-Abd Manáf-b-Ḳuṣayy-b-Kiláb-b-Murrah-b-Kaa'b-b-Luayy-b-Ghálib, al Ḳurayshi al Umawí, Abu A'mr, called also Abu A'bdu'llah and Abu Laylah, was born in ths 6th year of the Elephant. He was converted early and was one of those called to Islám by as Ṣiddiḳ. He took part in the two Flights, the first to Abyssinia and the second to Medína, and married Ruḳayyah, the daughter of the Apostle of God before the prophetic mission, and she died at his house on one of the nights of *the fight of* Badr, and he was detained from Badr through his attendance on her, with the permission of the Apostle of God, who assigned to him a portion *of the spoils* and compensated him. He is therefore numbered among those present at Badr, and the messenger arrived with the news of the victory of the Muslims at Badr, on the day that they buried her at Medína. The Apostle of God then gave him in marriage after her, her sister Umm Kulthúm and she died in his house in the 9th year of the Hijrah. The learned say that no one besides him is known to have married the two daughters of a prophet, and for that, he has been named possessor of the two Luminaries. He was one of the first early converts, and the foremost of the Fugitives and one of the Ten to whom *the attainment of* Paradise was testified, and one of the Six, with whom, when the Apostle of God died he was well content, and one of the Companions who collected the Ḳurán. Indeed Ibn A'bbád* says that none but he and al Mamún, among the Caliphs, collected the Ḳurán. Ibn Saa'd says that the Apostle of God appointed him Vicegerent at Medína during his military expeditions to Ḍát u'r Rikáa' and Ghaṭfán. One hundred and forty-six traditions are related by him on the authority of the Apostle of God.†

Ibn Saa'd records on the testimony of A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-ḥáṭib that he said, " I never saw any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, who, when he narrated a tradition, gave it more completely and excellently

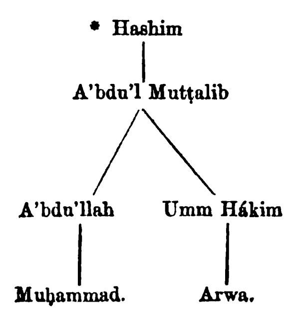
* Abu'l Kásim Isma'íl-b-Abi'l Ḥasan A'bbád the Sahib the wonder of his age for his talents, virtues and generosity. He was Vizir to Muwayyid u'd Doulah-b-Rukn u'd Dawlat-b-Buwayh and subsequently to his brother Fakhr u'd Dawlah. He was the author of numerous works, the most known being the Muḥít, a work on philology, another on epistolary writing, one on Festivals, and another on the rank of Imám, stating the merits of Ali and the legitimacy of those who preceded him. Born A. H. 326 (938) at Istakhar and died at Rai A. H. 385 (995). Ibn Khall. De Slane writes the name A'bbád but according to Meursinge (De Interpret, Kur. p. 39) Suyúti makes it A'bbád and I'bbád. The Munt. Arab, gives A'bbád.

† Here follows a list of those who have narrated traditions on his authority which I have omitted.

A. H. 23. than Othmán-b-A'ffán, save verily he were a man who held traditions in
A. D. 643. great fear. And on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sírin that the most learned of them in the ceremonials of the pilgrimage, was Othmán, and after him Ibn Omar." Al Bayhaḳi records in his Sunan on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Omar-b-Abán al Jua'fi that he narrates, "my maternal uncle Ḥusayn al Jua'fi said to me, 'dost thou know why Othmán hath been called Possessor of the two Luminaries?' I said, 'no.' He replied, 'none hath ever been united to the two daughters of a prophet from the time that God created Adam, *nor shall be so* till the resurrection cometh to pass, save Othmán—for that reason he hath been called Possessor of the two Luminaries.'"

Abu Nua'ym records on the authority of al Ḥasan that he said, "verily Othmán was called Possessor of the two Luminaries, because we know none save him, who hath closed his door upon the two daughters of a prophet." And Khaythamah in the Fadháil u's Ṣihábah, (*Merits of the Companions*) and Ibn A'sákir from A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, that he was asked regarding Othmán and he said, "that man is called in the court of heaven, Possessor of two Luminaries—he was the son-in-law of the Apostle of God through his two daughters." Al Málini records on a weak ascription from Sahl-b-Saa'd that he said, "Othmán is called Possessor of the two Luminaries because he passeth over from one station to another in Paradise and there gleameth for him two streams of light, and he is called so on that account." He adds, that he received the surname of Abu A'mr in the time of Ignorance, but when Islám arose, Ruḳayyah bore him A'bdu'llah, and he received the surname *(Abu A'bdu'llah)* from him.

His mother was Arwa, daughter of Kurayz-b-Rabíi'h-b-Ḥabíb-b-Abdi's Shams, and her mother was Umm Hakím al Baidhá, daughter of Abdu'l Muttalib-b-Háshim, twin sister of the father of the Apostle of God. Thus the mother of Othmán was the daughter of the paternal aunt of the prophet.*



Ibn Isháḳ says that he was the first to embrace Islám after Abu Bakr, and A'li, and Zayd-b-Hárithah. Ibn A'sákir records on various ascriptions, that Othmán was of middling stature, neither short nor tall, of a comely aspect, fair, inclined to yellow, upon his face the scars of small-pox, full bearded, large of limb, broad between the shoulders, fleshy in the thigh, long in the forearms, which were clothed with hair. He was curly-headed, bald, having the most beautiful teeth of all men, his locks falling below his ears dyed a yellowish colour, and verily he used to bind his teeth with gold *wire*. And on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥazm al Mázini,* that he said, "I have seen Othmán the son of Affán, but I have never seen man or woman more beautiful of face than he." And from Músa-b-Ṭalḥah, that Othmán was the most comely of men. And from Usámah-b-Zayd that he said, "the Apostle of God sent me to the house of Othmán with a dish of meat and I entered, and lo! there was Ruḳayyah seated. And I began to look now upon the face of Ruḳayyah, and now upon the face of Othmán, and when I returned, the Apostle of God enquired of me and said, "didst thou go in to them?" I said "yes;" he continued, "hast thou ever seen a more comely pair than those two?" I said "no—O Apostle of God."

A H. 23.
A. D. 643.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ibrahím-b-i'l' Ḥárith at Taymi, that when Othmán became a Muslim, his paternal uncle al Ḥakam-b-Abi'l A'áṣ-b-Umayyah, took him and bound him with a cord and said, "dost thou turn from the faith of thy fathers to the religion of an innovator? by Allah, I will never let thee go until thou abandonest what thou art about." And Othmán said, "by Allah, I will never forsake it nor abandon it." And when al Ḥakam saw his steadfastness in his faith, he released him.

Abu Ya'la records on the authority of Anas, that the first of the Muslims who emigrated with his family to Abyssinia was Othmán-b-A'ffán, and the Apostle of God said, "may God protect those two, for Othmán was assuredly the first who emigrated with his family after Lot." And Ibn A'di from Ayesha, that when the prophet married his daughter Umm Kulthúm to Othmán, he said to her, "verily thy husband resembles most, among men, thy forefather Abraham and thy father Muḥammad." And Ibn A'di and Ibn A'sákir, from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, "I find a resemblance in Othmán to my forefather Abraham."

* There are three families of the Mázins—those of the tribes of Tamím, Ḳays and Rabii'h.

A. H. 23.
A. D. 643.

On the traditions handed down regarding his merits, over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record on the testimony of Ayesha, that the prophet gathered together his garments when Othmán entered, and said "shall I not be bashful before the man before whom the angels stand abashed?" And al Bukhári from Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán as Sulami,* that Othmán when he was besieged *in his house,* stood up overlooking *the besiegers* and said, "I conjure ye, by Allah, and I call on none but the Companions of the prophet,—do ye not know that the Apostle of God said, 'he who aideth in providing for the army of distress,† for him is Paradise'—and I fitted them out? Do ye not know that the Apostle of God said, 'he who diggeth the well at Rúmah,‡ for him is Paradise,' and I dug it?" And they testified to the truth of what he said.

At Tirmiḏi records on the authority of A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Khabbáb, that he said, "I saw the Apostle of God encouraging the army of distress, and Othmán exclaimed, 'O Apostle of God! I answer for one hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God:' and the prophet continued encouraging the troops, and Othmán cried out, 'O Apostle of God, I answer for two hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God.' And he went on encouraging the troops, and Othmán called out, 'O Apostle of God—I answer for three hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God.' Then the Apostle of God descended from the pulpit, saying, "Othmán will not be judged whatever he may do after this." And from Anas and al Ḥákim, verified on the authority of A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Samurah§ that Othmán went to the prophet with a thousand dinárs, when he was fitting out the army of distress and poured it into his lap, and the Apostle of God began turning it over, saying twice, "it shall not harm Othmán, whatever he may do

* A'bu A'bdu'r Raḥmán A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥabíb as Sulami al Kúfi was born in the lifetime of Muḥammad. He learned to read the Ḳurán under the tuition of the Caliphs Othmán and A'li and taught the same science in the mosque of Kúfah, died A. H. 74 (693-4). De Slane I. K.

† The army of Tabúk. This expedition against the Greeks was undertaken at a time of great heat and drought, and the sufferings of the troops procured for it this name. He furnished them with 960 camels and 50 horses.

‡ Between Jurf and Zighábah, near Medina; Omar purchased it from the Jews for twenty thousand dirhams, and gave it to the Muslims. An Nawawi.

§ Abu S'aíd, A'bdu'r Raḥmán, son of Samurah the Companion. (See note † p. 42). He was a resident of Baṣrah. He fought in Khorasán in the time of Othmán and overran Sigistán and Kabul. He related fourteen traditions from his master. Died at Baṣrah (and some say at Marv) A. H. 50 or 51. An Nawawi.

after this day." And from Anas that he said, "when the Apostle of God commanded the allegiance pleasing* *to God to be sworn to him*, Othmán was the messenger of the Apostle of God to the people of Mecca, and the men sware allegiance, and the prophet said, 'verily Othmán, is *employed* in the requirements of God and the needs of His Apostle,' and he struck one hand upon the other, and the hand of the Apostle of God *as a pledge* for Othmán was better than their hands for themselves." And from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God spoke of dissensions and said, *alluding* to Othmán, "this one shall be wrongfully slain in them." A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

At Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim and Ibn Májah record on the authority of Murrah-b-Kaa'b that he said, "I heard the apostle of God speaking of troubles that he thought to be near at hand, when a man passed by muffled up in his garment, and he said, 'this man to-day is in the path of salvation;' and I went to him and lo! it was Othmán, and I turned my face towards *the prophet*, and said, 'this *man?*' He replied 'yes.'" And at Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim from Ayesha, that the prophet said, "O Othmán, perchance the Lord may clothe thee with a garment, and if the hypocrites desire to take it from thee, put it not off till thou meetest me in Paradise." And at Tirmiḍi from Othmán that he said on the day of *the siege* of his house, "verily, the apostle of God, hath made a covenant with me, and I am awaiting *its fulfilment*."

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Abu Ḥurayrah that he said, "Othmán purchased Paradise from the prophet on two occasions; *viz.*, when he dug the well of Rúmah, and when he fitted out the army of distress." And Ibn A'sákir from Abu Ḥurayrah, that the prophet said, "Othmán among the Companions, most resembles me in disposition." And at Ṭabaráni from A'smah-b-Málik that he said, "when the daughter of the apostle of God died under *the roof of* Othmán, the apostle of God said, "Give *your daughters* in marriage to Othmán—if I had a third daughter, I would assuredly give *her* in marriage to him, and I have never wedded *any* to him save under inspiration." And Ibn A'sákir from A'li, that he narrates, "I heard the apostle of God say to Othmán, "if I had forty daughters, I would wed them with thee one after the other, until not one of them was left." And from Zayd-b-Thábit that he narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, Othmán passed me, and there was with me one of the angels who said, '*he shall be* a martyr—his people shall slay him—I am abashed before him.'" Abu Ya'la records on the authority of Ibn Omar that the prophet said, "verily the angels stand abashed before

* At Ḥudaybíyah. The word رضوان is used, because it is employed with reference to this occasion in Kur. XLVII.

لقد رضي الله عن المومنين اذ يبايعونك تحت الشجرة .

A. H. 23. A. D. 643. Othmán as they stand abashed before God and his apostle." And Ibn A'sákir from al Ḥasan that the modesty of Othmán was mentioned in his hearing, and he said, "if it were that he was in the middle of his house, and the door closed upon him, and he were to put aside his clothes to pour water upon himself, modesty would forbid him to straighten his back."

On his Caliphate.

He was sworn allegiance to as Caliph three nights after Omar was buried, and it is related that the people at that time were gathered about A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf taking counsel with him, and speaking privily with him, and there was not a man of judgment who was in private with him who held any one equal to Othmán. And when A'bdu'r Raḥmán took his seat for the covenant of allegiance, he praised God and glorified him and said in his discourse, "verily I see that the people reject *all* but Othmán." (Ibn A'sákir from Miswar*-b-Makhramah). But according to another account, *he said*, "and now O A'li I have regarded the people and I have not seen *any of* them equalling Othmán, therefore make not a way *unto the Caliphate* for thyself." Then he took the hand of Othmán and said, "I swear allegiance to thee according to the law of God, and the law of his apostle, and the law of the two Caliphs after him." And A'bdu'r Raḥmán swore fealty to him, and Fugitives and the Auxiliaries swore him allegiance.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Anas, that Omar an hour before he died sent to the father of Ṭalḥah the Auxiliary and said, "go at the head of fifty of the Auxiliaries with those men of the Council, for as I count upon it, they will assemble together in a house. Stand thou at that door with thy Companions and suffer none to go in to them and let not the third day pass with them before they give authority to one among them." It is recorded in the Musnad of Aḥmad on the authority of Abu Wáil†

* Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán Miswar-b-Makhramah-b-Naufal descended from Murrah. He was born at Mecca two years after the Flight and was one of the most skilled of the Companions in jurisprudence. He remained at Medina till the death of Othmán and then returned to Mecca, and after the death of Mu'áwiyah, remained with Ibn az Zubayr, till the siege by al Hajjáj, when he was killed by a stone from a catapult. An Naw.

† Abu Wáil Shaḳiḳ-b-Salimah a Tabi'í of the tribe of Asad, native of Kúfah. He was a cotemporary of Muḥammad but never saw him, died A. H. 79. His authority as a traditionist is acknowledged. An Nawawi.

that he narrates, "I said to A'bdu'r Raḥman-b-A'uf, 'how did ye swear allegiance to Othmán and pass over A'li?' he replied, 'it was not my fault. Verily I began with A'li and I said, "I will make with thee a covenant of allegiance according to the Book of God, and the law of His apostle, and the institutions of Abu Bakr, and Omar." And he replied "in as far as I am able;" then I offered the same to Othmán and he accepted.' " A. H. 23. A. D. 643.

And it is related that A'bdu'r Raḥmán said to Othmán in private, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee whom dost thou counsel to me?" He replied, "A'li;" and he said to A'li, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee, whom dost thou counsel to me?" he said, "Othmán." Then he summoned az Zubayr and said, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee, whom dost thou counsel to me?" He replied, "A'li or Othmán." Then he summoned Saa'd and said, "whom dost thou counsel to me? for I and thou desire it not:" and he said, "Othmán." Then A'bdu'r Raḥmán took counsel with the chief men, and he said that most of them were for Othmán.

Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Ibn Masa'úd that he said, "when Othmán was sworn allegiance to, we placed in authority the best that remained *among us*, and we were not remiss in our duty."

In this year of his Caliphate, Rai was taken, for it had been taken before and lost again. In the same, the people were attacked with a great issuing of blood from the nose, and it was called the Year of the Hæmorrhage. This hæmorrhage seized Othmán, so that he was detained from the pilgrimage and deputed another *in his stead*. During the same many Grecian fortresses were taken, and Othmán placed Saa'd-b-Abi Wakkáṣ in the government of Kúfah, and removed al Mughírah.

In the year 25, Othmán removed Saa'd from Kúfah and appointed al Walíd-b-U'k'bah-b-Abi Muayṭ', who was a Companion, a brother of Othmán's on the mother's side, and that was the first thing with which he was reproached in that he preferred his relations to posts of authority: moreover it is related that al Walíd read morning prayers to the people four rakaa'ts, while he was intoxicated, and he looked upon them and said, "shall I go on for ye?"

In the year 26, Othmán enlarged the sacred mosque and extended it and purchased the *adjoining* buildings for its augmentation. During the same Sabúr* was taken.

In the year 27, Mu'áwiyah led an expedition against Cyprus, and crossed the sea with his troops, and with him was U'bádah-b-u'l Ṣámit†

* Shahpúr probably. Near Shíraz. The MS. has Naysabúr.

† He was one of the Companions sent by Omar to Syria at the time of its con-

A. H. 27. and his wife Umm Harám, daughter of Milhan, a woman of the Auxiliaries.
A. D. 647. She fell from her mule, and died there for the faith. The prophet had foretold to her this expedition and prayed that she might be one of them. She was buried at Cyprus.

During this year Arraján (*Erghán*) and Dárábjird were taken;* and in the same Othmán removed A'mr-b-u'l A'ás from Egypt and appointed over it A'bdu'llah-b-Saa'd-b-Abi Sarḥ, who led an expedition against *Northern* Africa and overran it both plains and hills, and each man of the troops received a thousand and some say, three thousand dinárs. Spain was also subsequently conquered in this year.

An anecdote *deserves mention.* Mu'áwiyah had urged upon Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb the expedition to Cyprus and *the necessity* of reaching it by a sea voyage, and Omar wrote to A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, *saying*, "describe to me the sea and its rider." And he wrote, saying, "Verily I saw a huge construction, upon which mounted diminutive creatures, if it is still, it rends the heart, if it moves, it terrifies the senses. Within it the faculties grow diminishing and calamities augmenting. Those inside it, are like worms in a log. If it inclines to one side, they are drowned, if it escapes, they are confounded." When Omar read the letter, he wrote to Mu'áwiyah, *saying*, "By Allah, I will not set a true believer upon it."

Ibn Jarír says that Mu'áwiyah proceeded against Cyprus in the time of Othmán, and concluded a peace with its inhabitants on condition of tribute.

In the year 29, Persepolis was taken by force of arms and Ḳasá and other places. During the same, Othmán enlarged the mosque of Medína and built it of carved stone, and fashioned its pillars of stones, and its roof of teakwood, and made its length one hundred and sixty cubits and its breadth one hundred and fifty cubits.

In the year 30, Júr was taken, and many towns in the land of Khurasán. Naysábúr was occupied by treaty, though some say, by force; and Ṭús and Sarkhas both by treaty and likewise Marw and Bayhaḳ.† When these extensive provinces were conquered, abundant was the tribute unto Othmán, and wealth came unto him from every side, so that he established

quest to teach the people the Ḳurán. He died at Jerusalem and some say at Ramlah in A. H. 34, aged 72. An Nawawi.

* An aliph is omitted in the printed edition. Dárábjird is near Persepolis: another town of the name is near Naysabúr.

† According to Yákút, Bayhaḳ comprises the country between Naysabúr, or as it is commonly written Nishapur, Ḳúmis and Juwayn, and contains three hundred and twenty-one villages.

for himself treasuries and gave bountiful stipends,* and he would order a man a hundred thousand badras, in each "badrah,"† being four thousand ounces. A. H. 30. A. D. 650.

In the year 31, (*Here a hiatus in the MSS. The intervening years have little to mark them*). *In* 31, *according to Abu'l Fida,* (*Annals*) *Yezdijird died, and a rebellion broke out in Khurasán, but was quelled by Othmán. In* 33 *died Ibn Masa'úd, the Companion. In* 34 *and* 35 *occurred the seditions in Kúfah against the nepotism of Othmán. In the year* 35 *took place the assassination of Othmán.*

Az Zuhri says that Othmán ruled the Caliphate twelve years. For six years he governed without the people having anything to reproach against him; and he was more beloved by the Ḳuraysh than Omar, for Omar was stern with them, and when Othmán ruled them, he treated them with leniency and was attached to them. But afterwards he became heedless of their affairs, and appointed his kinsmen and the people of his house to authority during the last six years, and bestowed upon Marwan a fifth of *the revenues of* Africa, and lavished on his kindred and family the property *of the State,* and explained it as the assistance to kindred which the Lord had enjoined, and said, "verily Abu Bakr and Omar have neglected in that matter what was incumbent upon them, and I have taken it and divided it among my kindred;" but the people disapproved of it. (Ibn Saa'd).

Ibn A'sákir records, after another account, on the authority of az Zuhri that he narrates, "I said to Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, 'canst thou tell me the manner of the death of Othmán, and how it was with the people and with him, and why the Companions of Muḥammad forsook him?' and Ibn u'l Musayyab replied, 'Othmán was slain unjustly, and he who slew him was a wrongdoer, but those who forsook him are to be excused.' I said, 'how was that?' He replied, 'when Othmán assumed, the government, some of the Companions disapproved of his rule, because Othmán

* ادر might also mean that he caused provisions and the like to pour in plentifully—as in Omar's orders to the tax-gatherers ادروا لقحة المسلمين : but here the context seems to refer to stipends from the treasury.

† A badrah is a purse containing a sum of, from one thousand to ten thousand dirhams. It appears incredible that in the early days of the Caliphate such extravagance could have existed, but the lavish bounty of Othmán is noticed by Gibbon and it gained for him in return but ingratitude and discontent.

A. H. 35. had a great affection for his tribe. He ruled the Caliphate twelve
A. D. 655-6. years, and frequently appointed to office among the Banu Umayyah, those who had not enjoyed the Companionship of the Apostle of God. Thus there were committed by his prefects those actions which the Companions of Muḥammad did not approve. Othmán, however, favoured them and did not remove them, and during the last six years, he preferred the children of his uncle and appointed them to rule, and let none others share with them, nor enjoined on them the fear of God. Thus he appointed A'bdu'llah-b-Saa'd-b-Abi Sarḥ to govern Egypt and he remained over it some years. The people of Egypt complained and sought redress against him. And verily before this, there had occurred on the part of Othmán a slight towards A'bdu'llah-b-Masa'úd, and Abu Ḍarr and A'mmár-b-Yásir, and the Banu Huḍayl and the Banu Zuhrah had in their hearts what was in them on account of Ibn Masa'úd, and the Banu Ghafár, and their confederates and those that were wroth concerning Abu Ḍarr, had in their hearts what was in them, and the Banu Makhzúm were wroth with Othmán on account of A'mmár-b-Yásir. And the people of Egypt came complaining against the son of Abu Sarḥ, and Othmán wrote to him a letter threatening him in it, but the son of Abu Sarḥ refused to submit to what Othmán had forbidden him, and he scourged him who had come from Othmán, of the people of Egypt that had gone to Othmán *complaining*, and slew him. Then seven hundred of the people of Egypt went forth, and they alighted at the mosque *at Medína*, and made their complaint to the Companions at the appointed places of prayer, of what the son of Abu Sarḥ had done to them. Thereupon Ṭalḥah-b-U'bayd-i'llah arose and spoke harsh words to Othmán, and Ayesha sent to him and said, 'the Companions of Muḥammad have come to thee and asked of thee the removal of this man and thou hast refused, yet this man hath put to death a man among them. Therefore do them justice against thy governor.' And A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib went in to him and said, 'verily they demand of you one man in the place of another and have claimed for him *the revenge for* blood, therefore remove him from over them and judge between them, for a claim stands against him, therefore do them justice upon him.' He replied to them, 'choose ye a man that I may appoint him over ye in his place.' And the people pointed out to him Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr, and said, 'place over us Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr.' And he wrote him his charge and appointed him. And there went forth with them a number of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries that they might see what was happening between the people of Egypt and the son of Abu Sarḥ, and Muḥammad and those with him set forth. But when they were at the third day's stage from Medína, behold! there came up with them a black slave upon a camel striking the camel violently like to

a man who pursues or is pursued, and the companions of Muḥammad* said to him, 'what is thy adventure and thy condition? for verily thou art either fleeing or pursuing.' And he said to them, 'I am the slave of the prince of the Faithful who hath sent me to the prefect of Egypt.' And a man said to him, 'this is the prefect of Egypt.' He replied, 'it is not this one I want.'" A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6.

Then Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr was informed regarding him, and he sent a man in pursuit of him, who caught him and brought him before him, and he said, "slave, who art thou?" And he began saying at one time, "I am the slave of the prince of the Faithful," and at another, "I am the slave of Marwán," until a man recognized him as the slave of Othmán. Then Muḥammad said to him, "Unto whom art thou sent?" He replied, "to the prefect of Egypt." He asked, "with what?" He answered, "with a letter." He said, "Is the letter with thee?" He replied, "no" whereupon they searched him, but found no letter upon him, but with him was a ewer in which was something dried up that rustled, and they shook it that it might be cast out, but it did not come out, so they broke the ewer when lo! there was in it a letter from Othmán to the son of Abu Sarḥ. Then Muḥammad assembled those that were with him of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries and others, and he opened the letter in their presence, when behold! there was in it: "When Muḥammad and such a one and such a one reach thee, contrive a scheme for their death, and set aside his charge, and remain in thy government until my advice reach thee, and imprison such as come to me seeking redress against thee; verily my advice will reach thee in regard to that matter, if it please God." And when they read the letter, they were terrified and confounded, and they turned back to Medina, and Muḥammad sealed the letter with the seals of the people who were with him, and gave it to a man among them, and they proceeded to Medina and assembled Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr and A'li and Saa'd and those who were among the Companions of Muḥammad. Then they reopened the letter in their presence and informed them of the story of the slave, and read to them the letter. And there was not one of the people of Medina but was wroth against Othmán, and it increased the wrath and anger of those who were enraged on account of Ibn Masa'úd, Abu Ḍarr, and A'mmár-b-Yásir. And the Companions of Muḥammad went to their homes there not being one among them, but he was grieved at what they had read in the letter. And the people besieged Othmán, and Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr led against him the Banu Taym and

* The usual benediction follows this name, but I am inclined to think it has been inadvertently inserted, Muḥammad here referring to the son of Abu Bakr and not to the founder of Islám.

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. others; and when A'li saw that, he sent to Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr and Saa'd and A'mmár and others of the Companions, all of them being men who had fought at Badr. Then he went to Othmán *taking* with him the letter, the slave and the camel, and Ali said to him, "is this slave, thy slave?" He replied, "yes." He continued, "and this camel, thy camel?" He answered, "yes." He said, "then didst thou write this letter?" He said, "no," and he swore by Allah, *saying*, "I did not write this letter, nor command it *to be written*, nor have I any knowledge of it." A'li said to him, "then is the seal thy seal?" He answered, "yes." He said, "then how could thy slave go forth with thy camel, and with a letter upon which is thy seal, thou knowing not of it?" But Othmán swore by the Lord, *saying*, "I did not write this letter nor command it *to be written*, nor did I ever send this slave to Egypt."

Now as to the writing, they recognised it to be the writing of Marwán, and they doubted regarding Othmán, but demanded of him that he should give up to them Marwán, but he refused, Marwán being with him in the house. Then the Companions of Muḥammad went forth from him much enraged, and they were in doubt regarding him for they knew that Othmán would not swear falsely, save that some said, "Othmán will not be absolved in our hearts, unless he giveth up to us Marwán, that we may interrogate him and learn the affairs of the letter, and how he commanded the death of a man among the Companions of Muḥammad without due cause, and if it be Othmán that wrote it, we will depose him, and if it be Marwán that wrote it upon the suggestion of Othmán, we shall consider what we shall do concerning Marwán." And they kept to their houses, but Othmán refused to give Marwán up to them, for he feared death for him. And the people besieged Othmán and prevented him from obtaining water; he therefore looked down upon the people from above and exclaimed, "Is A'li among ye?" And they said, "no." He said, "is Saa'd among ye?" They replied, "no"; then he was silent. Again he exclaimed, "Will not any one inform A'li that he may give us water to drink?" Ali was then informed of this and he sent three large leathern water bottles filled with water, but it was nigh unto not reaching him, for a number of the freedmen of the Banu Háshim and the Banu Umayya were wounded on account of it until the water reached him. A'li was then informed that the death of Othmán was sought, and he said, "verily we desire of him Marwán, but the death of Othmán—no," and he said to al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, "go ye with your swords until ye stand over the door of Othmán and suffer not any one to go in to him." And az Zubayr sent his son and Ṭalḥah sent his son, and a number of the Companions of Muḥammad sent their sons to prevent the people from going into Othmán, and to demand the surrender of Marwán. And when Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr

saw that, and that the people had shot arrows against Othmán, until al Ḥasan was stained with blood at his door, and an arrow had reached Marwán who was inside the house, and Muḥammad the son of Ṭalḥah was dyed *with blood* and Ḳanbar the freedman of A'li had his head broken, then Muḥammad-b-Abi Bakr feared that the Banu Háshim might be angered at the condition of al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn and provoke a tumult, so he took the hands of two men and said to them, "if the Banu Háshim arrive and see the blood upon the face of al Ḥasan, they will disperse the people from Othmán, and what we desire will miscarry, but come with me until we climb above him upon the house, and slay him without any one's knowing it. And Muḥammad and his two Companions climbed from a house of a man of the Auxiliaries until they penetrated unto Othmán, and not one of those who were with him knew of it, for all those that were with him were upon the tops of the houses, and he was alone with his wife. Then Muḥammad said to the two, "stay where ye are, for verily his wife is with him, so that I may enter before ye, and when I seize him, then come in and set upon him until ye slay him." And Muḥammad entered and seized him by the beard, and Othmán said to him, "by Allah, could thy father see thee, thy behaviour towards me would surely be hateful to him:" thereupon his hand relaxed its hold, but the two men went in to him and set upon him until thy slew him, and then came forth fleeing towards whence they had entered. Then his wife screamed, but her screaming was not heard by reason of the clamour in the house, and she mounted up to the people, and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath been slain." And the people entered and found him slain, and the news reached A'li, and Ṭalḥah and az Zubáyr and Saa'd and those that were in Medína, and they set forth, for verily their senses left them at the news they had heard, until they went in to Othmán and found him slain, and they repeated the ejaculation: "Verily we belong to God and unto Him shall we return" (Kur. II). Then A'li said to his two sons, "how was the prince of the Faithful slain and ye two at his door?" and he raised his hand and struck al Ḥasan, and smote the breast of al Ḥusayn, and reviled Muḥammad the son of Ṭalḥah and A'bdu'llah the son of az Zubayr, and went forth in great anger until he reached his house. Then the people hastened to him and said, "we swear thee allegiance, wherefore stretch out thy hand, for a chief is of necessity *to us*." And Ali said, "that belongeth not to me,—verily that is with the men of Badr, for with whomsoever the men of Badr are content, he is Vicegerent."

A. H. 35.
A. D. 655-6.

But there was not one of the men of Badr, but went to A'li and said, "we know none more deserving of it than thee—stretch forth thy hand that we may make a covenant with thee." And they swore allegiance to him, and Marwán and his son fled, and A'li went unto the wife of Othmán

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. and said to her, "who slew Othmán? "She replied, "I know not; two men went in to him, whom I do not recognize and with them was Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr," and she informed A'li and the people of what Muḥammad had done. And A'li sent for Muḥammad and asked him concerning what the wife of Othmán had mentioned, and Muḥammad said "she hath not spoken falsely—verily, by Allah, I went in to him, and I purposed to slay him, but he bid me remember my father, and I stood off from him turning in repentance to God,—by Allah, I did not slay him nor hold him;" and the wife of Othmán said, "he hath spoken truly, but he brought the two within."

Ibn A'sakir records on the authority of Kanánah the freedman of Ṣafínah, and others, that it was one of the Egyptians, a man with blue eyes and ruddy complexion that slew Othmán—he was called Ḥimár. Aḥmad records on the authority of al Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah, that he went into Othmán, when he was beseiged and said, "thou art verily the Imám of the people, and yet there hath befallen thee what thou seest; and verily now I place before thee three courses; choose one of them. Either go forth and fight them, for surely with thee are numbers and force, and thou art in the right and they are in the wrong—or cut open for thyself a door, other than the door over which they stand, and mount thy camel and get thee to Mecca, for they will not hold it lawful *to slay* thee while thou art there,—or betake thee to Syria, for verily the people of Syria, among them is Mu'áwiyah." But Othmán said, "if I go forth and fight, I cannot be the first of those who have succeeded the Apostle of God, to shed blood—and if I set out for Mecca, then have I heard the Apostle of God say, "a man of the Ḳuraysh shall be buried in Mecca upon whom shall be half the chastisement of the world"—and I shall not be he—and if I betake me to Syria, then I cannot forsake the city of my Flight, and the neighbourhood of the Apostle of God."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abú Thaur al Fahamí that he narrates, "I went in to Othmán while he was besieged and he said, "I have laid up with my Lord ten things—verily I was one of four in Islám—and the Apostle of God gave me his daughter in marriage—afterwards she died and he gave me in marriage his other daughter—and I never courted* nor sought *her*, nor have I applied my right hand to an unworthy use, since I made a covenant of allegiance with it, with the Apostle of God,—and never has a Friday passed over me since I became a Muslim, but I freed a slave, except when I had nothing in my possession, when I would free one afterwards,—and I have never committed fornication either in the time of Ignorance or Islám—and never have I stolen either in the time of Ignorance or Islám—and verily I collected the Ḳurán in the time of the Apostle of God."

* It may also mean—"I never enriched myself—nor desired *ought*.

The assassination of Othmán took place in the midst of the three days next after the day of sacrifice,* in the year 35. It is also said that he was slain on Friday the 18th of Ḍu'l Hijjah (17th June, 656) and was buried on Friday night between sunset and night-fall in Hash Kaukab† in the cemetery, and he was the first buried therein. A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6.

Others say that he was slain on Wednesday, and some, on Monday the 24th of Ḍu'l Hijjah, and on the day he was slain, he was eighty-two years old. It is also said that he was eighty-one,—and eighty-four—and eighty-six—and eighty-eight or nine—and ninety. Ḳatádah says that az Zubayr read prayers over him and buried him, Othmán having charged him to do that.

Ibn A'di and Ibn Asákir record from a tradition of Anas transmitted uninterruptedly from the prophet, "verily the Lord hath a sword sheathed in a scabbard as long as Othmán liveth, and when Othmán shall be slain, that sword shall be drawn, and it shall not be sheathed until the day of resurrection." A'mr-b-Káid is the sole authority for this, and he is the author of traditions of unacknowledged authority. Ibn A'sakir records on the authority of Yazíd-b-Abi Ḥabíb that he said, "I have heard that the whole party that attacked Othmán were all seized with insanity." And from Ḥudayfah, that he said, "the beginning of seditions is the murder of Othmán, and in the last times of sedition will be the coming of Dajjál, and by Him in whose hand is my life, not a man shall die having in his heart a grain's weight of the desire of Othmán's murder, but he would follow Dajjál, did he attain unto his time, and if he hath not attained unto his time, he will believe in him in his grave." And from Ibn A'bbás, that he said, "if the people had not sought the blood-wit of Othmán, they would have been stoned from Heaven." And from al Ḥasan, that he said, "Othmán was slain and A'li was absent on an estate belonging to him, and when he heard it, he exclaimed, "O God! verily I have not approved, nor abetted *it*."

Al Ḥákim has recorded and verified on the authority of Ḳays-b-A'bbád that he narrates, "I heard A'li on the day of the Camel say, 'O God, I am guiltless before thee of the blood of Othmán,' and verily my mind wandered on the day of the murder of Othmán, and my spirit revolted, and they came to me to swear allegiance and I exclaimed, 'verily I am ashamed to make a covenant with a people that have slain Othmán, and verily

* *I. e.* the 11th, 12th and 13th of Ḍu'l Hijjah—these days were so called (ايام التشريق) because the flesh of the victims was therein cut into thin stripes and dried in the sun. Lane.

† A piece of ground bought by Othmán and attached to the cemetery at Medína, Yaḳúṭ.

A. H. 35. I am ashamed before God that allegiance should be sworn to me, while
A. D. 655-6. Othmán is yet unburied.' Then they departed and when the people returned, they questioned me concerning the covenant of allegiance; I replied, 'O God, I am in fear for that which hath been done against Othmán.' Then they came to a determination and swore allegiance and exclaimed, 'O prince of the Faithful;' and it was as if my heart was rent and I said, 'O God, smite me on account of Othmán until thou art content.' "*

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abu Khaldah al Ḥanafi that he narrates, "I heard A'li say, 'verily the Banu Umayyah think that I put Othmán to death, but no!—by that God besides whom there is no other God, I did not slay nor abet, nay, verily I forbade it but they disobeyed me.' And from Samurah, that he said, 'verily Islám was in a strong fortress, and verily they have made in Islám a breach by their slaying of Othmán, which will not be closed till the day of resurrection, and verily the Caliphate was with the people of Medína, but they have cast it forth and it shall not return to them.' And from Muḥammad-b-Sírín, that he said, 'the piebald horses† were never missing in battles, and among the troops until Othmán was slain, and never were there variations in the appearance of the new moons until Othmán was slain, and the redness in the horizon of the sky was never seen until al Ḥusayn was murdered."

A'bdu'r Razzáḳ records in his Musannaf on the authority of Ḥamíd-b-Hilál, that A'bdu'llah-b-Salám went to the besiegers of Othmán, saying, "slay him not, for by Allah, not a man among ye shall slay him but he will meet the Lord mutilated, without a hand. And verily, the sword of God hath continued sheathed, but surely by Allah, if ye slay him, the Lord will indeed draw it, and will never sheathe it from ye—never was a prophet slain, but there were slain on account of him, seventy thousand, and never a Caliph, but there were slain by reason of him five and thirty thousand before *the people* were again united." And Ibn A'sákir from A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mahdi, that Othmán had two merits which belonged not to Abu Bakr nor to Omar, *viz.*, his self-collectedness until he was slain, and his uniting the people upon *one text* of the Ḳurán. And al Ḥákim from as Shaa'bi that he says, "I have not heard among the elegies on Othmán, any more beautiful than the words of Kaa'b-b-Málik—

'He restrained his hands, and made fast his gate:
And he knew that the Lord was not heedless.

* These reiterated asseverations of his innocence have the air of conscious guilt. Gibbon gives it as doubtful whether he was sincere in his oppositon to the rebels, and adds, that it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime.

† Upon which, it is feigned that the angels were mounted who fought in the Muslim ranks against the infidel.

And he spake unto the people of the house, "slay ye them not A. H 35.
The Lord forgiveth every man that doth not contend." A. D. 655-6.
Thou hast seen how the Lord hath poured out upon them
Enmity and hatred, following harmony with one another.
And thou hast seen how goodness turned fleeing afterwards
From the people, with the flight of hastening winds."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Musa-b-Ṭalḥah, that he said, "I saw Othmán go forth on a Friday wearing two yellow coloured garments, and take his station at the pulpit, and the Muaḍdin was calling to prayers, while he was conversing, asking the people concerning their current prices and their news, and the sick among them." And from A'bdu'llah ar Rúmi, that Othmán performed his ablutions at night himself, and it was said to him, "if thou didst order some of thy servants, they would suffice for thee." He replied, "no, the night is for them that they may repose therein."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of A'mr the son of Othmán-b-A'ffán, that the impression on the signet ring of Othmán was, "I believe in Him who hath created and completely formed *his creatures*," (Kur. LXXXVII). And Abu Nua'ym in the "Daláil," from Ibn Omar, that Jahjáh al Ghifári stood up before Othmán while he was preaching, and seized his staff out of his hand, broke it across his knee, but the year did not pass by, before the Lord sent upon his foot a gangrene, of which he died.

On the things in which he was foremost.

Al A'skari says in the Awáil that he was the first who bestowed gifts of revenue lands, and the first who enclosed pasturage, and the first who lowered his voice in pronouncing the Takbír, and the first who embellished the mosque *at Medína*, and the first who commanded the first call to prayers on the Fridays, and the first who gave stipends to the callers to prayer. He was the first who became impeded in his speech in preaching, whereupon he exclaimed, "O ye people, the first mounting is a hard task, but after to-day, there are yet days and if I live the discourse will come to ye after its wont—for we were never preachers, but the Lord will teach us." (Ibn Saa'd.) He was the first who made the discourse precede prayers on the Eed, and the first who committed to the discretion of the people the payment of their poor-rates, and the first who governed the Caliphate during the lifetime of his mother, and the first who established a constabulary, and the first who set apart an enclosure in the mosque, in

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. fear lest there should befall him what befell Omar. Thus much is mentioned by al A'skari. He adds, that the first occasion in which dissension fell among the people, and some accused others of error, was in his time, concerning the things for which they censured him—before that they differed in matters of jurisprudence but did not accuse each other of error. I note that there remain of the things in which he was foremost, *the following, viz.*, that he was the first of this people who emigrated with his family for the sake of God, as hath gone before, and the first who united the people upon one text in the reading *of the Ḳurán.* Ibn A'sákir records from Ḥákim-b-A'bbád-b-Ḥaníf that the first laxity that shewed itself in Medína when the world waxed prosperous and the fatness of men reached its height, was the flying of pigeons* and the shooting with† cross-bows. Othmán appointed over this a man of the Banu Layth in the eighth year of his Caliphate, and he cut *the wings of the pigeons* and broke the bows.

Among the distinguished people who died during Othmán's time, were, Suráḳah-b-Málik-b-Ju'shum—Jabbár-b-Ṣakhr—Ḥáṭib-b-Abi Baltaa'h—I'yáḍh-b-Zuhayr.—Abu Usayd as Sái'di—As-b-u's Ṣámiṭ—Ḥarith-b-Naufal—A'bdu'llah-b-Huḍáfah—Zayd-b-Khárijah, he who spake after death—Labíd the poet—Al Musayyab, the father of Sa'íd—Mu'áḍ-b-A'mr b-'il Jamúḥ—Ma'bid-b-u'l A'bbás—Mu'ayḳab-b-Abi Fáṭimah ad Dausi—Abu Labábah-b-Abdi'l Munḍir, Nua'ym-b-u'l Masa'úd al Ashja'í and others of the Companions; and besides the Companions, Huṭayah the poet, and Abu Ḍuayb the poet, of the tribe of Huḍayl.

A'LI-B-ABI ṬA'LIB.

A'li was the son of Abu Ṭálib. The name of Abu Ṭálib was A'bd Manáf, the son of Abdu'l Muttalib, whose name was Shaybah, the son of Háshim. Háshim's name was A'mr, son of A'bd Manáf, and the latter's name, al Mughírah, the son of Kusayy, whose name was Zayd-b-Kiláb-b-Murrah-b-Kaa'b-b-Luayy-b-Ghálib-b-Fikr-b-Málik-b-Naḍr-b-Kanánah. *He was called* Abu'l Ḥasan, and Abu Turáb, which names the prophet gave him as surnames. His mother was Fáṭimah, the daughter of Asad, the son of Háshim, and she was the first Hashimite woman giving birth to a Háshimi, that had been converted to Islám and taken part in the Flight. A'li was one of the ten to whom *the attainment of* Paradise

* For wagers.

† For على in the printed edition the MS. has به both forms are allowable.

was testified, and the brother of the Apostle of God in the Fraternal Union* A. H. 35
and his son-in-law through Fáṭimah, the queen of womankind. He was A. D. 655-6.
also one of the earliest converts to Islám and one of the most learned doctors of divinity and renowned heroes and famous ascetics and most celebrated preachers. He was one of those who collected the Ḳurán and read it under the tuition of the Apostle of God, and Abu'l Aswad ad Duali,† Abu Abdu'r Raḥmán as Sulami,‡ and Abdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Laylah§ read under his tuition.

He was the first Caliph of the Banu Háshim and the father of the two grandsons *of Muḥammad.* He embraced Islám early; indeed Ibn A'bbás and Anas and Zayd-b-Arḳam and Salmán al Fárisi, and others have said that he was the first who embraced Islám, and some say that there is a consensus for this.

Abu Ya'la records on the authority of A'li that he said, "the Apostle of God was sent *on his prophetic mission on* Monday and I became a Muslim on the Tuesday." His age when he was converted was ten years and some say nine, and some eight, and others, under that." Al Ḥasan-b-Zayd-b-i'l Ḥasan says, that he never worshipped idols from his infancy. (Ibn Saa'd.) When the prophet fled to Medína, he commanded him to remain behind at Mecca for some days, in order to discharge for him *certain* trusts and charges and bequests which were incumbent on the prophet, and then join him with his family, and he did so and was present with the Apostle of God at Badr and Ohud and all the expeditions except Tabúk, for verily the prophet had appointed him his Vicegerent at Medína. Throughout all these operations, his services were conspicuous, and the prophet gave him the standard *to carry* on many battle-fields. Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab says that A'li received on the day of Ohud sixteen wounds. It is established in the Ṣaḥíḥayn that the prophet gave him the standard on the day of Khaybar and told him that victory would be at his hands. The accounts of his bravery, and his services in the wars are well-known.

"A'li was advanced in years, stout, bold, very hairy, of middle stature, inclining to shortness, full-bellied, with a very large beard white as cotton which filled the space between the shoulders, and very tawny-complexioned.

* Muḥammad united the Fugitives and Auxiliaries in the brotherhood of Islám, each man taking a brother. Muḥammad's choice was A'li. Hamzah took Zayd-b-Hárith—and Jaa'far Ali's brother, took Muáḍ-b-Jabal. For the rest consult Ibn Hishám.

† A'bu'l Aswad Dhálim-b-A'mr-b-Sufyán Ḳáḍhi of Baṣrah of which town he was a native. He was one of the Tábi'ís and the first who gave lectures on grammar. An Nawawi.

‡ See note * p. 156.

§ See note ‡ p. 45.

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. Jábir-b-A'bdu'llah says that A'li on the day of Khaybar, carried the gate upon his back, so that the Muslims got upon it and took *the fort*, and indeed they dragged the gate afterwards, but it took forty men to lift it. (Ibn A'sákir.) Ibn Isháḳ has recorded in the Magházi and Ibn A'sákir, on the authority of Abu Ráfi',* that he said, "A'li seized a gate near the fort, the fort of Khaybar, and used it as a buckler to guard himself, and it continued in his hand while he was fighting, until the Lord gave us the victory. Then he cast it from him, and verily I know that we eight men tried to turn over the same gate, and we were not able to turn it over." Al Bukhári narrates in the Adab on the authority of Sahl-b-Saa'd, that the dearest of his own names to A'li was Abu Turáb, and that he was well pleased to be called by it. It was the prophet alone who named him Abu Turáb, and that because, one day being angry with Fáṭimah, he went forth and lay down by the wall in the mosque, and the prophet came up, and verily A'li's back was covered with dust The prophet therefore began to brush the dust from his back and to say, "sit up, O father of dust." (*Abu Turáb.*) Five hundred and eighty-six traditions are ascribed to him, on the direct authority of the Apostle of God, and traditions have been related on his authority by his three sons, al Ḥasan, al Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥanafiyah;—by Ibn Masa'úd and Ibn Omar,—Ibn A'bbás—Ibn uz Zubayr—Abu Músa—Abu Sa'íd—Zayd-b-Arḳam—Jabir-b-Abdu'llah,—Abu Imámah—Abu Hurayrah and others of the Companions and Tábi'ís, upon all of whom be the approbation of God.

On the traditions transmitted regarding his merit.

The Imám Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal says, "there hath not come down to us regarding the merits of any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, what hath been transmitted concerning A'li." (Al Ḥákim.) The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Saa'd-b-Abi Wakḳás, that the Apostle of God left A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib behind as his Vicegerent during the expedition of Tabúk, and A'li said, "O Apostle of God, dost thou leave me behind among the women and children?" He replied, "art thou not content to be to me in the relation of Aaron to Moses, save that there shall be no prophet after me?" And from Sahl-b-Saa'd that the Apostle of God said on the day of Khaybar, "I will surely give the standard to-morrow to a man, at whose hands the Lord will give victory, *one* who loveth God and

* "Abu Rafe" says Gibbon with characteristic humour in relating this story, "was an eye-witness, but who shall be witness for Abu Rafe?"

His prophet and whom God and His prophet love," and the people passed the night in perplexity as to the one among them to whom it would be given. And when they entered upon the dawn, they went early to the Apostle of God, *each of* all of them hoping that it would be given to him, but he said, "where is A'li the son of Abu Ṭálib?" They said to him, "he complaineth of pain in his eyes." He replied "then send for him;" and they brought him and the Apostle of God spat upon his eyes and prayed for him, and he was healed so that it was as if he had no pain, and he gave him the standard. Muslim records on the authority of Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳḳás, that when this verse, "Let us all together, our sons and your sons," (Kur. III), was revealed, the Apostle of God summoned A'li and Fáṭimah, and al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, said, "O God, these are my family." And al Tirmiḍi, from the prophet, that he said, "he whose friend I have been, A'li is *also* his friend;" and in some *of the readings* there is this addition, "O God, befriend him who is a friend to A'li and, be an enemy to him who is an enemy to A'li;" and in a tradition of Aḥmad from Abu Ṭufayl* *the latter* says, "A'li assembled the people in the enclosure *before the mosque*, and said, 'I ask in the name of God, of every Muslim that heard the Apostle of God speak on the day of Ghadír Khumm,† what he said, when he arose.' Then there stood up before him thirty of the people, and they bare witness that the Apostle of God said, 'he whose friend I have been, A'li is also his friend,—O God, befriend whomsoever is a friend to him, and be an enemy to him who is his enemy.'" And at Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim, verified, on the authority of Buraydah, that the Apostle of God said, "verily the Lord enjoined upon me the love of four men, and declared unto me that He loved them." They said to him, "O Apostle of God, name them to us." He replied, "A'li is among them;" (this he said three times), "and Abu Ḍarr and Miḳdád and Salmán." And at Tirmiḍi, an Nasái, and Ibn Májah from Ḥubshi-b-Junádah,‡ that the Apostle of God said, "A'li is a part of me and I of A'li." And at Tirmiḍi from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God united his Companions in a fraternal union, and A'li approached with his eyes filled with tears, and said, "O

A. H. 35.
A. D. 655-6.

* Abu Ṭufayl A'ámir-b-Wáthilah-b-A'bdi' llah one of the Companions. According to Muslim he died A. H. 100, the last of the Companions. Ibn Hajr.

† A pool near Juḥfah between Mecca and Medína; it received the name of Khumm from a dyer so called, according to Zamakshari. The Shiias assert that it was here that Muḥammad preached and constituted A'li his successor by his words that follow. Mawla may signify master as well as friend, and is their interpretation of the tradition.

‡ Ḥubshi-b-Junádah-b-Naṣr-b-Imámah as Salúli, one of the Companions. He accompanied the Pilgrimage of Farewell and then settled at Kúfah. According to al A'skari he took part in some of A'li's battles. Ibn Hajr.

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. Apostle of God, thou hast united in brotherhood thy Companions, but hast not made a brotherhood between me and between any one," and the Apostle of God replied, "thou art my brother in this world and the next."

Muslim records on the authority of A'li that he said, "by Him who hath cleft the seed and created the soul, verily the Illiterate prophet promised me, that none but a true believer should love me, and none but a hypocrite hate me." And at Tirmiḍi from Abú Sa'íd al Khudri that he said, "we used to distinguish the hypocrites by their hatred to A'li." And at Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim from A'li, that the Apostle of God said, "I am the city of wisdom and A'li is its gate." This tradition is reasonably good, but not perfect, as al Ḥákim asserts, nor fabricated as a number of others, among them, Ibn Jauzí and an Nawawi maintain: indeed, I have explained its position in the appendices to the Fabricated Traditions.

Al Ḥákim records and verifies on the authority of A'li, that he said, "the Apostle of God sent me to Yaman,* and I said, 'O Apostle of God, dost thou send me—and I a youth—to judge between them, while I know not the office of a judge?' and he struck my breast with his hand and said, 'O God, direct him aright and confirm his tongue,' and by Him who hath cleft the seed, I never hesitated in my judgment between two parties." And Ibn Saa'd from A'li, that they said to him, "How is it that thou hast the most traditions of any of the Companions of the Apostle of God?" He replied, "verily whenever I asked of him he informed me, and when I was silent, he began *a discourse* with me." And from Abu Hurayrah, that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb said, "A'li is the best of us in judicial decision." And from Ibn Masa'úd, that he said, "we used to declare that the best judicial authority among the people of Medína, was A'li." And from Ibn A'bbás, "whenever a trustworthy person tells me a judgment† of A'li's, I do not deviate from it." And from Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb used to beg God to preserve him from a perplexing case which the father of al Ḥasan was not *present to decide;* and, that Omar said, "none of the Companions used to say 'ask ye of me,' except A'li."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ibn Masa'úd that the most learned of the people of Medína in the law of inheritance and in judicial decisions was A'li. And from Ayesha, that when A'li was mentioned to her, she said, "verily he is the most learned in the Sunnah that is left."

* In A. H. 10, Muḥammad sent A'li to Yaman to summon the people to Islám. He had already despatched Khálid-b-u'l Wali'd, whose efforts had been unsuccessful On A'li's arrival, he read Muḥammad's letter to the people of Yaman, and the whole tribe of Hamdán were converted in a single day. The remainder shortly afterward. followed their example. Ibn u'l Athir. Kámil, Vol. II.

† The MS. has بفتيا instead of الفتيا of the printed edition.

Masrúḳ* says that the wisdom of the Companions culminated in Omar, A'li, Ibn Masa'úd and A'bdu'llah. A. H 35. A. D. 655-6.

A'bdu'llah-b-Ayyásh-b-A'bi Rabíi'h says that A'li had an exceedingly biting tooth for knowledge, and he had pre-eminence by reason of his family connections, and priority in Islám, and his being the son-in-law of the Apostle of God, and his knowledge of the Sunnah, and intrepidity in war and liberality with his wealth. At Ṭabaráni records in the Ausaṭ on a weak ascription from Jábir-b-A'bdi'llah, that the Apostle of God said, "the people are of various stocks but I and A'li are of one stock." And at Ṭabaráni and Ibn Abi Ḥátim from Ibn A'bbás that he said, "the Lord never revealed the words† 'O true believers' but that A'li was *understood to be*, the lord and chief of them, and verily the Lord hath reproved the Companions of the prophet in various places, but hath never mentioned A'li save with approval." And Ibn A'sákir from Ibn A'bbás that there hath not been revealed in the Book of God regarding any one what hath been revealed concerning A'li, and that three hundred verses have been revealed concerning A'li.

Al Bazzár records on the authority of Saa'd, that the Apostle of God said to A'li, "it is not lawful for any one to be in the mosque, while under the obligation of performing a total ablution except for me and for thee." And at Ṭabaráni records and al Ḥákim likewise, verifying on the authority of Umm Salmah that she said, "when the Apostle of God was angered, none dared speak to him but A'li." And from Ibn Mas'aúd that the prophet said, "to look upon A'li is devotion." And at Ṭabaráni in the Ausaṭ from Ibn A'bbás that he said, "A'li possessed eighteen eminent qualities which belonged to no other of this people." And Abu Ya'la from Abu Hurayrah that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb said, "verily A'li hath been endowed, with three qualities, of which had I but one, it would be more precious to me than were I given high bred camels." It was asked of him what they were; he replied, "his marriage with Fáṭimah, daughter *of the prophet*, his remaining in the mosque while that is permitted to him which is not lawful for me, and *his carrying* the standard on the day of Khaybar." And Aḥmad and Abu Ya'la according to a sound ascription from A'li that he said, "I have never had a disorder of the eyes, nor an ache of the head, since the Apostle of God, drew his hand over my face, and spat upon my eyes on the day of Khaybar when he gave me the standard." And Abu Ya'la and al Bazzár from Saa'd-b-Abi Wak-

* Abu Ayesha Masrúḳ b-u'l Ajdaa' of Kúfah one of the Tabi'ís. He is regarded as an authentic relater of traditions and was devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, died A. H. 62-3. An Nawawi.

† Kur. XXXIII *passim*.

A. H. 35. A. D. 655-6. ḳás, that the Apostle of God said, "who grieveth A'li, grieveth me." And at Ṭabaráni. according to a sound ascription from U'mm Salmah, that the Apostle of God said, "he who hath loved Ali, verily he hath loved me, and who hath hated A'li, verily he hath hated me, and who hath hated me, verily he hath hated the Lord."

Aḥmad records and al Ḥákim verifying it on the authority of Umm Salmah that she narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'he who hath reviled A'li, verily he hath reviled me.'" And from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said to A'li, "verily thou wilt do battle for the Ḳurán, as thou hast done battle for its revelation." Al Bazzar, Abu Ya'la and al Ḥákim record from A'li, that he said, "the Apostle of God summoned me and said, 'verily there is in thee a similitude to Jesus—the Jews hated Him to that degree that they slandered His mother, and the Nazaranes so loved Him, that they gave Him a dignity that He hath not,—now verily, by reason of me two classes of men shall perish—the enthusiastic partizan that speaketh in extravagant praise of what is not in me, and the enemy whose hatred of me bringeth him to slander me.'"

At Tabaráni records in the Ausaṭ and Ṣaghír* from Umm Salmah that she narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'A'li is with the Ḳurán and the Ḳurán with A'li—they shall not be divided until they arrive at the fountain *of Kauthar in Paradise.*'" And Aḥmad and al Ḥakim from A'mmár-b-Yásir, according to a sound ascription that the prophet said to A'li—"the most miserable of mankind are two men—the fair man of the tribe of Thamúd† who hamstrung the camel, and he who shall smite thee, O A'li, upon this (meaning the top of his head) until this, (meaning his beard) shall be moistened with its *blood.*" And al Ḥákim records, verifying it on the authority of Abu Ṣa'íd al Khudri, that he said, "the people complained of A'li, and the Apostle of God arose among us preaching and exclaimed, 'complain not of A'li, for by Allah, verily he is somewhat rough in respect of that which is due to God, and for the sake of God.'"

Ibn Saa'd says that allegiance was sworn to A'li as Caliph, the day after the murder of Othmán, at Medína, and all those of the Companions who were there acknowledged him, and he adds that Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr swore allegiance unwillingly, and not of free accord. They subsequently departed for Mecca where Ayesha was, and they took her and went forth with her to Baṣrah seeking *vengeance* for the blood of Othmán. This reaching A'li, he set out for Irák, and met at Baṣrah, Ṭalḥah, az Zubayr, and Ayesha and those that were with them. This was the battle of the Camel which took place in Jumáda'l Ákhirah in the year 36 A. H. In it

* See Sale, notes *f. g. h.* page 124. The man's name Was Kedar.

† See Note †, p. 13.

were slain Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr and others, and the slain amounted to thirteen thousand, and A'li remained at Baṣrah fifteen nights and then set forth for Kúfah. After this Mu'áwiyah-b-A'bi Sufyán and those that were with him in Syria, rose against him, and the news reached A'li and he marched forth and they met at Ṣiffín in Safar of the year 37. The engagement lasted for days, and the men of Syria lifted up the Ḳuráns *on the points of their lances* demanding *their rights* therein contained, a stratagem of A'mr-b-u'l Aás. The people were thus loth to fight and clamoured together for a reconciliation, and they appointed two arbitrators. A'li appointed Abu Músa al Asha'ri, and Mu'áwiyah, A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, and they wrote between them a document to the effect that they should meet at the beginning of the year al Aḍruḥ* and consider concerning the government of the nation. The people then separated and Mu'áwiyah returned to Syria and A'li to Kúfah. Then there arose against him schismatics from among his companions and those that were with him, and they said, "judgment belongeth only to God," and they encamped at Ḥarúrá. A'li sent to them Ibn A'bbás, and he contended with them and convinced them by argument, and a large body of them returned, but some remained firm and marched to an Nahrawán and obstructed the road. A'li then went out against them and overthrew them at an Nahrawán, and among them was slain Ḍu at Thudayyah,† and that was in the year 35. And the people assembled at Aḍruḥ in Shaa'bán of that year, and Saa'd-b-Abi Waḳkás and Ibn Omar, and others of the Companions were present. A'mr cunningly gave precedence of himself‡ to Abu Músa who spoke and deposed A'li; then A'mr spoke and confirmed M'uáwiyah and swore allegiance to him. The people separated upon this, and Ali thus became opposed to his companions, so that he bit his finger *with rage* and said, "I have been rebelled against and Mu'áwiyah is submitted to." Then there gathered together three men of the schismatics, A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Muljam al Mu-

A. H. 36.
A. D. 656-7.

* In the district El-Belká in Syria.

† This person, whose real name is not given by Ibn Hajr, lived in the time of Muḥammad, and was noted for his exceeding devotion and piety though not a Muslim, Muḥammad said that he was diabolically possessed, and Abu Bakr and Omar went into his house to kill him, but finding him in prayer, withdrew. He was found among the slain at Nahrawán, and he is said to have resembled a Nubian in appearance with one breast like that of a woman (hence his name) upon which were small hairs like that upon the tail of the Jerboa. Ibn Hajr.

‡ When the two Arbitrators met, they agreed that each should depose his master, and then proceed to adjudicate their respective claims. A'mr pleading the seniority and age of Abu Músa, courteously insisted on his initiating the deposition, which having been done, A'mr declared that since one of the claimants had renounced his pretensions, the best course to pursue was to confirm the other which was accordingly done.

A. H. 37. rádi, and al Burk-b-A'bdi'llah at Tamími, and A'mr-b-Bukayr at Tamími,
A. D. 657-8. and they met at Mecca, and entered into a covenant and bound themselves by a league that they would certainly slay those three, A'li-b-Abi Tálib, Mu'áwiyah-b-Abi Sufyán, and Amr-u'l A'ás, and free the people from them; and Ibn Muljam said, "I will take Ali for ye," and al Burk said, "I will take Mu'áwiyah for ye," and A'mr-b-Bukayr said, "I will suffice for ye for A'mr-b-u'l A'ás." And they pledged themselves that it should be on the same night, the night of the 11th or the 17th of Ramadhán. Then they went each of them to the city where his man was, and Ibn Muljam arrived at Kúfah, and met his companions of the schismatics, but he concealed from them what they intended *to do* on the night of Friday the 17th of Ramadhán of the year 40. And A'li awoke in the morning and said to his son al Hasan, "I saw in the night the Apostle of God, and I said, 'O Apostle of God, what have I *not* met at the hands of thy people, of oppression and contention?' and he said to me, 'call the curse of God upon them.' And I said, 'O God, give in exchange between me and them their good to me, and take in exchange between them and me my evil, for them.' Upon this Ibn u'l Nabbáh the Múaddin entered, and exclaimed, 'to prayers,' and A'li went forth from the door crying out, 'O people—to prayers—to prayers' and Ibn Muljam came before him, and smote him with a sword, and it struck the top of his forehead and reached his brain. Then the people rushed upon him from every side, and seized and bound him. And A'li lingered Friday and Saturday, and died on Saturday night* (21st January 661) and al Hasan, al Husayn and A'bdu'llah-b-Jaa'far bathed him, and al Hasan read prayers over him, and he was buried in the night in the palace at Kúfah. The limbs of Ibn Muljam were cut off, and he was put into an osier basket and burnt in the fire." This is the whole narrative of Ibn Saa'd, and verily he has done well in his account of this event, and has not amplified his narrative as others have done, for it is more suitable for this occasion. Muhammad has said, "when my Companions are mentioned, refrain from speaking"—and he adds, "sufficient for my Companions, is *the mention of their* death."†

In the Mustadrak, it is recorded on the authority of as Suddi,‡ that

* Weil notices that though Friday the 17th of Ramadhán A. H. 40 is generally stated to be the day on which A'li was wounded, the 17th of the month actually fell on a Sunday. He thinks it probable that the day of his death was in later times confounded with that on which he was stabbed.

† Without details regarding the manner of it. Such is the only sense I can extract from the passage. The MS. has اصحاب القيل which is to me unintelligible.

‡ The Professor Abu Muhammad Hibat-u'lláh-b-Sahl-b-Omar, al Bastámi, generally known as Suddi. He explained the Muwatta of Málik to al Muwayyad at Túsi. Ibn Khall.

A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b Muljam al Murádi loved a woman of the Schismatics called Ḳaṭám, and he married her and assigned for her dowry three thousand dirhams and the slaying of A'li. With reference to this al Farazdaḳ* has said, A. H. 40. A. D. 661.

"I have not seen a dowry sent by a generous man
Like unto the dowry of Ḳaṭám, manifest—not obscure.
Three thousand dirhams, and a slave and a maid
And the smiting of A'li with a cleaving sword.
For there is no dowry be it ever so costly, costlier than A'li:
And no criminal violence but is less than the violence of Ibn Muljam.†"

Abu Bakr-b-A'yyásh says, that the grave of A'li was kept concealed in order that the Schismatics might not dig it up, and Sharík states that his son al Ḥasan carried him to Medína. Al Mubarrad‡ states on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ḥabíb, that the first who was transferred from one grave to another was A'li.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Sa'íd-b-Abdi'l A'zíz, that when A'li was slain, they took him to bury him by the apostle of God, and while they were on their road one night, lo! the camel upon which he was *borne*, fled away and it was not known whither it went, nor could they overtake it, and for this reason the people of I'ráḳ say that he is in the clouds. Others assert that the camel came into the land of Tayy, and they took *the body* and buried it. A'li when he was slain was sixty-three years of age, and some say sixty-four, and sixty-five and fifty-seven, and fifty-eight. He had nineteen concubines.

* Abu Firás Hammám-b-Ghálib-b-Ṣa'sa'a, a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamím. The ancedotes told of him are very numerous; the reader should consult Ibn Khall who has a long article on his wit and adventures, the latter not very reputable. He died at Baṣrah A. H. 110 (728-9) at the age of nearly a hundred. His surname Farazdak (lump of dough) was given him on account of his ugly face.

† I do not follow M. Barbier de Reynard in his rendering of this passage: "Une ame, si energique quelle soit vaut-elle l' ame d' Ibn Moldjem." Les Prairies d 'Or. Tom. IV. p. 428.

‡ Abu'l A'bbas Muḥammad-b-Yazíd known as al Mubarrad, a distinguished grammarian. He resided at Baghdad and composed numerous works on literary subjects such as al Kámil, ar Roudhah and al Muḳtadhib. He was a contemporary of Thaa'lab—the author of the Fasíh, and with them terminated the series of the great philologers. He was born A. H. 210 (826) and died at Baghdád A. H. 286 (899). His surname al Mubarrad was given to him from his having been concealed in the wicker case of a large water jar; his friend who had concealed him there to avoid an importunate visitor in search of him, called out as soon as the latter had gone, al Mubarrad, al Mubarrad! (*Who wants cool water*). Ibn Khall.

A. H. 40.
A. D. 661.

On some of the accounts of A'li, his judicial decisions and sayings.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of al Ḥasan that he said, that when A'li entered Baṣrah there stood up before him Ibn u'l Kawwa, and Ḳays-b-A'bbád, and said, " wilt thou not inform us concerning this course of thine on which thou goest, assuming authority over the people, involving them in confusion? was it a charge of the apostle of God, that he laid upon thee? tell us—for thou art firm and undeviating with regard to what thou hast heard." And he said, " as to there being on me a charge from the Apostle of God, concerning that,—no—by Allah—surely if I was the first to maintain that he spoke truth, I will not be the first to put a lie upon him, and if I had received from the prophet a charge regarding that, I would not have suffered a brother* of the children of Taym the son of Murrah, nor Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb, to stand upon his pulpit, and I would surely have fought them with my own hand, even though I had not got but this my garment; but the apostle of God was not slain murderously, nor did he die suddenly, but he lingered some days and nights in his illness, the Múaḍḍin coming to him and summoning him to prayers. And he commanded Abú Bakr to pray before the people, though he knew my high consideration, and verily a woman among his wives desired to turn him from Abu Bakr, but he refused and was angered and said, " ye are the mistresses of Joseph—direct Abú Bakr to pray before the people."

And when the Lord took his prophet, we looked into our affairs, and chose for our temporal interests, him whom he had approved for our religious affairs, for prayers were the fundamental principle of Islám and Abú Bakr was the chief of the faith and the pillar of the faith. We therefore swore allegiance unto Abú Bakr, and he was worthy of it, not two of us being at variance over him, and none of us gave testimony against another, nor denied his privilege. I therefore discharged unto Abú Bakr his due, and acknowledged obedience to him and fought on his side in his armies and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me and fought when he sent me to war and inflicted in his presence the prescribed castigation for offences with my scourge. And when he was taken away, Omar assumed the Caliphate and governed it according to the institutes of his Companion and what he knew of his polity. And we swore allegiance unto Omar, not two of us being at variance over him,

* Abú Bakr.

and none of us gave testimony against another, nor denied his privilege. A. H. 40.
I therefore discharged unto Omar his due and acknowledged obedience to A. D. 661.
him and fought on his side in his armies, and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me, and fought when he sent me to war, and inflicted in his presence the prescribed castigation for offences with my scourge. And when he was taken away, I bethought me of my connections, and my priority in Islám, and my precedence and my merit, and I considered that Omar would not hold any one equal to me, but he feared that the Caliph after him would not commit a fault but it would attach to him in his grave, therefore he withdrew from it, himself and his son, and if there had been any partiality on his part he would surely have chosen his son for it, but he threw the responsibility of it from himself on to a party of the Ḳuraysh, six *in number*, I being one of them. And when the party assembled, I thought that they would not hold any one equal to me, and A'bdu'r 'Raḥmán-b-A'uf took our engagements that we should hear and obey whomsoever the Lord should place over our affairs. Then he took Othmán the son of A'ffán by the hand, and struck his own hand upon his hand, and I regarded my own conduct, and lo! my submission had already preceded my allegiance, and behold my engagement had been taken for another. We therefore swore allegiance unto Othmán, and I discharged unto him his due, and acknowledged obedience to him, and fought on his side in his armies and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me and fought when he sent me to war, and inflicted in his presence, the prescribed castigation for offences with my sourge. And when he was slain, I considered my own affairs, and lo! the two Vicegerents who had assumed the government by virtue of the command of the Apostle of God unto them to read prayers, had passed away, and this one for whom the engagement had been taken, verily, was slain, therefore the people of Mecca and Medína and the men of these two cities,* swore allegiance unto me—but there hath usurped the government, one who is not like unto me, and whose kinship is not as my kinship, nor his knowledge like unto my knowledge, nor his *priority in the faith* like unto my priority, and I had more claim to it than he."

Abu Nua'ym records in the Daláil, on the authority of the father of Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad, that two men having an altercation, were brought before A'li who sat himself at the foot of a wall, and a man said to him, "the wall will fall down," and A'li said, "Go to—God is a sufficient protector," and he decided between them, and arose, and then the wall fell.

* Baṣrah and Kúfah.

A. H. 40. It is recorded in the "Ṭuyuriyát" with its ascription to the same
A. D. 661. authority, that a man said to A'li, "we hear thee say in thy preaching 'O God, make me righteous with that through which thou hast made righteous the orthodox Vicegerents, the rightly guided.' Who then are they?" And his eyes filled with tears and he said, "they are my two friends Abu Bakr and Omar, the Imáms of salvation, the two elders of Islám, and the two men of the Ḳuraysh who are followed after the Apostle of God. He who followeth those two, is preserved, and whoso goeth after their footsteps is directed aright over the Straight Bridge *above Hell*, and he who cleaveth unto those two he is of the company of the Lord." And A'bdu'r Razzáḳ records on the authority of Ḥujr al Madarí, that he narrates, "A'li said to me, 'how will it go with thee when thou art ordered to curse me?' I said, 'will that come to pass?' He said, 'yes;' I answered 'then what shall I do?' He said, 'curse me, but do not renounce me.' He adds,—'and Muḥammad-b-Yusuf, the brother of al Hajjáj, who was governor of Yaman ordered me to curse A'li' and I said, 'the prince hath commanded me to curse A'li, therefore curse ye him with the curse of God,' and no one comprehended it but one man."

At Ṭabaráni records in the Ausaṭ and Abú Nua'ym in the Daláil on the authority of Zádán, that A'li was relating a tradition when a man accused him of speaking falsely, and A'li said to him, "shall I curse thee if I have lied?" and he said, "curse," and A'li cursed him, and he did not quit the place till his sight left him. And from Zirr-b-Ḥubaysh* that two men were sitting down, eating their morning meal, and one of the two had five loaves, and the other three loaves, and when they had placed the meal before them, a man passed and saluted them and they said, "sit down and eat," and he sat down and eat with them, and they shared equally in their meal the eight loaves, and the man arose and threw to them eight dirhams and said, "take these in exchange for what I have eaten belonging to ye two and have received of your food." They then quarrelled over it and the owner of the five loaves said, "for me are five dirhams and for thee three," and the owner of the three loaves exclaimed, "I shall not agree unless the dirhams are divided equally between us;" and they took their case before A'li the prince of the Faithful and related to him their adventure, and he said to the owner of the three, "verily thy companion hath offered to thee what he hath offered, and his loaves were more than thine, therefore be content with three." But he replied, "by Allah, I will not be satisfied with him except in my exact due." And A'li said, "in bare right thou shouldst have only one dirham and he seven dirhams." And the

* Abu Maryam Zirr-b-Ḥubaysh, a native of Kúfah one of the Tabi'ís. He was born in the time of Ignorance and died A. H. 82. An Nawawi.

man said, "Good God!" and A'li answered, "that is so." The other said, "inform me of the grounds of this being my bare right, that I may acquiesce in it." A'li answered, "are there not in eight loaves, four and twenty thirds which ye have eaten and ye are three men? and it is not known who is the greatest eater amongst ye and who the least, you will therefore be considered in your eating as equal." He went on, "now thou hast eaten eight-thirds, and verily thou hadst but nine-thirds, and thy companion eat eight-thirds, and he owned fifteen-thirds of which he eat eight—there remain of his, therefore, seven which the owner of the dirhams eat, and he eat of what belonged to thee one out of nine. Therefore for thee is one for thy one, and for him seven." And the man exclaimed "now I am content." A. H. 40. A. D. 661.

Ibn A'bi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of A'tá that a man was brought before A'li and two men testified against him that he had committed theft, whereupon A'li took up a certain case in which the people were concerned and threatened false witnesses and said, "a false witness was never brought before me but I did to him such and such a thing." Then he summoned the two witnesses but could not find them, wherefore he let the accused go.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of an ascription to the father of Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad that the signet ring of A'li was of stamped coin, the impression on it being "excellent is the Omnipotent God." And from A'mr the son of Othmán-b-A'ffán that the impression on the signet ring of A'li was, "the kingdom is the Lord's." And from al Madáini,* that when A'li entered Kúfah, one of the wise men of the Arabs went in to him and said, "by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, verily thou hast adorned the Caliphate, but it hath not adorned thee, and thou hast exalted it, but it hath not exalted thee, and it was more in need of thee than thou of it." And from Mujammi', that A'li used to sweep out the public treasury and then pray within it, in the hope that it would be testified in his favour that he did not keep the state property within it withheld from the Muslims.

Abu'l Ḳásim al Zajjáji narrates in his Dictations, that he had been told that the father of Abu'l Aswad said, "I went in unto the prince of the Faithful A'li and found him looking down in deep thought and I said to him "what art thou thinking over O prince of the Faithful?" He replied,

* Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad a native of Madáin, a client by enfranchisement (Mawla) to the family of A'bd Shams-b-A'bd Manáf. He was born A. H. 135 (752-3) and died A. H. 225 (839-40.) He wrote upwards of twenty works on Muḥammad, and a number on the history of the Ḳuraysh, and the Umayyad and Abbaside Caliphs and other subjects. De Slane, Ibn Khall.

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"verily I have heard in this your city a faulty pronunciation of the vowels; I was therefore thinking of composing a work on the principles of the Arabic language." I exclaimed, "if thou doest this thou wilt give us life, and this language will be preserved amongst us." Three days afterwards I went to him, and he threw me a writing in which was, "In the name of God, the most Merciful the most Compassionate. Speech consists entirely of nouns, verbs and particles. A noun is that which denotes the thing named, and a verb is that which denotes the action named, and a particle is that which expresses a signification, being neither a noun nor a verb." Then he said, "examine it and add to it what may occur to thee: know, O Abu'l Aswad, that objects are of three kinds, expressed, understood, and what is neither expressed nor understood, and verily the learned have vied with each other in the definition of what is neither expressed nor understood." Abu'l Aswad continues, "then I collected accordingly some parts of speech and showed them to him. Among them were particles governing the accusative. Of these I mentioned "verily" and "that,"* and "would that," and "perhaps" and "as if," but I did not include "but." He said to me "why hast thou omitted it?" I replied, "I did not count it among them." He said, "yes it is among them, therefore add it to them."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Rabíi'h-b-Nájid that A'li said, "be among men like the bee among birds, for there is none among the birds but thinks them insignificant, but if the birds knew what of good there is in their bellies, they would not think thus of them. Mix with the people with your tongues and persons and separate yourselves from them in deeds and in your hearts, for verily to a man shall be given that which he hath earned, and he shall appear at the day of resurrection with him whom he loveth." And from A'li that he said, "give ye a more urgent heed to the acceptance *before God* of your works rather than to the works themselves, for verily an action accompanied by the fear of God is not of little account, for how can an action accepted by God, be of light estimation?"†

And from Yahya-b-Jua'dah‡ that A'li said, "O ye bearers of the Ḳurán, act ye according to it, for he is a wise man who hath understood and acted according as he hath understood, and whose knowledge hath accorded with his works, and it shall come to pass that there shall be sects

* The MS. has also لن "certainly not."

† The text of the printed edition is here incorrect for يقبل read يقل and for يتقبل read مُتقبل

‡ Of the Ḳuraysh descended from Makhzúm, one of the Tabi'ís. He was son of A'li's sister. An Nawawi.

carrying a knowledge that goeth not beyond their collar-bones, whose disposition is at variance with their exterior show, and whose works are opposed to their understanding, sitting in a circle contending for superiority one with another, until a man will be wroth with his neighbour that he should sit by another than himself and leave him—such as these, their works in these their assemblies shall not ascend to God." And from A'li, "the grace of God is the best guide, a good disposition the best companion, wisdom the best friend, and good breeding the best inheritance, and there is nothing more hateful than pride." And on the authority of al Hárith that a man went to A'li and said, "tell me what is Fate." He replied, "it is a gloomy road—tread it not." He asked again, "tell me what is Fate." He said, "it is a deep sea—enter not upon it." Again he asked, "tell me what is Fate." He replied, "it is a mystery of God's which is hidden from thee, therefore seek not to penetrate it." He asked again, "tell me what is Fate." He exclaimed, "O questioner, hath the Lord created thee for what He hath willed, or what thou hath willed?" He replied "indeed for what He hath willed." Ali answered, "Then He will use thee as He thinketh fit."

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He also records of the sayings of A'li.*

"Misfortunes have their terminations. When any one is in misfortune, it must be that it will have an end: therefore it behoveth the wise man when distress cometh upon him, to submit to it until its time is accomplished, for verily in repelling it before the fulfilment of its term, there is an increase to its calamities."

It was said to A'li, "what is generosity?" He replied, "that from which the iniative proceedeth, for what cometh after a request is liberality and munificence."

A man went to A'li and praised him and spoke extravagantly, and it happened that A'li had heard somewhat of him before that, so he said to him, "verily I am not as thou sayest, yet I am above that which is in thy heart."

"The punishment of sin is lukewarmness in devotion, and straitness of means, and the lessening of enjoyment. A lawful appetite is not *sought to be* gratified, but there cometh that which diminisheth it."

A man said to A'li, and he secretly hated him, "may the Lord make thee firmly established." A'li replied, "upon thy heart," (on the authority of Ibn Rabíi'h).

* A collection of one hundred and sixty-nine moral sentences, attributed to A'li is given by Ockley. See. Hist. Sar. p. 339.

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Abu Bakr, Omar and Othmán used to versify,* but A'li was the best poet of the three. (As Shaa'bi.)

He records likewise on the authority of Nabíṭ al Ashja'í that A'li spoke this verse.

" When hearts contain despair,
And the spacious breast is stifled by what is within it,
And cares make their abode and repose,
And sorrows anchor in their habitations,
And no way is seen for the dispelling of distress,
And the stratagem of the cunning availeth not,
There shall come to thee in thy despair a helper
Whom the Answerer of prayer who is nigh, shall bring,
For all sorrows when they have reached their term,
There is linked to them an approaching joy."

And on the authority of as Shaa'bi, that A'li said to a man to whom the society of another man was displeasing—

" Consort not with a foolish brother, beware of him :
For how many a fool hath corrupted the gentle when he hath fraternised with him!
A man is judged by the man with whom he consorteth ;
For there are comparisons and similitudes for one thing with another.
The measure of a sandal is made when it is matched with it,
And the evidence of *the feeling of* one heart towards another is when they meet."

And from al Mubarrad that upon the sword of A'li was inscribed—

" Men lust after the world and plot for it,
Yet its clearness is mingled for thee with impurities.
They do not give thee of it thy portion, according to thy wisdom, when it is distributed:
But men have their allotted shares according to their destinies,
How many there are of the wise and sagacious unprospered :
While a fool hath gained his wealth by his errors,
If it could be acquired by force and rapine,
Falcons would swoop off with the subsistence of sparrows."

And on the authority of Ḥamzah-b-Ḥabíb az Zayyát that A'li used to speak this verse:

* The expression يقول الشعر 'he spoke poetry is used, for poetry was always spoken by the Arabs in classical times, and seldom written if written at all, until after the lifetime of the author. Lane, Art شعر

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"Disclose not thy secret but to thyself,
For every confidant, hath a confidant;
For verily I have seen erring men,
Who do not aspire to a high sense of honour."

He records likewise on the authority of U'kbah-b-Abi'l Ṣahba, that when Ibn Muljam stabbed A'li, al Ḥasan who was weeping went in unto him and A'li said, "O my dear son, treasure in thy memory from me four things and yet four." He said, "what are they, father?" He replied, "wisdom is the richest treasure, and folly the greatest poverty, and the most hateful of what is odious is pride, and the noblest excellence a good disposition." Al Ḥasan said, "and the other four? He replied, "beware thee of the companionship of a fool, for he will desire to profit thee and will do thee harm, and beware of the friendship of a liar, for he will bring nigh unto thee what is afar off and make distant from thee what is near at hand—and beware thee of the friendship of a miser, for he will withhold from thee what thou art most in need of—and beware thee of the friendship of a libertine for he will sell thee for a trifle."

And from A'li that a Jew went to him and said, "when did our God exist?" and the face of A'li flushed with anger and he said, "creation was not and He was; He was while yet there was no being: He existed without a cause—He was, having no beginning and no end—all limits fall short of him, for he is the end of all ends," and the Jew embraced Islám.

Ad Darráj, in his well known work, records on an obscure ascription to Ṣhurayḥ the Ḳáḍhi,* that when A'li set forth to Ṣiffín, he lost a coat of mail belonging to him, and when the war was over, and A'li returned to Kúfah the armour came into the hands of a Jew, and he said to the Jew, "the armour is my armour—I neither sold it nor gave it away." The Jew replied, "it is my armour and in my possession." A'li said, "let us go to the Ḳáḍhí," and A'li preceded him and sat by the side of Shurayḥ and said, "were not my opponent a Jew, I would assuredly sit on a level with him in the court, but I heard the apostle of God say, 'treat them with ignominy, for the Lord hath treated them with ignominy.' Shurayḥ said, 'proceed, O prince of the Faithful.' And he said, 'yes—this armour which is in the hand of this Jew, is my armour—I neither sold it nor gave it away.' Shurayḥ exclaimed, 'what dost thou say, O Jew?' He replied,

* Abu Umayyah Shurayḥ al Ḥárith-b-Ḳays of the tribe of Kinda. He was an eminent Tabi'í born before the promulgation of Islám and appointed Ḳadḥi of Kúfah by Omar—a post he held with scarcely any interruption for seventy-five years. He was one of the four persons called the smooth-faced chiefs (as Sádát at Tuls) the others being A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, Ḳays-b-Saa'd, and al Aḥnaf-b-Ḳays. He died A. H. 87, at the age of one hundred years. Ibn Khall.

A. H. 40. 'it is my armour and in my possession.' Then Shurayḥ said, 'hast thou
A. D. 661. any proof, O prince of the Faithful?' He said, "yes, Ḳanbar and al Ḥasan are witnesses that the armour is my armour.' Shurayḥ replied, 'the evidence of a son is not admissible in favour of a father.' A'li exclaimed, 'what! the evidence of one among the people of Paradise not admissible!' I heard the apostle of God say—'al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn are the two chiefs of the youth among the dwellers in Paradise.' The Jew said, 'the prince of the Faithful caused me to appear before the Ḳádhí and the Ḳáḍhí gave judgment against him,—I testify that this is the Truth—I testify that there is no God but God, and I testify that Muḥammad is the apostle of God and that this armour is thy armour.' ".

The discourses of A'li in exposition of the Ḳurán are numerous and are fully treated in my commentary supported by their ascriptions. And verily Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of A'li that he said, "by Allah, a verse of the Ḳurán was never revealed, but I knew regarding what it was revealed and where it was revealed and concerning whom it was revealed, for my Lord hath given unto me a wise heart and an eloquent tongue." And he and others on the authority of Abú't Ṭufayl that A'li said, "ask ye me regarding the book of God, for verily there is not a verse but I know whether it was revealed by night or day, in the plains or on the mountains."

Ibn Abi Dáuúd records from Muḥammad-b-Sírín that he said, "when the Apostle of God died, A'li delayed to swear allegiance to Abú Bakr, and Abú Bakr met him and said, 'art thou averse to my holding authority?' He said, 'no, but I have sworn not to put on my mantle except for prayers until I have collected the Ḳurán.' And they think that he wrote it according to the order of its revelation." Muhammadb-Sirín adds, "if that book were to be met with, there would be found in it much instruction."

On some of his short sententious maxims worthy of remark.

1. Precaution consists in evil opinion (recorded by Abu'l Shaykh-b-Ḥiyán).

2. He is near of kin whose kinship is affection though his relationship be distant, and he is remote whom enmity hath rendered distant though his kinship be close, for there is nothing nearer to the body than the hand, but when the hand is corrupted it is cut off, and when cut off it is cauterised. (Abu Nua'ym.)

3. Take ye five *maxims* from me. 1. 'Let none of ye fear anything but his sin. 2. And hope for nothing but his Lord. 3. He who

knoweth not, let him not be ashamed to learn. 4. He who knoweth, let him not be ashamed when he is asked concerning what he knoweth not, to say "God knows best." 5. Patience is to faith what the head is to the body; when patience departeth, faith departeth, and when the head goeth the body goeth. (Ibn Manṣ'úr in his Sunan.) A. H. 40. A. D. 661.

4. The perfect doctor of the law is he who doth not make men despair of the mercy of God and is not indulgent to them in respect of their sins against God—and doth not proffer them immunity from the chastisement of God and doth not willingly forsake the Ḳurán for other than it—for there is no profit in devotion in which there is no knowledge, and no knowledge unless accompanied by comprehension, and no proper reading of the Ḳurán without meditation upon it. (Dḥurays in the Fadháil u'l Ḳurán. (Excellencies of the Ḳurán.)

5. I make it incumbent upon myself when I am asked what I know not, to say God knoweth best. (Ibn A'sakir.)

6. He who seeketh to do justice unto men, let him desire for them what he desireth for himself. (Ibid.)

7. Seven things are of the devil. 1. Excessive anger. 2. Excessive sneezing.* 3. Excessive yawning. 4. Vomiting. 5. Bleeding at the nose. 6. Clandestine discourse.† 7. Sleeping during devotional exercise.

8. Eat ye the pomegranate for it is a stomachic. (A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad in the Zawáid u'l Musnad.)

9. Thy reading the Ḳurán under the tuition of a learned man, and his reading it to thee are equal *in meritoriousness.* (Al Ḥákim in his History.)

10. A time shall come upon the people when a true believer will be more abject than a female slave. (Sa'íd-b-Manṣúr.)

And by Abu'l Aswad ad Duali is the following, eulogizing A'li.

"And now, O eye, alas for thee! come to my aid!
Now weep for the prince of the Faithful;
And let Umm Kulthúm‡ weep for him

* It is also said in a tradition ان يحب العطاس و يكره التثاؤب "He (Muḥammad) used to like sneezing and dislike yawning," because the former is accompanied by lightness of body and openness of the pores, whereas in yawning the contrary is the case, but the Arabs used to augur ill from sneezing, so that if a man were journeying and heard a sneeze, it prevented him from going on. With regard to yawning, it is said, اذا تثاءب احدكم فليغط "when any one of you yawns, let him cover his mouth," for it is believed, that the devil leaps into the uncovered yawning mouth. Lane.

† انما النجوى من الشيطان *Kur. LVIII.*

‡ The daughter of A'li by Fáṭimah and wife of Omar.



A. H. 40.
A. D. 661.

With her flowing tears, for verily she hath beheld death.
Now say to the schismatics wheresoever they may be:
May the eyes of the envious never be refreshed.
In the month of the Fast have ye made us to grieve
For the best of all men universally.
Ye have slain the best of those that have mounted steeds
And tamed them or put foot upon a vessel,
Of those who wear and adjust sandals:
And of those who read the Ḳurán and its perspicuous verses.
And in him were the noblest virtues
And the love of the Apostle of the Lord of created things.
Verily the Ḳuraysh knew wheresoever they were,
That thou wert the best of them in ancestry and faith.
When I stood* before the face of the father of Ḥusayn,
I saw the radiance that shone above his eyes.
And before his death we were happy,
Beholding the son-in-law of the Apostle of God among us,
Establishing the truth in which there was no thought of evil,
And acting equitably between enemies and kinsmen;
Knowledge with him was not hidden,
Nor was he created among the proud of heart.
The people became when they lost A'li
Like unto the ostrich bewildered in a country bare of herbage.
Rejoice not, Mu'áwiyah, son of Ṣakhr:
For verily the continuance of the Caliphs is with us."

Of the distinguished persons who died during the time of A'li whether by a natural death or by violence were, Ḥuḍayfah-b-u'l Imám—Az Zubayr-b-u'l A'wám—Ṭalḥah—Zayd-b-Ṣúḥán—Salmán al Fárisí—Hind-b-Abi Hálah and Uways al Ḳuráni—Khabbáb-b-u'l Aratt—A'mmár-b-Yásir—Sahl-b-Ḥaníf—Suhayb-ar Rúmi—Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ—Tamím ad Dári—Khawwát-b-Jubayr—Shuraḥbíl-b-as Samṭ—Abu Maysarah al Badri—Ṣafwán-b-A'ssál—A'mr-b-A'nbasah—Hishám-b-Ḥakím—Abu Ráfi freedman of the prophet and others.

* I prefer the reading of the first to the second person sing. and in this follow, M. Reynard in the Prairies d 'Or. Tom. IV, p. 436.

A. H. 40.
A. D. 661.

AL ḤASAN-B-A'LI-B-ABI ṬÁLIB.

Al Ḥasan was the son of A'li, the son of Abu Ṭálib, Abu Muḥammad, grandson of the Apostle of God, and his descendant, the last of the Caliphs according to his prediction.*

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of I'mrán-b-Sulaymán that al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn were two of the names of the dwellers in Paradise, the Arabs never having been named by those two in the time of Ignorance.

Al Ḥasan was born in the middle of the month of Ramadḥán in the 3rd year of the Flight. It is stated that he heard traditions from the prophet, and Ayesha and others of the Tabi'ís—among them his son al Ḥasan, and Abu'l Haurá Rabíah-b-Shaybán. As Shaa'bi and Abu Wáil, have related traditions on his authority. He resembled the prophet in appearance, and the prophet named him al Ḥasan and slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice for him on the seventh day, and shaved his head and ordered that the weight of his hair in silver should be given in alms, and he was the fifth of the people of the mantle.† Al A'skari says that this name (*al Ḥasan*) was not known in the time of Ignorance.

Al Mufaḍḥal‡ says that the Lord concealed the names of al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn until the prophet named his two sons§ by them, and al Bukhári records on the authority of Anas that no one resembled the prophet more than al Ḥasan the son of A'li. The two Shaykhs record on the authority of al Bará that he said, "I saw the Apostle of God, with al Ḥasan upon his shoulder, and he was saying "O God verily I love him, therefore love Thou him." And al Bukhári from Abu Bakr that he said, "I heard the prophet, while on the pulpit with al Ḥasan by his side, looking now upon the people, and now upon him, exclaim, 'verily this son of

* Muḥammad is reported to have said, "the Caliphate shall continue after me thirty years and then shall be a kingdom." Muḥammad died in the 11th year of the Flight and Ḥasan's abdication was in the year 40 from whence it is plain, says al Bukhári that not only was Muḥammad a prophet but Ḥasan was his rightful successor. Ock. Hist. Sar. p. 352.

† When Muḥammad went forth to dispute with the ambassadors from the people of Najrán on the subject of religion he took with him A'li Faṭima, al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, and some say gathered them under his mantle. See Sale, Kur. p. 44.

‡ Ibn Khall gives two of the name, both philologers of eminence and authors of numerous works. One, Abu Ṭálib al Mufaddḥal-b-Salama of the school of Kúfah. The other Abul A'bbás al Mufaddḥal-b-Muḥammad-b-Ya'la, a native of Kúfah [author of the Mufaddḥal, died A. H. 168.

§ They were always looked upon by him in the light of his children, his own having died at an early age.

A. H. 40. mine is a prince and perchance the Lord will unite through his means, the
A. D. 661. two contending parties of the Muslims.'* And from Ibn Omar that the prophet said, 'they two are my descendants in the world meaning al Hasan and al Husayn.'"

At Tirmiḍi and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Abu Sa'íd al Khudri that the Apostle of God called al Hasan and al Husayn the two princes of the youth of Paradise. And at Tirmiḍi from Usámah-b-Zayd that he narrates, "I saw the prophet with al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn on either hip, and he exclaimed 'these are my two sons and the sons of my daughter. O God, verily I love them, wherefore love Thou them and love him who loveth them.' And from Anas that the Apostle of God was asked 'which of the people of thy house are dearest to thee?' He replied, 'al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn.' Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet advanced, carrying upon his neck al Ḥasan, and a man met him and said, 'an excellent steed thou ridest, lad!' the Apostle of God replied, 'and he is an excellent rider.'"

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr that he said, "the one most resembling the prophet of his family, and the most endeared to him of them was al Ḥasan the son of A'li—I saw him come while Muḥammad was worshipping and mount upon his neck (or, he says, his back) and Muḥammad did not make him get down until he himself got down—and indeed I saw him in the act of bowing in prayer, separate his legs for al Ḥasan so that he might pass through from the other side." And from Abu Salimah-b-A'bdu'r Raḥmán† that the Apostle of God used to put out his tongue towards al Ḥasan the son of A'li, and when the boy saw the redness of the tongue, he would be merry with him. Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Zubayr-b-u'l Arḳam, that al Ḥasan rose and preached and a man of the tribe of Azd Shanuwwah stood up and said, "I testify verily that I saw the Apostle of God take him in his lap, saying, 'he who loveth me, let him surely love him, and he that is present, let him inform him who is absent,' and were it not for reverence of the Apostle of God I would have told it to no one."

Al Ḥasan had many virtues—he was a prince gentle of disposition, grave, reserved and dignified; generous, greatly extolled, averse from strife and the sword, and given much to marrying—he would bestow upon one man as much as a hundred thousand dirhams.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-U'bayd-b-U'mayr that al Ḥasan performed the pilgrimage on foot twenty-five times, his

* The Syrians who set up Mu'áwiyah, and the people of I'ráḳ who took the side of al Ḥasan.

† A Tábi'í, son of A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf, died at Medína A. H. aged 72.

horses being led beside him. And Ibn Saa'd from U'mayr-b-Isḥáḳ that he said, "no one ever discoursed before me whom I more wished when he spoke that he should not be silent, than al Ḥasan the son of A'li, and I never heard from him an improper word except once, when there was verily a dispute between al Ḥasan and A'mr-b-Othmán regarding some land. Al Ḥasan proposed a thing which A'mr did not approve, and al Ḥasan said, there is nothing for it then in my opinion but to act in spite of him."* He adds, "this was the harshest word of impropriety that I ever heard from him." A. H. 40. A. D. 661.

He also said, "Marwán was ruler over us and he used to revile A'li every Friday from the pulpit and al Ḥasan used to listen without retorting a thing. Then he sent a man to say to him, 'I swear by A'li, and by A'li, and by A'li, and by thee, and by thee, and by thee, and I find not a comparison for thee but that of a mule, which when it is asked, "who is thy father?" replies, "my mother is a mare."' Al Ḥasan replied to him 'go back to him and say to him *from me*—verily I will not blot out from thee a thing that thou hast said by reviling thee *in turn*, but my place of meeting and thine is *before* God, and if thou hast spoken the truth, the Lord will reward thee according to thy truth, and if thou hast lied, then the Lord is terrible in vengeance.'"

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ruzayḳ-b-Sawwár that there passed words between al Ḥasan and Marwán and al Ḥasan was silent. Then Marwán blew his nose with his right hand, and al Ḥasan said to him, "Out upon thee! dost thou not know that the right hand is for honour and the left for what is base? Shame upon thee!" Marwán held his peace. And from Asha'th-b-Sawwár on the authority of another, that a man sat down by al Ḥasan, and he said, "verily thou hast sat down by me as I was about to rise—wilt thou give me permission?" And from A'li-b-Zayd-b-Juḍa'án, that al Ḥasan gave away his property twice for the sake of God, and three times shared his property with God *by religious donations*, so that he would give a sandal, and keep a sandal, and give a boot and keep a boot. And from A'li the son of al Husayn, that al Ḥasan was given to divorcing his wives, and he never separated himself from a woman but she still continued to love him, and he married ninety women. And from the father of Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad that he said, "al Ḥasan used to marry and divorce till I feared that he would cause enmity amongst the tribes." A'li once said, "O men of Kúfah, give not your daughters in marriage to al Ḥasan, for he is a man that divorceth frequently:" and a man from Hamadán exclaimed, "by Allah, we will surely give in marriage to him and such as he approves, he may retain, and such

* Lit. that his nose should cleave to the dust, *i. e.*, render him submissive.

A. H. 40. as he dislikes, he may divorce." And from A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥusayn, that al
A. D. 661. Ḥasan was a man much given to taking women in marriage, and they rarely committed a fault towards him, and it was seldom with a woman he married but she loved him and was passionately attached to him.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Júwayrah-b-Asmá that when al Ḥasan died, Marwán wept over his bier, and al Ḥusayn said to him, "dost thou weep for him and verily thou hast given him to suffer* what thou hast given him to suffer." He replied, "verily, I would have done the same to one even more forbearing than he," and he pointed with his hand to the hill.† And from al Mubarrad that it was said to al Ḥasan—"Abú Ḍarr sayeth—poverty is dearer to me than wealth, and sickness than health." He replied—"may God have mercy upon Abú Ḍarr, but I say, that he who confideth in the good choice of the Lord for him, desireth not to be in any other condition than that which the Lord hath chosen for him, and this is the highest attainment of resignation unto what Fate hath ordained."

Al Ḥasan assumed the Caliphate after the assassination of his father, according to the allegiance sworn to him by the people of Kúfah, and governed it during six months and some days. Then Mu'áwiyah marched against him and the affair was left in the hands of God. Then al Ḥasan sent to him, offering to resign the government to him on the condition that the Caliphate should revert to himself after him,‡ and that he should not call upon any one of the people of Medína, Hijáz and I'rák for anything that had happened during his father's lifetime, and that he should pay his debts. Muáwiyah accepted his demands, and they made peace upon this. Thus was made manifest the prophetical prediction in his words "the Lord will unite through his means, the contending parties of the Muslims." And he abdicated the Caliphate in his favour. Al Balkíni§ indeed has sought to prove from his renunciation of the Caliphate which is the highest of dignities, the lawfulness of the renunciation of offices.

His abdication of the Caliphate took place in the year 41 in the month of Rabíi' u'l Awwal, and some say in Rabíi' u'l A'khir (August 661) and Jumáda ú'l Awwal. His Companions used to say to him, "O shame of the Muslims," and he would reply, "shame is better than hell fire." And a man said to him, "peace to thee, O dishonourer of the Muslims." He

* Lit. to swallow.

† As forbearing—or as self-contained—as a hill—is a proverbial comparison in Arabic.

‡ This condition I find in no other author I have consulted.

§ The surname of Jalálu'ddín, author of a work on the difficulties of science. His best known composition is the Muhimmat ul Muhimmat, a commentary on Asnavi the great Jurisconsult who died A. H. 882. D'Herb. art. Balkíni.

replied, "I am no dishonourer of the Muslims, but I was loth to have ye slaughtered for the sake of a kingdom." Al Ḥasan then removed from Kúfah to Medína and settled there. A. H. 41. A. D. 661.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Jubayr-b-Nufayr* that he narrates, "I said to al Ḥasan, verily the people say that thou desirest the Caliphate." He replied, "the chiefs of the Arabs were under my authority, warring with those with whom I warred, and at peace with those with whom I was at peace—yet I abandoned it, seeking the favour of God, and to spare the blood of the people of Muḥammad: shall I then again seize it amid the despondency of the people of Hijáz?"

Al Ḥasan died at Medína of poison. His wife Ja'dah, daughter of al Asha'th-b-Ḳays poisoned him. Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah suborned her to poison him, *promising* that he would then marry her, and she did so. And when al Ḥasan was dead, she sent to Yazíd claiming the fulfilment of what he had promised, but he replied, "I did not approve thee for al Hasan, shall I then be content with thee for myself?" His death took place in the year 49. Some say, however, *it occurred* on the 5th of Rabíi' u'l Awwal in the year 50, and others in the year 51. His brother endeavoured to make him confess to him who poisoned him, but he would not inform him and said, "the Lord is terrible in His vengeance if it be the one I suppose, and if not, by Allah, let not an innocent man be put to death on my account."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of I'mrán-b-Abdi'llah-b-Ṭalḥah that al Ḥasan saw in a dream that there was as if inscribed between his eyes "Say God is One" (Kur. CXII) and he announced the good news to the people of his house, and they related it to Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, and he exclaimed "if his dream speak truly, little time remaineth unto his death." And he lived but a few days when he died.

Al Bayhaḳi and Ibn A'sákir record on a line of ascription through the father of Abu Munḍir Hishám-b-Muḥammad, that al Ḥasan was in straitened circumstances, and they used to give him an allowance of one hundred thousand dirhams a year. One year Mu'áwiyah withheld it from him, and he was in great distress. He himself narrates "I sent for an ink-horn that I might write to Mu'áwiyah to remind him of me, but I refrained, and I saw the Apostle of God in a dream. And he said, 'how art thou, O Ḥasan?' I replied, 'well; father,' and I complained to him of my allowance being kept back from me and he said, 'didst thou send for an ink-horn to write to a creature like unto thyself, reminding him of it?' I answered 'yes, O Apostle of God—what then should I do?' He said 'say—O God, instil into my heart Thy desire, and cut off my hope from all beside Thee, so that I may not hope in any one save Thee, O Lord! and vouchsafe unto me O Lord of created things that which my strength is too

* One of the Tabi'ís.

A. H. 41. weak to reach, and my striving falleth short of, to which my desire attaineth
A. D. 661. not nor doth my supplication aspire, and which hath not passed upon my tongue, of what Thou hast bestowed of certitude upon any one of those that have gone before, and those that have come after.'

He continues, "by Allah, I did not persist with this *prayer* for a week, but Mu'áwiah sent me 1,500,000, dirhams, and I exclaimed, 'praise be to the Lord who doth not forget him who remembereth Him and disappointeth not him that calleth upon Him.' Then, I saw the prophet in a dream, and he said, 'O Ḥasan, how art thou,' and I said, 'well, O Apostle of God,' and I related to him my story and he said, 'thus it is, O my son, with him who hopeth in the Creator and hopeth not in the creature.'"

It is stated in the Ṭuyyuriyát on the authority of Salím-b-I'sá, the Ḳurán-reader of the people of Kúfah, that when al Ḥasan was nigh unto death, he became affected with violent grief, and al Ḥusayn said to him, "what meaneth, O brother, this lamentation? Verily thou goest unto the Apostle of God and unto A'li, and they two are thy fathers, and unto Khadíjah and Fáṭimah, and they two are thy mothers, and unto al Ḳásim and at Ṭáhir, and they two are thy maternal uncles,* and unto Hamzah and Jaa'far, and they two are thy paternal uncles." Al Ḥasan said to him, "O brother, verily I am entering upon one of the decrees of the Most High, upon the like of which I have not entered, and I behold a people among the creatures of God, the like of whom I have never seen." Ibn A'bdi'l Barr says, "it has been related to me in different ways, that when al Ḥasan was near unto death, he said to his brother—"O my brother, verily thy father cast his eyes upon this authority, but the Lord averted it from him, and Abu Bakr held it; afterwards again he raised his eyes to it, but it was turned from him unto Omar; then at the time of the Council, he had no doubt that it would not pass from him, but it was turned from him unto Othmán, and when Othmán was slain A'li was sworn allegiance to: then it was contested until the sword was drawn, and it never rested undisturbed in his possession. And verily, by Allah, I do not think that the Lord will unite in us the prophetic mission and the Caliphate, and indeed I know not with what indignity the rabble of Kúfah have *not* treated thee, and cast thee forth. And verily I asked of Ayesha that I might be buried with the Apostle of God, and she agreed, therefore when I am dead, ask that of her, and I do not think otherwise of the people but that they will hinder thee, and if they do so, do not dispute with them." And when he was dead, al Ḥusayn went to Ayesha, the mother of the Faithful, and she said, "yes; willingly," but Marwán hindered

* Sons of Muḥammad.

them, and al Husayn and those that were with him took up their arms until Abu Hurayrah turned him back. Afterwards he was buried in al Bakii' by the side of his mother. A. H. 41. A. D. 661.

MU'A'WIYAH-b-ABI SUFYA'N.

Mu'áwiyah, the son of Abú Sufyán Sakhr-b-Harb-b-Umayyah-b-A'bdi's Shams-b-A'bd. Manáf-b-Kusayy al Umawíy—Abu A'bdu'r Rahmán, embraced Islám with his brother on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He was present at Hunayn,* and was of those whose hearts were conciliated† by *Muhammad.* He became sincerely converted to Islám, and was one of the Secretaries to the Apostle of God. It is said that he had one hundred and sixty traditions from Muhammad. Of the Companions who related traditions on his authority, were Ibn A'bbás, Ibn O'mar, Ibn u'z Zubayr, Abu'd Dardá—Jarír al Bijli, Nu'mán-b-Bashír and others. And among the Tabi'ís, Ibn u'l Musayyab, Hamíd-b-A'bdi'r Rahmán &c.

He was of those celebrated for acuteness and forbearance, and verily traditions of his merit have been transmitted, which are seldom well established. At Tirmidi records on the authority of the prophet, substantiating it from A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-Abi A'mírah the Companion, that he said to Mu'áwiyah, "O God, make him a guide unto others and himself rightly directed." And Ahmad in his Musnad from I'rbádh-b-Sáríyah that he narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'O God, instruct Mu'áwiyah in writing and accounts, and preserve him from *eternal* punishment.'"

Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf, and at Tabaráni in the Kabír on the authority of A'bdu'l Malik-b-U'mayr, that Mu'awiyah said, "I never ceased to desire the Caliphate since the Apostle of God said to me, 'O Mu'áwiyah, when thou rulest, act with kindness.'"

Mu'áwiyah was a man, tall, fair, handsome and of awe-inspiring aspect, and Omar used to look upon him and say, "this is the Cæsar of the Arabs." It is recorded of A'li that he said, "be not averse to the rule of Mu'áwiyah, for verily when ye lose him, ye will see heads fall from their shoulders." Al Makburi‡ says, "ye admire the sagacity of Hera-

* This battle was fought in 8 A. H. in the valley of Hunayn, about 3 miles from Mecca, between Muhammad and the tribes of Hawázen and Thakíf. See Sale, Kur. p. 151.

† These were certain Arabs of name and position whom Muhammad won over to his side by showing them every consideration, in order that their example might be followed by their tribes. The Muntaha'l Arab gives a list of thirty of them.

‡ Abu Sa'íd Kaysán Makburi—a Tabi'í—he was called Makburi because he lived near a graveyard. Muntaha'l Arab.

A. H. 41. clius and Khusrau, and ye pass over Mu'áwiyah?" He was proverbial
A. D. 661. for his forbearance. Ibn Abi'd Dunya and Abu Bakr-b-Abi A'áṣim have severally composed a work solely on his forbearance. Ibn A'un narrates that a man said to Mu'áwiyah, "by Allah, thou must surely act uprightly with us, O Mu'áwiyah, or we will assuredly set thee right." He said, "how;" he replied, "with a stick." Mu'áwiyah answered "Very well—I will act uprightly."

Ḳabíṣah-b-Jábir* says, "I was much in company with Mu'áwiyah and I never saw a man of more settled forbearance, and slower to folly and further from indolence than he;—and when Abu Bakr sent me to Syria, Mu'áwiyah set forth with his brother Yazíd-b-Abi Sufyán, and Yazid dying, appointed him his successor in Damascus. Omar confirmed him in this, and subsequently Othmán, who added to his government the whole of Syria, and he was prefect for twenty years and Caliph twenty years." Kaa'b al Aḥbar said, "no one shall rule this people as long as Mu'áwiyah." Ad Ḍahabi says that Kaa'b died before Mu'áwiyah was made Caliph, and that Kaa'b was right in what he said, for Mu'áwiyah continued Caliph for twenty years, and none of the princes of the earth contended with him, unlike others who came after him, for they had opponents and portions of their dominions passed out of their sway. Mu'áwiyah went forth against A'li as has preceded, and assumed the title of Caliph. Then he marched against al Ḥasan, who abdicated in his favour. He therefore became firmly established in the caliphate from Rabíi' u'l A'khir or Jumáda 'l Awwal 41. The year was therefore called the year of Union, on account of the gathering of the people under one Caliph. During this year Mu'áwiyah appointed Marwán-b-u'l Ḥakam over Medína.

In the year 43 Rukhkhaj† and other places in Sijistan were captured and Waddán in Barkah and Kúzáa‡ of the country of the Moors. And in the same Mu'áwiyah appointed as his lieutenant Ziyád "the son of his father," and this is the first instance in Islám in which the command of the prophet was violated§—(at Tha'álabi|| and others).

* Abu'l A'la Ḳabíṣah-b-Jábir al Asadi a native of Kúfah and one of the Tabi'ís, of respectable authority as a Traditionist. Died a little before 83 A. H. An Nawawi

† The printed edition has رجج which is an error. The MS. gives رخج and Ibn u'l Athír confirms it.

‡ The MS. has لورا but I am unable to trace the names in Yaḳúṭ.

§ Ziyád was the reputed son of Abu Sufyán by Sumayyah who was married to a Greek slave. According to the prophetical law the child belonged to his legal father the Greek, but Mu'áwiyah, anxious to secure in his interest so eminent a man, publicly acknowledged him as his brother by the father's side, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his family. The doubtful parentage of Ziyád gained for him the vague distinction of "the son of his father." See Ockley, Abul Fida, D'Herb.

|| Ibn Khall gives two of this surname—both from Naysabúr, Abú Isháḳ, a well

In the year 45 al Ḳiḳán* was reduced and in the year 50, Kuhistán conquered. In the same year Mu'áwiyah invited the people of Syria to engage for the succession after him of his son Yazíd, and they made a covenant with him. He was the first who made a compact for the Caliphate to descend to his son, and the first who did so while in sound health. A. H. 45. A. D. 665-6.

Afterwards he wrote to Marwán at Medína, to take the covenant *from the people*, and Marwán preached and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath seen fit to appoint his son Yazíd as successor over ye according to the institution of Abú Bakr and Omar," whereupon A'bdu'r Raḥmán the son of Abu Bakr as Ṣiddíḳ arose and said, "rather according to the institution of Khusrau and Cæsar, for Abú Bakr and Omar did not do so for their children, nor for any one of the people of their house."

In the year 51, Mu'áwiyah performed the pilgrimage, and took the covenant for his son. Then he sent to the son of Omar and recited the profession of faith and said, "now, O son of Omar, verily thou didst say unto me, that thou in truth wouldst not wish to pass a single dark night without there being over thee during it a ruler—therefore, verily, I warn thee that thou break not the staff of the Muslims nor strive for the disturbance of their harmony." Then the son of Omar praised God and glorified Him and said, "now, verily there were before thee Caliphs who had sons, thy son being no better than their sons, yet they did not regard in their sons what thou regardest in thy son, but they chose for the Muslims the best wheresoever they knew *him to be*, and thou dost caution me lest I break the staff of the Muslims, but I have not been doing so, and indeed I am but a man among the Muslims and when they are agreed upon a thing, then surely I am one of them." And he said, "may the Lord have mercy upon thee," and the son of Omar departed. Then he sent to the son of Abú Bakr and recited the profession of faith, and began his discourse, but the other cut short his speech and said, "verily, thou assuredly hast desired that I should commend thee to God in the affair of thy son, but, by Allah, I shall not do so—by Allah, I will refer this matter to a council of the Muslims, or I will assuredly by circumvention unsettle it upon thee." Then he sprung up and departed. But Mu'áwiyah said, "O God, suffice to me against him in what Thou willest." Then he said, "Softly, O youth—go not within sight of the people of Syria, for verily I fear lest they anticipate me with regard to thee, until I tell them in the evening that thou hast sworn allegiance." Next he sent to the son of a'z Zubayr and said, 'O son of a'z Zubayr—verily thou art a crafty fox which

known Commentator on the Ḳurán—who died A. H. 629 (1035-6), the other Abu Manṣúr Abdu'l Malik a voluminous author; died A. H. 350 (961).

* Yakút places this district between Sind and Khúrasán.

A. H. 51. whenever it cometh out of one hole goeth into another, and verily thou
A. D. 671. hast supported these two men and hast blown into their nostrils, and hast carried them against their judgment." The son of az Zubayr replied, "if indeed thou art weary of the government, resign it, and bring us thy son and we will swear allegiance to him. Hast thou considered if we make a covenant for thy son together with thee, which of ye two we must hear and obey? The covenant can never be made with ye two conjointly." Then he departed, whereupon Mu'áwiyah ascended the pulpit and praised God and glorified Him and said, "verily, we have heard the sayings of certain misguided men who think that the son of Omar and the son of Abú Bakr and the son of az Zubayr have not sworn allegiance to Yazíd, whereas they have heard and obeyed him and made a covenant of allegiance with him." And the people of Syria said, "by Allah, we shall not be content until they swear allegiance to him before witnesses, otherwise we shall smite their necks" but he said, "great God, how prompt are the people to evil against the Ḳuraysh—let me not hear this speech from any of ye after to-day." Then he descended and the people said, "the son of Omar and the son of Abú Bakr and the son of az Zubayr have sworn allegiance," and the Syrians said, "no! by Allah," but the people said "yes". And Mu'áwiyah set forth and arrived in Syria. It is stated on the authority of Ibn Munkadir* that Ibn Omar said when the covenant was made for Yazíd, "if he proveth good we will be content, and if wicked we must be patient."

Al Kharáiṭi† records in the Hawátif (*Monitors*) on the authority of Hamíd-b-Wahb that Hind the daughter of U'tbah-b-Rabíi'h was the wife of al Fákah-b-u'l Mughírah, and he was one of the youths of the Ḳuraysh, and he possessed a banqueting house which the people could enter without permission. One day the house was empty, and al Fákah arose, Hind being within, and went forth on some businees of his and a man of those who used to guard the house, came and entered it, but when he saw the woman he turned fleeing; but al Fákah observed him, and he went up to her and kicked her with his foot and said, "who was he that was with thee?" She replied, "I did not see any one and I did not wake until thou didst wake me." But he said to her "go to thy family." And the people spoke concerning her, wherefore her father took her apart and said to her, "O daughter—verily people talk much about thee, therefore tell me concerning it, and if the man speak truly, I will suborn one who will slay him and the talk about us will cease, and if he lieth, I will summon him before certain soothsayers of Yaman." The narrator

* Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-Munkadir of the Ḳuraysh was a traditionist of good authority. He died A. H. 130, (747-8). De Slane, I. K.

† Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-Jaa'far, al Kharáiṭi authority of the Makárim u'l Akhláḳ and other works died at Jaffa or Askalon, A. H. 328 (939-40). De Slane, I. K.

continues, "then she swore to him upon that by which they used to swear in the time of Ignorance that he spoke falsely concerning her, wherefore U'tbah said to al Fákah, 'verily thou hast charged my daughter with a grave thing, therefore summon me before certain of the soothsayers of Yaman.' And al Fákah went forth with a party of the Banu Makhzúm, and U'tbah at the head of a party of the Banu A'bd Manáf, and with them Hind and other women along with her in familiar intercourse. But when they drew near the confines, the appearance of Hind was transformed and her countenance changed and her father said to her, 'O daughter, verily I see the change of appearance that hath come over thee, and what is that, but on account of the guilt thou feelest.' She replied, 'no, by Allah, father! it is not from guilt, but I know that you go unto a mortal who may fail or prove right, therefore I cannot trust him that he brand me not with a stain which will be a reproach to me among the Arabs.' But he said to her, 'verily I will prove him for thee before he look into thy business.' And he whistled to his horse until he staled and he inserted a grain of wheat and bound it with a thong. And they reached the soothsayer in the morning who slew a camel for them, and received them with honour, and when they had finished their morning meal, U'tbah said to him, "verily we have come to thee concerning an affair, and indeed I have concealed from thee a hidden thing that I may prove thee—wherefore see what it is." He replied, "wheat." He said, "I desire what is clearer than this." He answered "a grain of wheat in a colt." And U'tbah said, "thou hast spoken truly, see into the business of these women." Then he began to approach each one of them, striking her shoulder and saying "rise," until he came to Hind and he struck her shoulder and said "rise thou undefiled and no adulteress, and verily thou shalt give birth to a king called Mu'áwiyah." Then al Fákah looked upon her and took her by the hand, but she withdrew her hand from his hand said,—"go to, for by Allah, I will surely endeavour that it is by another than thee." And Abu Sufyán married her and she brought forth Mu'áwiyah.

A H. 51.
A. D. 671.

Mu'áwiyah died in the month of Rajab of the year 60 (April 680) and was buried between the gate of al Jabíyah, and the Little Gate. It is said that he lived seventy-seven years, and he possessed a little of the hair of the Apostle of God and a paring of his nail, and enjoined as his last request that it should be put into his mouth and eyes, and he added, "do this and leave me alone with the Most Merciful of the Merciful."

A. H 60.
A. D. 680.

On some accounts of him.

Ibn Abi Shaybaḥ records in the Musannaf on the authority of Abu Sa'íd-b-Jumhán that he narrates, "I said to Safínah,—verily the Banu Umayyah conceive that the Caliphate is among them." He replied, "verily the fierce-eyed sons* lie—they are the most rigorous of kings and the first of the kings is Mu'áwiyah." And al Bayhaḳi and Ibn A'sákir from Ibrahím-b-Suayd al Armani that he narrates, "I said to Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal,—who are the Caliphs?" He answered, "Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán and A'li." I said, "and Mu'áwiyah?" He replied, "no one had more claim to the Caliphate in the time of A'li than A'li." And as Silafi in the Ṭuyyuriyát from A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal that he states, "I asked my father concerning A'li and Mu'áwiyah," and he answered, "know, that A'li had many enemies, and his enemies searched for a fault in him but they found it not, wherefore they went to a man† who had fought with him and battled with him, and they praised him extravagantly setting a snare themselves for him." And Ibn A'sákir from A'bdu'l Malik-b-U'mayr,‡ that Járíyah-b-Ḳudámah as Saa'di went to Mu'áwiyah who said to him, "who art thou?" He replied, "Járíyah the son of Ḳudámah." He said, "and what art thou near to being—art thou anything but a bee?" He answered, "dost thou not understand, that verily, thou hast likened me to it, and it protects itself with a sting and is sweet of juice! by Allah, Mu'áwiyah is nothing but a bitch, howling to the dogs, and U'mayyaḥ is but the diminutive of a female slave."§ And from al Fadhl-b-Suayd, that Járíyah-b-Ḳudámah went to Mu'áwiyah who said to him, "thou art the procurator of A'li the son of Abu Ṭálib and the kindler of fire in thy burnings, going round about the villages of the Arabs,

* Lit. blue-eyed, which is employed as signifying hostility because the زرقة blueness or lightness of the eye is predominant in the Greeks and the Daylam between whom and the Arabs is a confirmed enmity. Imr u'l Ḳays, used this adjective in this sense. Diwán, p. 34, Ar Text. Consult Lane, and Chenery, notes to 10th assembly of al Haríri.

† *I. e.*, Mu'áwiyah.

‡ Abu A'mr or Abu Omar A'bdu'l Malik-b-U'mayr was one of the Tábi'ís and a native of Kúfah of which town he was Ḳádhi. He is considered a good authority by some and doubtful by others, as his memory towards the close of his life failed him. He died about A. H. 136. An Nawawi.

§ Meaning that the names themselves have that signification in Arabic. I know not why he should have likened Járíyah to a bee, the name not bearing that meaning, unless it be for the same reason that a ship is termed Járíyah because it runs or flows on the sea, and thus the bee in the air. Járíyah likewise signifies a female slave.

shedding their blood."* Járíyah replied, "O Mu'áwiyah—put A'li aside from thee, for we have never hated A'li since we loved him, and never acted with dissimulation towards him since we dealt sincerely with him." He answered, "alas for thee, O Járíyah, how contemptible wert thou to thy family when they named thee Járíyah." He replied, "O Mu'áwiyah, thou wert contemptible to thy family when they called thee Mu'áwiyah." He said, "thou hast no *free* mother." The other replied, "a *free* mother bore me not! verily the hilts of the swords with which we met thee at Siffín are in our hands." He answered, "verily thou threatenest me!" He replied, "verily thou didst not seize us by violence, nor conquer us by force, but thou gavest us engagements and compacts, and if thou fulfil *thy part* to us, we will fulfil *ours*, but if thou inclinest to the contrary, then verily, we will abandon *them*. Behind us are tall men, and strong coats of mail, and sharp lances, and if thou stretchest out towards us the distance between thy thumb and forefinger in treachery, we will meet thee with both arms reach of deceit." Mu'áwiyah exclaimed, "may the Lord not multiply the like of thee among the people." And on the authority of Abú 't Ṭufayl A'ámir-b-Wáthilah the Companion, that he went in unto Mu'áwiyah who said to him, "wert thou not among the slayers of Othmán?" He replied, "no, but I was among those that were with him but did not assist him." He said, "and what hindered thee from assisting him?" He answered, "the Fugitives and Auxiliaries did not aid him." He said, "but surely his claim upon them that they should aid him was imperative!" He retorted, "then what hindered thee, O prince of the Faithful from helping him, for with thee were the people of Syria?" Mu'áwiyah replied, "but my seeking vengeance for his blood is helping him." Abú't Ṭufayl laughed and then exclaimed, "thou and Othmán are as the poet† says:

A. H. 60.
A. D. 680.

* Mu'áwiyah had sent A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Hadhrami to Baṣrah to secure that town for him and A'li despatched Aa'yan-b-Dhabíaḥ for the same purpose. The latter was killed whereupon Járíyah was sent and he besieged A'bdu'llah in his house and set it on fire and burnt him to death. Ibn Hajr.

† M. Barbier de Reynard's text of Masa'údi gives this poet's name as Hanafi. In a note it is stated that according to a MS. in the Asiatic Society of Paris, the name should be Ja'di جعدى. The readings of the first hemistich of the verse are various. Masa'údi has لالفينك in the text and يغنيك in the above-mentioned MS., but the scansion of both these is faulty. The same MS. has تدنيني for تندبني. The printed edition of as Suyúṭi has لا الفينك. I would amend it لالفينك as the negative here destroys the sense unless employed as a query. In the second hemistich a و after حياتي which is necessary in the scansion, is erroneously omitted but is found in Masa'údi's version.

A. H. 60. 'I will surely find thee weeping for me after my death:
A. D. 680. And during my life, thou didst not furnish me with my food.'"

As Shaa'bi says, that the first who preached seated to the people, was Mu'áwiyah and that was when his flesh had increased and his stomach had grown large. (Recorded by Ibn Abi Shaybah.) Az Zuhri states that Mu'áwiyah was the first who introduced the discourse before prayers on the Eed. (Abdu'r Razzáḳ in his Musannaf.) And Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab says that he was the first who introduced the call to prayers on the Eed, (Ibn Abi Shaybah) and who diminished the number of the Takbírs. Al A'skari says in his Awáil, "Mu'áwiyah was the first to establish post-messengers in Islám, and the first who appointed eunuchs for his personal service, and the first with whom his subjects jested familiarly, and the first to whom it was said *by the Muaddin*, "peace be to thee, O prince of the Faithful and the mercy of God and His blessing—to prayers! May the Lord have mercy upon thee,"—and the first, who established the office of the Seal, and he appointed to it A'bdu'llah-b-Aus al Ghassáni, and confided to him the Seal, and upon the stone of it was inscribed, "every work has its reward;" and that continued with the A'bbaside Caliphs to the end. The reason of his instituting it was, that he commanded *to be given* to a man one hundred thousand *dirhams*, and he opened the document and made it two hundred thousand, and when the account was taken to Mu'áwiyah, he disavowed it, and established the register of the Seal from that day. "And he was the first who established an enclosure in the great mosque, and the first who permitted the stripping of the Kaa'bah, for before that its vesture was thrown one over another."

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár records, in the Muwaffiḳiyát on the authority of the son of az Zuhri's brother, that he narrates, "I said to az Zuhri—who was the first who demanded an oath in the covenant of allegiance?" He replied, "Mu'áwiyah made them swear by God, but when A'bdu'llah-b-Marwán came, he made them swear upon divorce and manumission.* Al A'skari records in his book of the Awáil on the authority of Sulayman-b-A'bdu'llah-b-Maa'mar, that Mu'áwiyah went to Mecca or Medína and arriving at the mosque, sat himself down among a circle in which were, Ibn Omar, Ibn A'bbás and A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr. And they welcomed him, but Ibn A'bbás turned from him and Mu'áwiyah said, "I have more claim to his authority than this recusant and the son of his paternal uncle."† And Ibn A'bbás said, "why! for priority in Islám, or early *companionship* with the Apostle, or kinship with him?" He answered,

* That is, that the penalty of the violation of their oath would be divorce of their wives and manumission of their slaves.

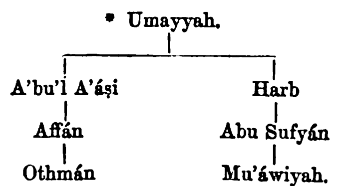
† *I. e.*, A'li—A'bbás and Abu Ṭálib being brothers.

" no, but for being the son of the paternal uncle of the murdered *Othman*."* A. H. 60.
He retorted, "then this one more deserveth it," meaning the son of Abu A. D. 680.
Bakr. Mu'áwiyah answered, "his father died a natural death." Ibn A'bbás replied, "then this one has more claim to it," meaning the son of Omar. He answered, "verily an infidel slew his father." The other rejoined, "then that is the worse for thy argument, for it was the Muslims who were wroth with the son of thy paternal uncle and slew him."

A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-U'kayl says that Mu'áwiyah arrived at Medína, and there met him Abu Ḳatádah the Auxiliary, and Mu'áwiyah said, "all the people have come unto me except ye, O men of the Auxiliaries." He replied, "we had no riding animals." He said, "where were *your* camels for drawing water?" "We lamed them in the chase after thee and thy father at Badr." After a little Abu Ḳatádah said, "verily the Apostle of God said to us, 'you will see after me a state of calamity.'" Mu'áwiyah asked, "what then did he command you to do?" He replied, "he commanded us to be resigned." He answered, "then be resigned." This reached A'bdu'r Raḥman-b-Ḥassán-b-Thábit, and he said—

"Now, give Mu'áwiyah the son of Harb
The prince of the Faithful, this message from us,
'We will then be resigned and will await you
At the day of mutual† endamaging and contention.'"

Ibn Abi'd Dunya and Ibn A'sákir record on the testimony of Jabalah-b-Suhaym that he narrates, "I went in unto Mu'áwiyah during his Caliphate, and round his neck was a rope and a child was leading him, and I said to him, 'O prince of the Faithful, dost thou do thus?' 'O fool,' he said, 'be silent,' for I heard the Apostle of God say, 'he who hath a child, let him act towards him as a child,'" (recited but by one authority according to Ibn A'sákir.) Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of as Shaa'bi, that a youth of the Ḳuraysh went in to Mu'áwiyah and spoke harshly to him, and Mu'áwiyah said to him, "O son of



† That is the day of resurrection called يوم التغابن or the day of mutual cheating or overreaching, because the people of Paradise will then overreach the people of hell by their state of enjoyment while the latter will suffer the punishment they deserve or because the former will impute defect to the latter for preferring infidelity to faith. Lane. The LXIVth Chap. of the Ḳurán is so named.

A. H. 60. my brother! I warn thee against a king, for a king waxes angry with the
A. D. 680. *sudden* anger of a child, and seizes with the gripe of a lion." And from as Shaa'bi that Ziyád said, "I appointed a man as collector and he embezzled *the proceeds* of the taxes and fearing that I would punish him, he fled to Mu'áwiyah, and I wrote to him, *saying*, "verily this is disrespect towards me,"* but he wrote to me, *saying*, "verily it is not fitting for me nor for thee to govern men by one kind of polity: if we were to be lenient to them all, we would confound men in iniquity, and we should not be hard with them all for we would drive men to ruin, wherefore act thou with severity and harshness and I will act with mildness, and clemency." And from the same, I heard Mu'áwiyah say, "a people were never yet divided but the wicked prevailed over the just, save this people." It is recorded in the Ṭuyyuriyát on the authority of Sulaymán al Makhzúmi, that Mu'áwiyah gave a general audience to the people, and when the assembly had gathered together, he said, "recite ye to me three verses by an Arab, each verse complete in its meaning;" and they were silent. Then A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr rose and said, "This Abu Khubayb here, is the most eloquent and learned of the Arabs," and Abu Khubayb said, "what is it?" Mu'áwiyah said, "recite to me three verses by an Arab, each verse complete in its meaning." He replied, "for three hundred thousand *dirhams!*" Mu'áwiyah said, "and will they be worth it?" He answered, "thou hast the choice; therefore thou art the best judge."† Mu'áwiyah said, "out with them:" and he recited to him from Afwah al Azdí.‡

"I have proved men age after age,
And have seen none but dissemblers and praters."

Mu'áwiyah exclaimed "he hath spoken truly, go on." He continued—

"And I have not seen among evils, any more calamitous in their fall,
Or more distressing than the enmity of men,"

Mu'áwiyah said "he hath spoken truly, go on." He continued—

"And I have tasted the bitterness of all things:
And there is no favour more bitter than supplication."

Mu'áwiyah exclaimed, "he hath said truly," and he ordered him three hundred thousand *dirhams*.

* The MS. has rightly سوادب which words are improperly inverted in the printed edition.

† Lit. "complete and sufficient."

‡ The printed edition has اودی which is incorrect. See the Muntaha'l Arab art. فوه

Al Bukhári and an Nasái and Ibn Abi Ḥátim in his commentary, record with various readings, that Marwán was preaching in Medína, he being then *ruler* over Hijáz on the part of Mu'áwiyah, and he said, "verily God hath shown the prince of the Faithful in regard to his son, an excellent counsel, and if he appointeth him successor, verily then Abu Bakr and Omar named successors," (and in one reading "according to the institution of Abu Bakr and Omar"). Whereupon A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr said, "*rather* according to the institution of Heraclius and Khusrau, for, by Allah, Abu Bakr did not give it to any of his sons nor to any of the people of his house, and Mu'áwiyah hath not done this save from partiality and favour to his son." And Marwán said, "art thou not he who said to his parents 'Fie upon you?'" (Kur. XVII.) And A'bdu'r Raḥmán said, "art thou not the son of the accursed, of him thy father whom the Apostle of God cursed?" but Ayesha exclaimed, "Marwán hath lied, that* was not revealed regarding A'bdu'r Raḥmán, but it was revealed regarding such a one the son of such one, but the Apostle of God cursed the father of Marwán and Marwán was then in his loins—therefore Marwán is full of the curse of God." A. H. 60. A. D. 680.

Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of U'rwah, that Mu'áwiyah said, "there is no forbearance without tryings *of temper.*" And Ibn A'sákir from as Shaa'bi that he said, "the most sagacious of the Arabs are four, Mu'áwiyah, A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah and Ziyád: but Mu'áwiyah *shows it* in his forbearance and gravity, A'mr in difficulties, al Mughírah in swift action, and Ziyád in great and small *things*. The most eminent judges were four, and the most sagacious men four, and the judges were Omar, A'li, Ibn Masa'úd, and Zayd-b-Thábit and the most sagacious, Mu'áwiyah, A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, al Mughírah and Ziyád." And from Ḳabíṣah-b-Jábir that he said, "I have associated with Omar the son of al Khaṭṭáb and I never saw a man more learned in the book of God, or more profoundly versed in the religion of God than he, and I have associated with Ṭalḥah the son of U'baydu'llah, and I have never seen a man more munificent in large gifts of wealth, unsolicited, than he, and I have associated with Mu'áwiyah and I have never seen a man of greater forbearance or slower to folly or more extreme in gravity than he, and I have associated with A'mr the son of al A'ás and I have never seen a man purer in ancestry and a gentler companion than he, and I have associated with al Mughírah the son of Shuu'bah, and if there were a city with eight gates, out of any gate of which one could not go forth save by cunning, he would assuredly get out by them all."

Ibn A'saḳir records on the authority of Ḥamíd-b-Hilál, that A'ḳil the son of Abú Ṭálib begged of A'li and said, "I am poor and needy, there-

* *I. e.*, the verse above-mentioned. "Fie upon you."

A. H. 60. A. D. 680. fore give unto me." He replied, "wait until my stipend cometh with *that of* the other Muslims, and I will give unto thee with them," but he was importunate and A'li said to a man, "take him by the hand and go with him to the shops of the people of the market and say, 'break these locks and take what is in the shops,' A'ḳil said, 'dost thou wish to make me a thief?' A'li retorted, 'and dost thou wish to make me a thief that I should take the property of the Muslims and give it to thee, and not to them?' He answered, 'I shall assuredly go to Mu'áwiyah.' He replied, 'that as thou willest,' and he went to Mu'áwiyah and begged of him, and he gave him a hundred thousand *dirhams* and said, 'get up on the pulpit and mention what A'li hath given thee and what I have given thee.' Then he mounted, and praised God and glorified him, and said, 'O people I tell ye, verily I tempted Ali in regard to his religion and he preferred his religion, and verily I tempted Mu'áwiyah in regard to his religion and he preferred me to his religion.'"

Ibn A'sakir records on the authority of the father of Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad, that A'ḳil went in unto Mu'áwiyah who said, "that is A'ḳil and his paternal uncle was Abú Lahab," and A'ḳil said, "this is Mu'áwiyah and his maternal aunt was the bearer of wood*" (Kur. CXI). And from al Auzaa'í,† that Khuraym-b-Fátik went unto Mu'áwiyah, and his nether garment was tucked up, and he had shapely legs. And Mu'áwiyah said, "if but those legs belonged to a woman;" and Khuraym said "like thy hips, O prince of the Faithful."

There died during the reign of Mu'áwiyah among distinguished persons, Ṣafwán-b-Umayyah and Hafṣah, U'mm Habíbah, Ṣafíyyah, Maymúnah, Saudah and Juayríyyah mothers of the Faithful,—Labíd the poet, Othmán-b-Ṭalḥah al Ḥajabi, A'mr-b-u'l A'áṣ, A'bdu'llah-b-Salám the learned doctor, Muḥammad-b-Maslamah, Abú Músa al Asha'ri, Zayd-b-Thábit, Abu Bakrah, Kaa'b-b-Málik, al Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah, Jarír al Bajli, Abu Ayúb al Anṣári, I'mrán-b-Ḥaṣín, Sa'íd-b-Zayd, Abú Ḳatádah al Anṣári, Fudḥálah-b-U'bayd, A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr, Jubayr-b-Mu'ṭim, Usámah-b-Zayd, Thaubán, A'mr-b-Hassán-b-Thábit, Ḥakím-b-Ḥizám, Saa'd-

* "The hands of Abu Lahab shall perish and he shall perish. His riches shall not profit him nor that which he hath gained. He shall go down to be burned in flaming fire and his wife *also* bearing wood, on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm tree." Kur. CXI. Her name was Umm Jamíl, she was the daughter of Ḥarb and sister of Abú Sufyán. See Sale.

† Abu A'mr A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Yuhmid al Auzaa'í the chief doctor of law among the Syrian Muslims and the most learned in jurisprudence. He dwelt at Bayrút; Sufyán at Thauri was his pupil in traditions, with many others. Born al Baalbek A. H. 88 (707) died at Bayrút. His tomb is in a village called Hantús outside the gate of the city. Ibn Khall.

b-Abi Wakkaṣ, Abu'l Yusr, Kutham-b-u'l A'bbás, and his brother U'bayd-u'llah, U'kbah-b-A'ámir, and Abu Hurayrah (in the year 59, for he used to pray " O God, verily I fly to thee for protection against the year 60 and the reign of children," and his prayer was heard)—and others. A. H. 60. A. D. 680.

YAZÍD-B-MU'ÁWIYAH.

Yazíd the son of Mu'áwiyah, Abu Khálid, the Umayyad, was born in the year 25 or 26. He was stout, very corpulent and hairy—His mother Maysún* was the daughter of Baḥdal al Kalabi. He narrated traditions on the authority of his father, and they are related on his authority by his son Khálid and A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán. His father made him his heir, and the people were averse to it as hath gone before. Al Ḥasan of Baṣrah says, "two men threw into confusion the affairs of the people, A'mr the son of al A'áṣ on the day he suggested to Mu'áwiyah the lifting of the Ḳuráns *on the lances*, and they were upraised (and Ibn u'l Kara adds, 'and the schismatics asserted that judgment *belongeth to God*, and this judgment will continue *to be maintained* till the day of resurrection,') and al Mughírah-b-Shuu'bah, for verily he was Mu'áwiyah's prefect over Kúfah, and Mu'áwiyah wrote to him, *saying*, 'when thou readest this letter, come *to me*—deposed from thy office,' but he delayed about it, and when he arrived, Mu'áwiyah said to him 'what delayed thee?' He replied, 'an affair which I was settling and arranging,' and Mu'áwiyah said, 'what was that?' He replied, 'the covenant of allegiance for Yazíd, after thee.' He said, 'and hast thou done it?' He answered 'yes': Mu'áwiyah replied, 'go back to thy prefecture.' And when he went out his Companions said to him, 'how goes it with thee?' He answered, 'I have placed the foot of Mu'áwiyah in the stirrup of error in which it will continue till the day of resurrection.' Al Ḥasan says, 'for this reason, these have taken covenants of allegiance for their sons, and were it not for that, there would have been a Council *of election* till the day of resurrection.' "

Ibn Sírín states that A'mr-b-Ḥazm went to Mu'áwiyah and said to him, "I call the Lord to thy remembrance in regard to the people of Muḥammad, concerning him whom thou placest as thy successor over them." He replied, "thou hast given me counsel and spoken according

* This Bedouin bride of Mu'áwiyah was a graceful poetess—some of her verses are translated in Carlyle's specimens of Arabian poetry. One song especially is well known and is given in Ockley and in Burton's Pilgrimage. The latter says that the Bedouins never hear it without screams of joy.

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A. H. 60. to thy judgment, but verily there remain none but my son and their sons,
A. D. 680. and my son is the most deserving."

A'tíah-b-Ḳays says that Mu'áwiyah preached and said, "O Lord, if I have surely made a covenant for Yazíd on account of the merit I saw in him, then cause him to arrive at that which I have hoped, and assist him, but if it was indeed the love of the father for his son that hath influenced me, and if he be not deserving of that which I have done for him, then take him away before he arriveth at it." And when Mu'áwiyah died, the people of Syria swore allegiance to Yazíd. Then he sent to the people of Medína, one who was to take the covenant of allegiance for him, but al Ḥusayn and Ibn u'z Zubayr refused to acknowledge him and they too went forth in the night to Mecca. With regard to Ibn u'z Zubayr he neither swore allegiance nor made any pretension on his own account, but as to al Ḥusayn, the people of Kúfah had written to him in the time of Mu'áwiyah soliciting him to come to them and he had refused, but when Yazíd was acknowledged he reverted to what had been formerly meditated, determining at one time to remain and at another purposing to go to them. Ibn u'z Zubayr counselled him to set out, but Ibn A'bbás used to say "do not do it," and Ibn Omar said to him, "go not forth, for the Lord gave the apostle of God a choice between this world and the next, and he chose the next, and thou art a part of him, and thou shalt not obtain it" meaning the world, and he fell upon his neck and wept and bade him adieu. Ibn Omar used to say, "al Ḥusayn prevailed over us concerning his departure, and by my life, verily he had beheld a warning example in his father and his brother;" and Jábir-b-A'bdu'llah and Abú Sa'íd, and Abú Wáḳid al Laythi used to address him similarly, but he did not yield to any of them and resolved upon the journey to Irák, whereupon Ibn A'bbás said to him, "by Allah, verily, I think thou wilt be slain among thy wives and children as Othmán was slain." But he did not acquiesce, and Ibn A'bbás wept and said "the eye of the son of az Zubayr hath become refreshed."* And when Ibn A'bbás saw Abdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, he said to him, "what thou hast desired hath come to pass—this al Ḥusayn is about to set forth and will quit thee and al Ḥijá'z." Then he quoted appositely—

"O lark! in this pasture land,
The valley is open to thee, lay thy eggs and sing.
Peck at what thou willest to peck."†

* Meaning, that he saw his own way to the Caliphate only through the death of al Ḥusayn whose march to Kúfah he had counselled.

† The verses are Kulayb Wáil's of the tribe of Taghlib—the most powerful chief of Najd. The proverbial "guarded domain of Kulayb," was any land he chose to take for pasture, prohibiting others therefrom. It is said, he would put a dog in a field and wherever its bark could be heard, the prohibition of pasturage extended.

And the people of I'rák, sent messengers and letters to al Ḥusayn, inviting him among them, whereupon he set forth from Mecca to I'rák on the 10th of Ḍu'l Hijjah, and with him a party of his household, men, women and children. Then Yazíd wrote to U'baydu'llah-b-Ziyád, his prefect in I'rák to oppose him, and he sent against him an army of four thousand men, commanded by Omar-b-Saa'd-b-Abi Wakkás. And the people of Kúfah deserted al Ḥusayn, as had been their way with his father before him, and when the troops came up with him he profferred submission to them and to return and go to Yazíd to place his hand in the hand of Yazíd, but they refused everything but his death, and he was slain and his head was carried in a platter until it was placed before Ibn Ziyád—may God curse his slayer, and Ibn Ziyád with him and Yazíd likewise. A. H. 60. A. D. 680.

He was slain at Karbala and the narrative of his death is long the mention of which the heart cannot endure, " verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him shall we return." There were slain together with him sixteen men of his family. And when al Ḥusayn was murdered, the world stood still for seven days, and the sun upon the walls appeared as saffron-coloured sheets, and the stars struck one upon the other. His murder took place on the 10th of Muḥarram, and the sun was eclipsed on that day and the horizon of the sky became red for six months after his death. The redness did not cease to be seen after that, but it had never been beheld before.

It is said that not a stone was turned in Jerusalem on that day but fresh blood was found beneath it, and the saffron that was in their army became ashes, and they slew a camel in their army and they saw in its flesh, as if flames, and they cooked it and it became like the colocynth, and a man spake some words against al Ḥusayn and the Lord launched at him two stars from heaven and his sight was destroyed.

At Thaa'labi says that historians have recounted in several ways on the authority of Abdu'l Malik-b-U'mayr al Laythi, that he said, " I saw upon this palace," and he pointed to the royal palace of Kúfah, " the head of al Ḥusayn the son of A'li upon a buckler, before U'baydu'llah-b-Ziyad; afterwards I beheld the head of U'baydu'llah-b-Ziyad before al Mukhtár-b-Abi U'bayd; again, I saw the head of al Mukhtar before Muṣaa'b-b-u'z Zubayr; next I saw the head of Muṣaa'b before A'bdu'l Malik-*b-Marwán*

From this dog, he is supposed to have received the name of Kulayb. Once when he was walking in his domain, a lark flew away from her eggs at his approach, upon which he said, " Fear not, thy eggs are under my protection," and then added the verse quoted which concludes thus: " The fowler is far from thee, so be glad—yet, sure, he will take thee some day, so beware." See Chenery's notes to 19th and 26th Assemblies of al Haríri.

A. H. 60. and I related this circumstance to A'bdu'l Malik who was startled at it
A. D. 680. and left the place."*

At Tirmidi records on the authority of Salma† that she narrates, "I went in unto Umm, Salimah‡ and she was weeping and I said, 'what makes thee weep?' She replied, 'I saw the apostle of God in a dream, with dust on his head and beard,' and I said, 'what hath come to thee, O apostle of God?' He replied, 'I witnessed but now the murder of al Ḥusayn.'" And al Bayhaḳi in the Daláil from Ibn A'bbás that he said, "I saw the Apostle of God at midday, with dishevelled hair, soiled with dust and in his hand a phial of blood, and I said, 'with my father and my mother, *mayst thou be ransomed*, what is this?' He replied, 'this is the blood of al Ḥusayn and his Companions, I have not ceased to gather it up from to-day;' and they computed the day and found that he was slain on that day."

Abu Nua'ym records in the Daláil from Umm Salimah, that she said, "I heard the jinns weeping for al Ḥusayn and lamenting over him." And Thaa'lab in his Dictations from Abu Janáb al Kalabi that he narrates, "I went to Karbala and I said to one of the Arab Chiefs, 'tell me regarding what hath reached me, *viz.*, that ye hear the lamentations of the jinns;' and he said, 'thou wilt not meet with any one, but he will tell thee that he hath heard it.' I replied, 'then tell me what thou hast heard.' He replied, 'I have heard them saying—

The Apostle stroked his forehead
And he had a radiance in his cheeks;
His parents were the noblest of the Ḳuraysh,
And the grandsire the best of grandsires.'"

And when al Ḥusayn and the children of his father were slain, Ibn Ziyád sent their heads to Yazíd who at first rejoiced at their death, but repented afterwards when the Muslims hated him for it, and the people bore him enmity and bore him enmity with justice.

Abu Ya'la records in his Musnad on a weak ascription to Abu U'baydah, that the Apostle of God said, "the government of my people shall not cease to be based on justice until the first that shall subvert it shall be a man of the Banu Umayyah called Yazíd." Ar Ruyáni records in his Musnad on the authority of Abu'd Dardá, that he narrates, "I heard

* According to Ockley, he commanded the castle to be demolished to avert the ill omen—Masa'údi says امر بهدم الطاق الذي كان علي المجلس

† Freedwoman of Muḥammad or according to others of Ṣafíyyah-d of A'bdu'l Muttalib—she married Abu Rafi,' freedman of Muḥammad.

‡ See note § page 15.

the Apostle of God say, 'the first who will alter my law, will be one of the Banu Umayyah called Yazíd.'" Naufal-b-u'l Furát says, "I was with Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, when a man mentioned Yazíd and said, 'the prince of the Faithful Yazíd the son of Mu'áwiyah said,' and he exclaimed, 'dost thou call him prince of the Faithful?' and he gave orders regarding him, and he was scourged twenty lashes." A. H. 60. A. D. 680.

In the year 63 it reached Yazíd, that the people of Medína had rebelled against him and deposed him, wherefore he sent against them a large force and ordered it to attack them and then march to Mecca to engage Ibn u'z Zubayr. And they set out and there took place the battle of Ḥarrah over against the gate of Ṭaybah, and what shall make thee understand what the battle of Ḥarrah was! Al Ḥasan mentions it once and says, "by Allah, scarcely one of them escaped." A large number of the Companions and others were slain in it, and Medína was sacked and a thousand virgins violated. Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return. The apostle hath said, "he who intimidateth the people of Medína, the Lord shall put him in fear and upon him be the curse of God and his angels and of all mankind" (Muslim relates this). The reason of his deposition by the people of Medína was that Yazíd became boundless in iniquities. Al Wáḳidi records with various lines of ascription, that A'bdu'llah-b-Handhalah-b-i'l Ghasíl said, "by Allah, we did not rebel against Yazíd until we feared that we should be stoned from Heaven on account of a man who would marry slave mothers *who had borne* children *to their masters* and daughters and sisters, and drink wine and abandon public prayers." Ad Ḍahabi says, "when Yazíd had done unto the people of Medína what he had done, together with his drinking wine and indulgence in forbidden things, the people became violent against him and more than one rebelled against him, and the Lord did not bless his life and while the army of Ḥarrah marched to Mecca, the commander of the troops* died on the way. But he appointed over them a chief to succeed him and they reached Mecca and besieged Ibn u'z Zubayr and attacked him and launched engines of war against him, and that in Ṣafar of the year 64. And from the sparks of their fires, the coverings of the Kaa'bah took fire and its roof and the two horns of the ram, the one by which Ishmael was ransomed† and which were in the roof."

The Lord destroyed Yazíd in the middle of the month of Rabíi' u'l Awwal of this year (11th November, 683) and the news of his death arrived

* Muslim-b-U'kbaḥ, he died at a place called Harsha having appointed Ḥusayn (حصين) b-Numayr as Sakúní to succeed him. Ibn Khall, art. Abú Jaa'far.

† The printed edition should have, with the MS. فُدِيَ for فَدَى. It is well-known that the Muḥammadans maintain that Ishmael and not Isaac was taken for sacrifice by Abraham.

A. H. 64. A. D. 683. while the fighting was going on. And Ibn u'z Zubayr called out; "O men of Syria, verily your oppressor is dead;" and they were routed and broken and the people captured them, and Ibn u'z Zubayr invited the covenant of allegiance for himself, and assumed the title of Caliph. But the people of Syria swore allegiance to Mu'áwiyah the son of Yazíd, but his reign was not long, as will appear afterwards. Among the verses of Yazíd are,

This sorrow hath returned and drawn near,
And embittered sleep and withheld it.
Gazing upon the stars I watched them
And when a planet rose
It circled over until, verily, I saw it
Declining to its fall.
And my love in Matirún,* what time
The ant eateth† of what she hath garnered,
Hath a pleasant abode and when she arriveth,
She alighteth at a temple near Damascus
Under the domes in the midst of cloisters
Round which the olives are ripening.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Omar that he said—"Abu Bakr the witness to the truth, ye have well hit his name—and Omar, the discriminator, a horn of iron, ye have well hit his name, Ibn A'ffán the possessor of two luminaries, unjustly slain, is given a double portion of divine mercy. Mu'áwiyah and his son are kings of the Holy Land. As Saffáh, and Salám,‡ and al Mansúr, and Jábir, and al Mahdí, and al Amín and the prince of wrath, are all of them of the Banu Kaa'b-b-Lawayy, all of them virtuous, their like cannot be found." Ad Ḍahabi says that this is given in various ways, but no one has traced its ascription.

Al Wáḳidí states on the authority Abu Jaa'far al Báḳir,§ that the first who covered the Kaa'bah with silk brocade was Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah.

There died of distinguished people in the reign of Yazíd, besides those who were killed with al Ḥusayn and in the battle of Harrah, Umm Salimah the mother of the Faithful, Khálid-b-U'rfuṭah, Jarhad al Aslami,

* A village near Damascus.

† The printed edition has اكمل for اكل The MS. here agrees with Yaḳúṭ who gives these verses with slight variants under art—الماطرون

‡ I am unable to explain the introduction of the names, Salám, Jábir and the prince of wrath. The MS. is in accordance with the text but both are probably in error. Its unintelligibility may account for its lack of ascription.

§ Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-al Ḥusayn-b-A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib called al Báḳir, from the profundity of his knowledge. Muntaha'l Arab.

Jábir-b-A'tík, Burayda bu'l Ḥuṣayb, Maslamah-b-Mukhallad, A'lḳamah-b-Ḳays an Nakha'i the doctor of law, Masrúḳ, Miswar-b-Makhramah and others. The number of the slain at Ḥarrah of the Kuraysh and the Auxiliaries, were three hundred and six. A. H. 64. A. D. 683.

MU'A'WIYAH-B-YAZI'D.

Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah, Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán, called also Abu Yazíd, and Abu Layla, was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of his father in the month of Rabíi' u'l Awwal 64. He was a virtuous youth, and was sufferiug in health when appointed Caliph, and continued ill till he died. He never came forth to the people and did not take any part in affairs, nor prayed before the people. The duration of his Caliphate was forty days; some say two months and others three months. He died being one and twenty years of age. When he was at the point of death, it was said to him, "wilt thou not name a successor?" He replied, "I have not enjoyed the sweets of it, therefore I shall not take upon myself its bitterness."

A'BDU'LLAH-B-U'Z ZUBAYR.

A'bdu'llah was the son of az Zubayr-b-i'l A'wwám-b-Khuwaylad, b-Asad-b-Abdi'l U'zza-b-Ḳusayy. His surname was Abu Bakr and he was also called Abú Khubayb, a Companion, son of a Companion. His father was one of the ten unto whom the *attainment of* Paradise was testified, and his mother was Asma, daughter of Abú Bakr as Ṣiddiḳ, and his father's mother was Ṣafíyyah, paternal aunt of the Apostle of God. He was born at Medína twenty months after the Flight, and it is also said, within the first year, and he was the first child born to the Fugitives after the Flight. The Muslims rejoiced at his birth with an exceeding joy, for the Jews used to say, "we have bewitched them therefore no son shall be born to them. The Apostle of God rubbed his palate with a date,* which he had first chewed and named him A'bdu'llah and gave him the surname of Abu Bakr after the name and surname of his grandfather.

He was a great observer of fasting and devotions and given to long

* A custom with a newly born child to induce it to suck.

A. H. 64. prayer, attached to his kindred and of great intrepidity. He apportioned
A. D. 683. his time into three *recurring* nights; on one night he prayed standing till morning, on the next with body inclined, and the next worshipping on his face till the morning. It is said that he had thirty-three traditions from the prophet, and his brother U'rwah, and Ibn Abi Mulaykah, A'bbás-b-Sahl, Thábit al Bunáni, A'ta, U'baydah as Salmáni and others relate them on his authority.

He was one of those who refused to acknowledge Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah and he fled to Mecca making no pretension *to the Caliphate* for himself but refusing to swear allegiance. And Yazíd was wroth against him with exceeding anger, but when Yazíd died, he was acknowledged Caliph and the people of Hijáz, Yaman, I'rák and Khurasán obeyed him. He renewed the building of the Kaa'bah and made for it two gates after the plans of Abraham, and included within it six cubits of the enclosure when Ayesha his aunt related to him *the tradition* from the prophet.* External to his authority were only Syria and Egypt, and Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd was acknowledged in those two places, but his reign was not long, and when he died the people of those two countries obeyed Ibn u'z Zubayr and swore him allegiance. Then Marwán-b-u'l Hakam rebelled and took possession of Syria and then of Egypt and remained in possession till he died in the year 65, after having covenanted for his son A'bdu'l Malik.

It is most just what ad Dahabi observes that Marwán is not to be counted amongst the princes of the Faithful,† but as a rebel in revolt against az Zubayr, nor was his covenant for his son legal, but the Caliphate of A'bdu'l Malik became rightful from the time that az Zubayr was slain. Ibn u'z Zubayr, however, remained at Mecca as Caliph until A'bdu'l Malik obtained the ascendancy who despatched al Hajjáj to oppose him at the head of forty thousand men, and he besieged him, for some months and attacked him with engines of war. The friends of az Zubayr then deserted him and stole secretly to al Hajjáj, who defeated him and slew

* This tradition is thus given in al Bukhári, "Muhammad said to Ayesha, 'were it not that thy tribe have been but lately converted from infidelity, I would order the temple to be demolished, and what had been excluded from it I would again adjoin to it, and would make two gates, to the east and west, and thus fashion it after the plan of Abraham.'" The narrator adds, that this tradition induced Ibn u'z Zubayr to demolish the temple—see Sahih, p. 206. Delhi edition, 1848.

† Weil omits Ibn u'z Zubayr and places the name of Marwán between Mu'áwiyah II and A'bdu'l Malik. Masa'údi however, clearly, states that the authority of Ibn u'z Zubayr became established even in Syria, and he was publicly proclaimed from all the pulpits of Islám except that of Tiberias, where Hasán-b-Malik held for Khálid-b-Yazíd—see Prairies d'Or. Tom. 5, p. 194. Ockley likewise recognises Ibn u'z Zubayr as 9th Caliph, but places Marwán after him as the 10th.



him and crucified him, and that on Tuesday the 17th* of Jumáda'l Awwal, and say Jumáda'l Akhirah of the year 73 (3rd October 692). A. H. 73. A. D. 692.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Zayd-b-A'b-di'llah-b-Omar that he said, " I was *standing* upon the summit of *the hill* of Abu Ḳubays, at the time the engines were laid against Ibn u'z Zubayr when a thunderbolt fell *from heaven*, so that I saw it wheeling round as if it were a red wild ass, and it burnt up of the people at the engine about fifty men. Ibn u'z Zubayr was the best horseman of his time among the Ḳuraysh—and his exploits are well attested.

Abu Ya'la records in his Musnad on the authority of Ibn u'z Zubayr that the prophet was bled and when it was over, he said to him, " O A'b-du'llah, go with this blood and pour it out where no one may see thee ;" and when he departed he drank it.

On his return the prophet said to him, "what hast thou done ?" He replied, " I designed it for a most secret place and I have put it therein." He said " perhaps thou hast swallowed it." He replied, " yes." He exclaimed, " woe unto the people from thee, and woe unto thee from the people ;" and they used to think that the strength that was in him was from that blood. And from Nauf ul Bikáli† that he said, " verily I find in the revealed book of God that the best horseman among the Caliphs is Ibn u'z Zubayr."

A'mr-b-Dínar says " I never saw one at prayers more devout than Ibn u'z Zubayr, and he was once praying in the enclosure *of the temple* when a *bolt from a* catapult struck the side of his garment, but he did not heed it." Mujáhid says, " there was no method of devotion which men *from its hardship* failed to perform, but Ibn u'z Zubayr undertook it, and verily a torrent came and flooded the temple, whereupon he went round it swimming." Othmán-b-Ṭalḥah says that Ibn u'z Zubayr could not be matched in three things—in bravery, piety or eloquence, and he had a voice that when he preached resounded in the hills. Ibn A'sákir records from U'rwah that an Nábighah al Jaa'di recited this verse regarding Ibn u'z Zubayr.

Thou didst remind us of Siddíḳ when thou didst rule us ;
And of Othmán and the Discriminator, and the poor rejoiced.
And thou didst administer justice equally amongst the people, and it was undeviating :
But in the morning returned the dark sable clouds.

And from Hishám-b-Urwah and Khubayb, that the first who covered the Kaa'bah with silk brocade was A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, its covering

* Weil, following Masa'údi makes it the 14th—as the 14th and not the 17th was a Tuesday.

† Abú Yazíd Nauf-b-Fudhálah, a Tabi'í of the Banu Bikál—Munt. Arab.

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A. H. 73. having been of haircloths and dressed leather. And from Omar-b-Ḳays
A. D. 692. that he said, "Ibn u'z Zubayr had one hundred servants, each servant among them speaking a different tongue, and Ibn u'z Zubayr used to speak with each of them in his own tongue and when I regarded him in his worldly conduct, I used to say, 'this man never turns to God for the twinkling of an eye,' and when I regarded him in his religious conduct, I used to say, 'this man never turns to the world for the twinkling of an eye.'" And from Hishám-b-U'rwah, "the first word my paternal uncle Ibn u'z Zubayr distinctly uttered as a child was 'sword,' and he never let it out of his mouth, and his father when he heard that, would say, 'well, by Allah, thou shalt have it for a day and a day and days.'" And from Abu U'baydah, that A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr al Asadi, went to A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr-b-i'l Awwám and said, "O prince of the Faithful, between me and thee there is relationship through a certain female." Ibn u'z Zubayr replied, "yes, it is as thou sayest, but if thou wilt consider this, thou wilt mark that all men go back to one father and mother." He said, "O prince of the Faithful, my means of subsistence are at end." He replied, "I never was surety to thy family that it would suffice for thee until thou dost return to them!" He answered, "O prince of the Faithful, my camel is foot-sore." He replied, "help her by cooling her hoof and pasture her on the plant called Subt,* and cover her with hair and ride her in the morning and the evening." He exclaimed "O prince of the Faithful, verily I came to thee asking for relief, but I did not come to thee asking for a prescription—the Lord curse the camel that bore me to thee;" and Ibn u'z Zubayr replied "and its rider." And al Asadi departed, reciting this verse—

"I see that with Abu Khubayb, needs
Are unsupplied, and there is no Umayyad in the land
Among the Banu A'áṣ or the descendants of Ḥarb
Resplendent like the white star of a generous steed.
And I said to my companions, 'draw nigh to my stirrup
For I shall leave the interior of Mecca in the darkness
And when I pass Ḍát I'rḳ,† there shall be for me
No return to this son of remissness.'"

A'bdu'r Razzáḳ records in his Muṣannaf on the authority of az Zuhri, that never was a head brought to the Apostle of God at Medína, not even after the battle of Badr, but a head was once taken to Abu Bakr, and he disapproved of it. The first to whom heads were taken was A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr.

* Lane makes this to be a plant resembling the *Althea officinalis* or marsh mallow.

† A place near Mecca where the pilgrims from Iráḳ put on the pilgrim's dress before approaching the Kaa'bah.

During the reign of u'z Zubayr occurred the rebellion of al Mukhtár, A. H. 73.
the liar, he who pretended to prophecy,* and Ibn u'z Zubayr despatched A. D. 692.
an army to oppose him until he overpowered him in the year 67 and put him to death—may God curse him.

Of the distinguished men who died during the reign of a'z Zubayr, were, Usayd-b-Dhuhayr. A'bdu'llah-b-A'mr-b-i'l A'áṣ, an Nu'mán-b-Bashír, Sulayman-b-Ṣurad, Jábir-b-Samurah, Zayd-b-Arḳam, A'di-b-Ḥátim, Ibn A'bbás, Abú Wáḳid al Laythi, Zayd-b-Khálid al Juhni, Abú'l Aswad ad Dualí and others.

A'BDU'L MALIK-B-MARWAN.

A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán-b-i'l Ḥakam-b-Abi'l A'áṣ-b-U'mayyah-b-A'bd Shams-b-A'bd Manáf-b-Ḳusayy-b-Kiláb,—A'bu'l Walíd, was born in the year, 26, and was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of his father, during the Caliphate of Ibn u'z Zubayr, but his Caliphate was not valid, and he continued as a usurper over Egypt and Syria. Subsequently he took possession of I'rák and the adjacent provinces, till Ibn u'z Zubayr was slain in the year 73, from which day his Caliphate became valid and his authority established.

During this year, al Hajjáj pulled down the Kaa'bah and restored it to the condition in which it now is; he likewise suborned a man to strike Ibn Omar with a poisoned javelin, of which he sickened and died.

In the year 74 al Hajjáj went to Medína and began to oppress its people and humiliate the remnant of the Companions of the Apostle of God therein, and sealed† them in their necks and hands, thereby bringing

* On what ground this is asserted I cannot find. Neither d'Herbelot, nor Ockley nor Weil, nor Masaúdi mention it. The latter says that when his wives were commanded by Muṣa'b to curse their dead husband, two of them refused testifying to his piety and his exertions in the cause of God and his prophet and his avenging the blood of Husayn. One of these two women subsequently relented under threat of death and called al Mukhtár an infidel, adding that she would have abjured Islám likewise under a similar threat. The other died rather than consent to the intimidations of Muṣa'b. The aim of al Mukhtár's ambition was to extirpate the murderers of al Husayn, and avenge his death which he amply accomplished by killing, according to Ockley, nearly fifty thousand men. He was slain in the 67th year of his age after having beaten all the generals of Yazíd, Marwán and Abdu'l Malik and made himself master of Baylonian Iraḳ.

† Lane says that the "sealing of the neck" (ختم الاعناق) is mentioned in the Risálah Yúsufíyah thus—Omar sent Ibn Hunayf to seal the علوج or unbelivers of

A. H. 73. them into contempt, such as Anas, Jábir-b-A'bdi'llah, and Sahl-b-Saa'd as
A. D. 692. Sáa'di—verily we belong to God and unto God do we return.

In the year 75 the Caliph A'bdu'l Malik made the pilgrimage with the people, and he sent al Hajjáj as governor to I'ráḳ.

In the year 77 Heraclea was taken, and A'bdu'l A'zíz-b-Marwán demolished the principal mosque at Cairo and enlarged it on all four sides.

In the year 82 the fortress of Sinán in the district of Maṣíṣah,* was captured, and the expedition to Armenia and Ṣinhájah in nothern Africa took place.

In the year 83 the city of Wásiṭ was founded by al Hajjáj.

In the year 84 Maṣíṣah was occupied and the valleys of Mauritania.

In the year 85 the city of Ardabíl was founded and the city of Bardaa'h,† both by A'bdu'l A'zíz-b-Abi Ḥátim-b-i'n Nu'mán al Báhilí.

In the year 86 the forts of Ṭaulaḳ and Akhram were taken. During the same occurred the Pestilence of the Girls, so called because it began with the women: in the same died the Caliph A'bdu'l Malik in the month of Shawwál leaving seventeen sons. Aḥmad-b-A'bdi'llah al I'jlí says that A'bdu'l Malik was foul of breath, and that he was a six months' child. Ibn Saa'd says that he was pious and virtuous when at Medína before the Caliph, and Yahya al Ghassáni mentions that A'bdu'l Malik was often in the company of Umm u'd Dardá,‡ and she said to him on one occasion, "it has reached me, O prince of the Faithful, that thou drinkest wine after all thy piety and devotion." He replied "yes, by Allah, and it is the pleasantest liquor I have tasted." Náfi' says, "verily I have seen Medína and there is not in it a youth more zealous nor more learned in the law, nor more virtuous nor more versed in the book of God than A'bdu'l Malik the son of Marwán," and Abu'z Zanád observes that the jurists of Medína are four, Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, U'rwah-b-u'z Zubayr and Kábíṣa'h-b-Ḍuayb. Ibn Omar remarks that men beget a son, but Marwán begot a father,§ and A'bbádah-b-Lubni, that it was said to Ibn Omar, "verily ye are a body of elders, and it will soon be that ye will

the Sawád, and he sealed 5,00,000 of them in classes: that is, he marked them twelve dirhams and twenty-four and forty-eight, tying a thong upon the neck of each and putting upon the knot a seal of lead.

* On the north frontier of Syria.

† In Adarbiján.

‡ Abu 'd Ḍarda the Companion had two wives of this name—the first Khayrah died during his lifetime, the second Hujaymah is here alluded to. On her husband's death she vowed to remain a widow, and refused Mu'áwiyah's offer of marriage, saying that she hoped to marry her husband again in Paradise. She ended her days in great piety between Jerusalem and Damascus. An Nawawi.

§ Meaning one more illustrious than himself.

pass away, whom then shall we consult after ye?" He replied, "verily Marwán hath a son learned in the law, consult him." Suḥaym the freedman of Abu Hurayrah narrates that A'bdu'l Malik, when he was a lad went in to Abu Hurayrah who said, "this man shall govern Arabia." And U'baydah-b-Riyáḥ al Ghassáni, that Ummu'd Dardá said to A'bdu'l Malik, "I never ceased thinking that this authority would come to thee since I saw thee." He replied, "how so?" She answered, "I never saw any one better than thou art as a narrator of traditions nor one more intelligent as a listener to them." And as Shaa'bi, "I never associated with any one, but I found in myself a superiority over him, save A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, and verily I never related a tradition to him but he added to it, and never a verse of poetry but he capped me in it." A. H. 86. A. D. 705.

Ad Ḍahabi says that A'bdu'l Malik heard traditions from Othmán and Abu Hurayrah and Abu Sa'íd and Umm Salimah, Barírah,* Ibn Omar and Mu'áwiyah; and U'rwah, Khálid and others have related them on his authority.

Bakr-b-A'bdu'llah al Muzani narrates "a Jew whose name was Yusuf embraced Islám, and he had read the scriptures, and he passed by the house of Marwán and said, 'woe to the people of Muḥammad from the people of this house,' and I said to him 'for how long?' He replied, 'until the black standards come from Khorasán.' A'bdu'l Malik had a friend who slapped him on the shoulder and said 'fear God in *thy charge of* the people of Muḥammad when thou rulest them.' He replied, 'leave me! fie on thee, what hath such as I am to do with that dignity!' The other answered 'fear God in what concerneth them.'" The narrator continues, "Yazid despatched an army against the people of Mecca and A'bdu'l Malik said, 'God preserve me, is it sent against the sanctuary of God?' and Yusuf slapped his shoulder and said, 'thy army against them shall be greater.'"

Yahya al Ghassáni relates, "when Muslim-b-U'kbah† arrived at Medína, I entered the mosque of the Apostle of God and sat down by the side of A'bdu'l Malik, and he said to me, 'art thou of this army?' I said 'yes.' He replied 'may thy mother be childless of thee! dost thou not know against whom thou goest?—against the first-born in Islám and against the son of the disciple of the Apostle of God and against a son of the Possessor of the two Girdles,‡ against him whose palate the Apostle of God rubbed with a date! By Allah, if thou goest to him in the

* Barírah was the daughter of Ṣafwán and the freedwoman of Ayesha. An Nawawi.

† He commanded the army despatched by Yazíd against Medína, and afterwards to engage Ibn u'z Zubayr at Mecca. (See p. 213.)

‡ See note *, page 85.

A. H. 86. daytime, thou wilt find him fasting, and if thou goest to him at night,
A. D. 705. thou wilt find him praying—and if the people of the earth combine to slay him, the Lord will assuredly fling them headlong into hell-fire.' And when the Caliphate fell to A'bdu'l Malik, he sent us with al Hajjáj until we slew him."

Ibn Abi Ayesha says that *the announcement* of the government having devolved upon him reached A'bdu'l Malik when the Ḳurán was in his lap, and he closed it and said, "this is *my* last time with thee;" and Malik narrates, "I heard Yahya-b-Sa'íd say 'those who prayed in the mosque between midday and the afternoon were A'bdu'l Malik and certain youths with him—when the Imám had read the midday prayers they used to stand praying till the afternoon; and it was said to Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, if we could but stand and pray as those pray!' He replied, 'devotion lieth not in much prayer and fasting, but verily devotion consisteth in meditation on the commands of God and abstaining from the things that God hath prohibited.'" Musa'b-b-A'bdu'llah says, that the first who was named Abdu'l Malik in Islám, was Abdu'l Malik-b-Marwán. And Yahya-b-Bukayr narrates, "I heard Málik say that the first who coined dinárs was Abdu'l Malik and he inscribed on them *a verse* of the Ḳurán." Muṣa'b states that Abdu'l Malik inscribed on the dinár, "Say God is One" (Kur. CXII) and on the reverse, "there is no God but God;" and its circumference was a rim of silver, and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, whom He hath sent as a guide unto salvation and the true faith."

It is stated in the Awáil of al A'skari with its ascription, that A'bdu'l Malik was the first who wrote at the headings of letters "Say there is one God," together with the mention of the prophet and the date, and the Grecian emperor wrote, saying, "verily you have introduced in your epistles somewhat of the mention of your prophet, therefore abandon it, otherwise there will reach you on our dínárs the mention of what you will not like." And this pressed sorely upon A'bdu'l Malik and he sent to Khálid-b-Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah and consulted him, who said "forbid their money and strike for the people coins upon which shall be the praise of God and His prophet and do not forego for them that which they dislike in your epistles." He therefore coined dinárs for the people in the year 75. And the first Caliph who was parsimonious was A'bdu'l Malik, and he was named "Sweat of a stone," and obtained the surname of the "Father of flies" from his foul breath. He was the first in Islam who acted treacherously and the first who forbade speaking in presence of the Caliphs, and the first who prohibited exhortation to uprightness of conduct.*

* *I. e.* venturing to suggest to the Caliph a particular course of conduct or condemning any that he might have adopted, a not unfrequent practice with holy fanatics in early times—compare يأمرهم بالمعروف (Kur. VII.)

He then records with its ascription on the authority of Ibn u'l Kalabi, that Marwán-b-u'l Hakam had named A'mr-b-Sa'íd-b-i'l Aás to the succession after his own son, but A'bdu'l Malik slew him, and his assassination was the first act of treachery in Islám. One has said— A. H. 86. A. D. 705.

O people! be not prevailed over in your judgments, for verily
Ye have experienced perfidy from the sons of Marwán.
And verily they slew A'mr and did not act uprightly,
Asserting treachery and fraud to be the command of God;
And they slay men ripe of judgment, in sound mind
That they may give children to rule over the affairs of men.
They jest with the Book of God and take
Their desires in iniquities against the Lord, to be a means of approaching him.

He has also recorded with an ascription, (in which comes al Karími who is suspected of falsehood) on the authority of the father of Jurayj, that he said, " A'bdu'l Malik preached to us in Medína after the death of Ibn u'z Zubayr, in the year of his pilgrimage, the year 75, and after praising and glorifying God, he said " now, I am not a weak Caliph, to wit Othmán, nor a Caliph a hypocrite, to wit Muawiyah, nor a Caliph weak in understanding, to wit Yazíd—now, verily the Caliphs before me used to consume and enjoy this property *of the State*—now forsooth, I will not heal the diseases of this people save with the sword until your spears rise erect for me. Ye thrust upon me the deeds of the Fugitives, but ye do not yourselves according to their works—therefore you will add only to your punishment until the sword shall decide between me and between ye. This A'mr, his kinship was such as it was and his position such as it was—he said with his head—thus, and I said with my sword—thus. Now, I will endure anything from you but attacking a governor or raising a standard—verily the collar which I put upon the neck of A'mr-b-Yazíd is with me—by Allah, no one shall do his deed, but I will put it upon his neck—by Allah, no one shall enjoin upon me the fear of God after this my rising *to-day* but I will smite his neck"—then he descended.

Al A'skari then continues that Abdu'l Malik was the first that altered the public registers from Persian to Arabic and the first that raised up his hands on the pulpit. I remark that ten innovations are thus summed up in him of which five are reprehensible.

Ibn Abi Shaybah records with its ascription in the Muşannaf on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sírín, that the first who introduced the call to prayers on the festivals of Fiţr and Adḥha were the children of Marwan, either A'bdu'l Malik or one of his sons. Abdu'r Razzáķ records from Ibn

A. H. 86. Jurayj that he said, "more than one person has told me that the first who
A. D. 705. covered the Kaa'bah with silk brocade was A'bdu'l Malik, but verily those among the jurists who have been best acquainted with that subject, say, 'there hath reached us what we know regarding the covering of the Kaa'-bah more exact, than that.' Yusuf-b-u'l Májishún* says that when Abdu'l Malik sat down to administer justice, men stood at his head with swords. And al Aṣma'í, that it was said to Abdu'l Malik, 'greyness is hastening upon thee,' he replied, 'and how could it be otherwise when I give forth my *whole* intellect to the people every Friday.'" Muḥammad-b-Ḥarb az Ziyádi narrates that it was said to Abdu'l Malik "who is the best of men?" he replied, "he who is humble in a lofty station, devout though in authority and just though in power." And Ibn Ayesha, that Abdu'l Malik when a man from any of the remote countries came in to him, used to say, "spare me four things—and say after that what thou pleasest—do not lie to me for liars have no judgment, and do not answer me regarding what I do not ask thee for it is a distraction from what I do ask thee, and do not be extravagant in my praise for I know myself better than thou, and do not incite me against my subjects for verily clemency unto them is more needful for me."

Al Madáini says that when Abdu'l Malik was made aware of his *approaching* death, he said, "by Allah, I would that from the time I was born until to-day, I had been a porter;" then he commended unto his sons, the fear of God, and warned them against dissension and discord, and said, "be ye as sons of a virtuous mother, and be brave in war, and as a beacon in doing good, for verily war doth not bring death before its time, and as to goodness, its reward and its fame endure, and be ye sweet in bitterness and lenient in severity, and be ye as Ibn A'bd al Aa'la as Shaybáni says—

'Verily arrows when they are gathered together, and hath sought
To break them, a strong man full of rage and might.
They resist and cannot be broken, but if they be separated
Then rupture and weakness belong to what is dispersed.'

* Abú Yusuf Yaḳúb, the father of Yusuf, was the son of Abú Salama Dínár, a client of the Banu Taym. He was a Mawla of the Munkadirs, a family of Medína. He pretended to have been ravished to heaven in spirit, and to have seen Muḥammad with Abu Bakr and Omar at his right and left hand and Omar-b-Adi'l A'zíz at his feet. He died at Baghdad under the Caliphate of al Mahdi, A. H. 164 (780-1). Ibn Khall says that Májishún signifies rose colour or tinged with red and white, and the name was given him by Sukaynah-d-of Ḥusayn-b-Abi Ṭálib. Another explanation is that as they were originally from Ispahan, they saluted each other when they met with "Shúni-Shúni" and were therefore called Májishún. The etymology is not satisfactory.

O Walíd, fear God in that in which I leave thee to succeed me; and he went on to say—"look to al Ḥajjáj, and honour him, for verily, he it is who hath coerced for you the pulpits, and he is thy sword, O Walíd, and thy *right* hand against those who oppose thee,—therefore hear not the word of any one against him, for thou art more in need of him than he of thee—and summon the people when I die to the covenant of allegiance, and he who saith with his head—thus—say with thy sword—thus." A. H. 86. A. D. 705.

Another relates that when A'bdu'l Malik was on the point of death, his son al Walíd went in unto him, and A'bdu'l Malik recited appositely—

How many a visitor hath a *sick* man, who doth not visit him
But to learn whether he shall see him die.

Al Walíd wept; and A'bdu'l Malik said, "what is this? dost thou whine with the whining of a slave girl? When I am dead, gird up thy loins and go forth and put on the skin of a leopard and lay thy sword upon thy shoulder, and whosoever showeth himself against thee smite him on the neck, and he who submits shall die a natural death." I remark that if the crimes of A'bdu'l Malik had been only the appointing of al Ḥajjáj over the Muslims and the Companions, bringing them into contempt and degrading them by death, stripes, reproach and imprisonment—and verily he slew of the Companions and the greatest of the Tabi'ís what is beyond count, to say nothing of others besides them, and sealed the neck of Anas and others of the Companions with a seal, intending thereby their humiliation,—then, *for these alone*, may God not have mercy upon him nor pardon him.

The following are lines of A'bdu'l Malik's—

By my life, verily, I have lived a long space in the world,
And the world hath come nigh to me with the striking of sharp [swords.
That which delighted me hath gone
Like a flash that hath passed among enduring remains.
And O would that I had never busied myself with the kingdom for a moment,
Nor diverted myself amidst the joyous pleasures of life.
And that I had been as one clad in rags, living on a little
For a time until he visited the narrowness of the tombs.

In the history of Ibn A'sákir it is stated on the authority of Ibrahím-b-A'di that he said, "I saw A'bdu'l Malik at a time when four events were announced to him during the night and he was not moved nor did his face alter—to wit the death of U'baydu'llah-b-Ziyád, the death of Ḥubaysh-b-Daljah* in Ḥijáz, the rupture between himself and the Greek Emperor,

* The only mention I can find of this name is in the Muntaha'l Arab where he is mentioned as a traditionist.

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A. H. 86. and the rebellious march of A'mr-b-Sa'íd to Damascus." And in the same
A. D. 705. it is stated on the authority of Aṣma'í that four men never spoke incorrectly either in earnest or jest—as Shaa'bi, A'bdu'l Malik, al Ḥajjáj-b-Yusuf and Ibn u'l Ḳirriyyah.*

As Silafi mentions in the Ṭuyyuriyat with its ascription, that A'bdu'l Malik went forth one day and a woman met him and exclaimed, "O prince of the Faithful!" He said, "what is thy business?" She replied, "my brother died and left six hundred dínárs, and there was given to me of his inheritance but one dínár, and it was said to me, 'this is thy due;' and the thing was incomprehensible to A'bdu'l Malik and he sent to as Shaa'bi and asked of him, who said, 'yes, this *man* died and left two daughters and they had two-thirds, four hundred, and a mother who had a sixth, one hundred, and a wife who had an eighth, seventy-five, and twelve brothers, who had twenty-four, and for this woman remaineth one dínár.' "

Ibn Abi Shaybah relates in the Musannaf from Khálid-b-Muḥammad of the Ḳuraysh, that A'bdu'l Malik said, "he who desireth to take a female slave for his amusement, let him take a native of Barbary, and who needs one for the sake of children, let him have a Persian, and who desireth to have one for service, let him take a Greek."

Abu U'baydah narrates that when al Akhtal recited to A'bdu'l Malik his verse in which he says *of the Umayyads*—

The most inveterate enemy ends by submitting† to them
And they are greatest of men in meekness when they are in power.

He said, "O slave, take him by the hand, and lead him forth and put upon him robes of honour as many as will cover him up—then he said, "verily every tribe hath a poet, and the poet of the Banu Umayyah is al Akhtal."‡ Al Aṣma'í says that al Akhtal went A'bdu'l Malik who said, "come now, describe intoxication to me." He replied, "its beginning is pleasure and

* Abu Sulaymán Aiyúb al Hiláli. Al Ḳirríyyah which signifies—the crop of a bird, was given to Jamáa, mother of Jusham, one of his ancestors. He was an untutored Arab of the desert, but the elegance and precision of his language gave him the reputation of one of the best orators of that people. He was summoned by al Hajjáj to his court and honored so far as to be entrusted by him with a mission to A'bdu'l Malik. He was put to death afterwards in A. H. 84 by that tyrant for having allowed himself to be compelled to join in the rebellion of Ibn u'l Asháth. Ibn Khall.

† For يستغاد read يستقاد: the verse will be found in the Kitáb u'l Aghani, Vol. 7.

‡ The life of al Akhtal is given by M. Caussin de Perceval in the Journal Asiatique for April '34. His real name was Ghyáth-b-Ghauth and belonged to the Banu Málik, a branch of the Taghlabites. He was a Christian like the greater number of the tribes of Bihrá, Taghlib, and Tanúkh and remained attached to his faith, notwithstanding the many seductive offers made to him to abandon it for Islám. He died at an advanced age recommending Farazdaḳ with his last breath, to cover his rival Jarír with ridicule.

its end a headache, and between that there is a moment, the crisis of which I will not describe to thee." He said "and what is its crisis?" he replied, "verily thy kingdom, O prince of the Faithful, *then* is of less account to me than the latchet of my shoe," and he versified, saying, A. H. 86. A. D. 705.

When my boon Companion giveth me to drink and giveth yet again
Three goblets of bubbling *wine*
I go forth trailing my garment behind me as if
I were lord over thee, O prince of the Faithful.

At Tha'álabi narrates that A'bdu'l Malik used to say, "I was born in the month of Ramaḍhán, and weaned in Ramaḍhán, and completed learning the Ḳurán by heart in Ramaḍhán, and I reached the age of puberty in Ramaḍhán, and the Caliphate fell to me in Ramaḍhán, and I fear lest I die in Ramaḍhán," and when he entered upon the month of Shawwál and felt safe, he died. (8th October 705.)

Of those of note who died in the reign of A'bdu'l Malik were, Ibn Omar, Asmá, daughter of as Ṣiddíḳ, Abu Sa'íd-b-u'l Mua'lla, Abu Sa'íd al Khudri, Rafi'-b-Khadíj, Salimah-b-u'l Akwa', I'rbádh-b-Sáríyah, Jábir-b-A'bdi'llah, A'bdu'llah-b-Jaa'far-b-Abi Ṭálib, as Sáib-b-Yazíd, Aslam the freedman of Omar, Abu Idrís al Khauláni, the Ḳhadḥi Shurayh, Abán-b-Othmán-b-A'ffán, al Aa'shá the poet, Ayúb-b-u'l Ḳirríyah, proverbial for eloquence, Khálid-b-Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah, Zirr-b-Ḥubaysh, Sinán-b-Salimah-b-i'l Muḥabbiḳ, Suwayd-b-Ghaflah, Abu Wáil Ṭáriḳ-b-Shiháb, Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥanafiyah, A'bdu'llah-b-Shaddád-b-i'l Hád, Abu U'baydah-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Masa'úd, A'mr-b-Ḥaríth, A'mr-b-Salimah al Jirmi and others.

AL WALI'D-B-ABDI'L MALIK.

Al Walíd-b-Abdi'l Malik, Abú'l A'bbás, was brought up effeminately, says as Shaa'bi, by his parents and he grew up without culture. Rúḥ-b-Zinbáa' narrates, "I went in one day to Abdu'l Malik, and he was meditating, and he said, 'I was thinking to whom I should commit the government of Arabia, and I cannot find any one.' I said, 'what dost thou think of al Walíd?" He replied, "verily he is not well versed in grammar." Walíd heard this and he rose at once and assembled the grammarians, and sat with them in his house for six months and then came forth more ignorant than before, and A'bdu'l Malik said, "verily he is excusable." Abú'z Zinád* states

* A native of Medína, a doctor of law and one of the Tábi'is. His varied information and his erudition gained him preeminence among the learned of his day. He died A. H. 130, (A. D. 748), aged 66. De Slane, I. K. At page 220 the name is misspelt Zanád.

A. H. 86. that al Walíd mispronounced to a great degree; he exclaimed from the
A. D. 705. pulpit of the prophet's mosque, "O people of al Medína."*

Abu A'krinah ad Dhabí says that al Walíd read from the pulpit, "O that death had made an end of me."† (Kur. LXIX), and below the pulpit stood Omar-b-A'bdi'l Azíz and Sulaymán-b-Abdi'l Malik, and Sulayman exclaimed, "by Allah, I would it had." Walíd was despotic and tyrannous.

Abu Nu'aym records in the Huliyah from Ibn Shaudab that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz said, "al Walíd in Syria, al Hajjáj in I'rák, Othmán-b-Habbárah‡ in Hijáz and Kurrah-b-Sharík in Egypt, have filled the earth, by Allah, with tyranny." And Ibn Abi Hátim in his Commentary, from Ibrahim-b-Abi Zuraa'h, that al Walíd said to him, "will the Caliph be judged *at the resurrection?*" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful, art thou more honoured of the Lord, or David? Verily the Lord united in him the prophetic mission and the vicegerency, yet hath he threatened him in His Book and said, "O David," &c. (Kur. XXXVIII.)§

Al Walíd, however, stirred up religious wars in his time and great conquests were made under his Caliphate—and withal he used to circumcise orphans and appointed teachers for them and assigned for those crippled by disease, persons to attend them and for the blind those who should lead them, and he embellished the mosque of the prophet and enlarged it and settled a daily allowance on the doctors of law and the infirm and the poor and forbade their begging of the people, and assigned for them what would suffice *for their maintenance* and regulated affairs by a thorough administration; and Ibn Abi A'ylah says, "the Lord have mercy on al Walíd, and where is the like of Walíd who conquered India and Spain and built the mosque of Damascus, and who used to give platters of silver which I divided among the readers|| of the Kurán of the mosque at Jerusalem?"

Al Walíd assumed the Caliphate according to the covenant of his father in the month of Shawwal in the year 86, and in the year 87, he set

* It is impossible to render the error in a translation as it consists in a misplacement of the diacritical points. He said "Ya ahl u'l Medínah" instead of "Ya ahla'l Medínah," the vocative requiring the objective case when the noun is in construction.

† Misplacing the vowel-points again. "Yá laytu há for Yá layta há.

‡ The MS. has Janádah.

§ "O David! verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince in the earth—judge therefore between men with truth and follow not thy own lust, lest it cause thee to err from the way of God." Kur. XXXVIII.

|| Both the MS. and the printed edition have قرا (readers of the Kurán,) but it is possible that فقرا (the poor) might have been the original word and the elision of the ف taken place through the error of a copyist.

about the building of the mosque at Damascus and ordered the enlargement of the mosque of the prophet and its *thorough* construction. During the same Bíkand* was taken by force of arms and Bukhára, and Sardinia and Matmúrah,† Ḳumayḳim and the Persian Gulf. And Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, governor of Medína made the pilgrimage with the people, and performed by mistake the ceremony of standing‡ on Mount A'rafah on the Day of Victims and was sore grieved thereat. A. H. 87. A. D. 706.

In the year 88 Jurthúmah§ and Ṭúánah|| were taken—and in the year 89, the islands of Majorca and Minorca. In the year 91 were captured Nasaf¶ and Kash, Shúmán, and other towns and forts by the Caspian Sea. In the year 92 the whole of Spain was subdued and the cities of Armáíl** and Ḳatarbún—and in 93 Daybal and other places were conquered, and Kírakh, Barham, Bájah, al Baidḥá, Khuwárazm, Samarkand, and Sughd. In 94, Kábul, Farghanah, Shásh and Sandarah were taken and in 95, Múḳán†† and Darband. In 96, Tús and other places.

In this year died the Caliph al Walíd in the middle of Jumáda'l Ákkirah at the age of fifty-one. (23rd February 715). Ad Ḍahabi says that religious wars were continuous throughout his reign, and great conquests were made as in the time of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb. Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz says, "when I put al Walíd in his grave, behold he kicked in his shroud,—that is, he struck the earth with his foot." Among the sayings of al Walíd is *the following*, "if God had not mentioned the family of Lot in the

* A town between Bukhára and the Oxus.

† On the frontiers near Tarsus. Kumayḳim, according to the Muntaha'l Arab is the name of a stream, but it does not say where.

‡ The Waḳf or standing on Mount Arafah should take place on the second day of the pilgrimage, 9th of Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, and the ceremony of the Day of Victims on the third day, 10th of Ḍu'l Ḥijjah.

§ In Najd.

|| On the frontiers of Maṣíṣah, north of Syria.

¶ Nasaf is a large town between Samarkand and the Oxus, and Kash is three parasangs from Jurján.

** Both these places are in Sind; Ibn u'l Athír writes the second name Kannazbúr and in some readings Fírbúr, Kirnúr and Fabryúr. Daybal is in Sind. Of Barham I can find no mention, but Ibn Athír speaks of a place, Brahmanabad in Sind, taken and destroyed at this time. Bájah, Yakúṭ places in Africa, and al Baidhá so called from its white citadel, in the district of Persepolis. Kírakh is written Kíraj by Ibn Athír and he states that Muḥammad-b-ul Ḳasim who commanded the army in Sind, hearing at Multán of the death of his uncle al Hajjáj, returned at once to Rori Bakkar and thence proceeded to Kíraj. I am inclined to think that this must be Karáchi, as Daybal or Dewal is stated by Elphinstone to have been probably close to that seaport. See Elph. India, p. 263, where will be found a sketch of Ḳásim's conquests.

†† Múḳán is in Adarbíján. Tús had already been conquered in the time of Othmán. Another reading is Tuways which I cannot find, but Yakút mentions a district Tawawís, near Bukhára. The MS. is here wanting.

A. H. 96. Ḳurán, (VII, XV, XXVII, LXVI) I would never have thought that any
A. D. 715. one would act thus."

Of persons of note who died in the reign of al Walíd, were U'tbah-b-A'bdu's Sulma, al Miḳdám-b-Ma'di Karb, A'bdu'llah-b-Bashr al Mázini, A'bdu'llah-b-Abi Aufa, Abu'l A'álíyah, Jábir-b-Zayd, Anas-b-Málik, Sahl-b-Saa'd, as Sáib-b-Yazíd, as Sáib-b-Khallád, Khubayb-b-A'bdi'llah-b-i'z Zubayr, Bilál-b-Abi'd Dardá, Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, Abu Salimah-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán, Abu Bakr-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán, Sa'íd-b-Jubayr martyred, slain by al Ḥajjáj may the Lord curse him, Ibrahím an Nakha'í, Muṭarrif, Ibrahím-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán-b-A'uf, al A'jjáj the poet and others.

SULAYMAN-B-A'BDI'L MALIK.

Sulayman-b-A'bdi'l Malik, Abu Ayúb, was among the best of the kings of the Banu Umayyah, and he assumed the Caliphate according to the covenant of his father in succession to his brother, in Jumáda'l Akhirah of the year 96. He has related a few traditions on the authority of his father and A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Hubayrah, and his son A'bdu'l Wáḥid and uz Zuhri have transmitted them from him.

He was eloquent, fluent of speech, preferring justice, a lover of war. He was born in the year 60. It is to be accounted among his merits that Omar-b-Abdi'l A'zíz was as his prime minister, and he used to follow his beneficial counsels; and he deposed the revenue collectors of al Ḥajjáj and released those who were in the prisons of I'ráḳ, and restored public prayers to their original appointed times, the Banu Umayyah having suffered them to lapse into dilatoriness. Ibn Sírín says, "the Lord have mercy on Sulaymán who inaugurated his Caliphate by the restoration of prayers to their stated times, and closed it by appointing as his successor Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz." Sulaymán forbade singing, and he was among those famed as large eaters, for he eat at a sitting seventy pomegranates, a lamb, six fowls, and a Makkúk* of Ṭáif currants. Yahya al Ghassáni says that Sulaymán looked into a mirror and his youthfulness and beauty surprised him, and he said, "Muḥammad was the prophet, and Abu Bakr Witness to the Truth, and Omar the Discriminator, and Othmán the Bashful, and Múáwiyah the Forbearing, and Yazíd the Patient, and A'bdu'l Malik the Administrator, and Walíd the Tyrant, and I am the Young King;" but the month *in which he thus spoke* did not pass over him but he died, and the day of his death was Friday the 10th of Safar in the year 99 (22nd Sept.

* About 11 pounds and a quarter. It is not astonishing that after this feat, he had an attack of indigestion which proved fatal.

717). During his reign were conquered Jurján, and the Iron Fortress,* and Sarda, and Shakka, and Tabristán and the city of as Sakálibah.† A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

Of persons of note that died during his time were, Kays-b-Abí Házim, Mahmúd-b-Labíd, al Hasan-b-i'l Husayn-b-A'li, Kurayb freedman of Ibn A'bbás, A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-i'l Aswad an Nakha'i and others.

A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-Hassán al Kanání says, that Sulaymán died at Dábik,‡ engaged in leading an expedition. When he sickened, he said to Rajá-b-Hayát, "who is to succeed me in this authority? shall I appoint my son?" He replied, "he is absent." He said, "then my other son?" He answered, "he is a child." He said, "then whom dost thou advise?" He replied, "I think that thou shouldst appoint Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz." He said, "I fear that my brothers will not consent." He rejoined, "appoint Omar, and after him Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik and write a document and seal it and summon them to take a covenant regarding it sealed." He replied, "verily thou hast conceived *wisely*." Thereupon he called for paper and wrote the covenant therein and gave it Rajá, and said, "go forth unto the people and let them make a covenant regarding that which is within it, sealed as it is." And he went forth and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath commanded ye to make a covenant of allegiance for him *whose name is* in this document." They said, "who is in it?" He answered, "It is sealed—ye cannot be informed concerning the one who is in it until the Caliph dieth." They said, "we will not swear allegiance." And he returned to Sulaymán and informed him of it, and he said, "go to the commander of the guards and the watch, and assemble the people and order them to take the oath, and he who refuses smite his neck." And they swore allegiance. Rajá relates, "while I was returning, behold *I met* Hishám and he said to me, O Rajá, verily thou knowest thy credit with me, and verily the prince of the Faithful hath done a thing and I know not what it is, and verily I fear that it may be that he hath put the Caliphate

* I do not find any such name in Yakút, it is probably some local name given to a strong fort, unless Darband is meant, which was defended by Anushirwan by an iron gate. Neither Sarda or Shakka are given, nor are they noticed by Ibn u'l Athír.

† So likewise Ibn u'l Athír, Tabari calls it Sakalic. Weil says that it should be Sakálibah which he considers a district to the N. and N. W. of Constantinople. He can find no town of that name. Yakút makes as Sakálibah a (slav) district "between Bulgaria, and Constantinople." The word city I imagine, must be an error, or must refer to the then capital city of the Thracian towns of the Propontis, round which Maslamah wheeled his army after the passage of Abydus, to invest Constantinople defended by Leo the Isaurian. An army of Bulgarians from the Danube at the call of Leo fell upon the Saracen army and slaughtered twenty-two thousand. See Gibbon, Ch. LII.

‡ Near Chalcis. He was preparing, according to Gibbon, to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East.

A'. H 99. from me, and if it be indeed that he hath put it aside from me, tell me
A. D. 717. while there is yet time in the affair, that I may see *what to do;*" and I said, "good God! the prince of the Faithful hath asked me to conceal a thing, and shall I tell it to thee? that can never be." Then I met Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and he said to me, "O Rajá, a grave thought has occurred to my mind concerning this man, I fear lest it be that he hath put the Caliphate upon me and I am not equal to this position, therefore tell me while there is yet time in the affair, perchance I may escape from it as long as I live." I said, "good God! the prince of the Faithful asked me to conceal a thing and shall I tell it to thee?" Shortly after Sulaymán died and the document was opened, when lo! within was the covenant for Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, and the faces of the sons of A'bdu'l Malik changed, but when they heard that after him was to be Yazíd the son of A'bdu'l Malik, they returned and came to Omar and did homage to him as Caliph; but he was stupified at it, and was not able to rise until they took him by the arms and brought him to the pulpit and helped him to mount it. He sat a long time without speaking, at last Rajá said to them, "do ye not stand up to the prince of the Faithful to swear allegiance to him?" Then they made the covenant with him, and he stretched out his hand to them. Then he arose and praised God and glorified Him and said, "O people, I am not one who decideth but one who executeth, nor one who beginneth but one who followeth—and verily the countries and cities round about ye, if they submit as ye have submitted then I am your ruler, but if they refuse then I am not a ruler for ye." Then he descended, and there came to him the master of the horse, and he said, "what is this?" The man replied, "the Caliph's charger." He said, "I have no need of it—bring me my mule," and they brought him his mule and he proceeded to his house. Then he called for an ink horn and wrote with his own hand to the prefects of the provinces. Rajá says, "I thought that he would soon lack strength, but when I saw his actions in his correspondence, I knew that he would become powerful." It is related that there fell some words between Marwán-b-A'bdu'l Malik* and Sulaymán during the Caliphate of Sulaymán, who said to him "O son of an uncircumcised woman!" and Marwán opened his mouth to answer him, when Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz stopped his mouth and said, "I conjure thee for God's sake—he is thy Imám and thy brother and he is thy elder in years." And Marwán held his peace, and said, "thou hast slain me, by Allah, verily thou hast put within me that which is hotter than fire," and he died before the evening.

Ibn A'bí'd Dunya records on the authority of Ziyád-b-Othmán that he went in unto Sulaymán-b-A'bdi'l Malik when his son Ayúb died, and

* It must be remembered that A'bdu'l Malik had seventeen sons.

said, "O prince of the Faithful, verily A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakrah used to say 'he who desireth the things that are eternal, let him habituate himself to misfortunes.'" A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

OMAR-B-A'BDI'L A'ZÍZ.

Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz-b-Marwán—the good Caliph—Abu Ḥafṣ, was the fifth of the orthodox Caliphs. Sufyán at Thauri says that the five Caliphs are Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán, A'li, and Omar-b-A'bdi'l Azíz (Abu Dauúd). Omar was born at Ḥulwán, a village in Egypt, of which his father was governor in the year of the Flight 61, or as some say 63. His mother was Umm A'áṣim, daughter of A'áṣim-b-Omar-b-i'l Khaṭṭáb. On Omar's face was a scar, a horse having kicked him in the forehead when he was a boy. His father wiping the blood off him said, "if thou art he of the Scar of the Banu Umayyah, verily thou art fortunate." (Ibn A'sákir.) Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb used to say, "of my posterity there shall be a man with a scar in his face who shall fill the earth with justice" (at Tirmiḍi). The opinion of his father regarding him proved true. Ibn Saa'd records that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb said, "would that I knew which of my posterity shall be the possessor of the letter Shín* *in his name*—he who is to fill *the earth* with justice as it hath been filled with tyranny." And from Ibn Omar that he said, "we used to say that the world would not pass away until a man of the posterity of Omar should rule, doing according to the works of Omar, and Bilál-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Omar had a mole upon his face, and they used to think that it was he until the Lord sent Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz."

Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz related traditions on the authority of his father and Anas and others; and az Zuhri, Muḥammad-b-u'l Munkadir, Yahya-b-Sa'íd the Auxiliary, Maslamah-b-A'bdi'l Malik, Rajá-b-Hayáṭ and many more related them on his.

He learnt the Ḳurán when he was yet a child, and his father sent him to Medína to be instructed there, and he used to attend U'baydu'llah-b-A'bdi'llah,† studying science under his tuition. When his father died, A'bdu'l Malik sent for him to Damascus and married him to his daughter,

* The word 'scar' or fracture begins with that letter.

† Abú Abdu'llah U'baydu'llah-b-A'bdi'llah-b-U'tbah, was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medína. Az Zuhri called him an ocean of knowledge, and Omar-b-Abdi'l Azíz used to say that an evening with U'baydu'llah was worth a thousand pieces of gold out of the public treasury. He died at Medína A. H. 102 (720-1). One of his poems is given in the Hamásah. Ibn Khall.

30

A. H. 99. A. D. 717. Fáṭimaḥ. Even before his Caliphate he walked in virtue save that he was over given to luxury, and the envious that found fault with him did not reproach him save for excess in luxury and haughtiness in his gait. When al Walíd assumed the Caliphate, he made Omar governor of Medína and he ruled it from the year 86 to the year 93 when he was removed, and he went to Syria. After this, verily, al Walíd determined to set aside his brother Sulaymán from the succession, and to appoint his own son; and many of the principal men, willingly or unwillingly obeyed him, but Omar b-A'bdi'l A'zíz objected, and said, "the covenant unto Sulaymán is upon our necks," and he was firm, and al Walíd immured him, but he was interceded for after three days and they found him with his neck drooping *from exhaustion*. Sulaymán learnt this regarding him and nominated him to the succession in the Caliphate.

Zayd-b-Aslam narrates that Anas said, "I never prayed behind an Imám after the Apostle of God, resembling the Apostle of God more in the manner of his praying, than this youth, *i. e.*, Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz—while he was governor of Medína." Zayd-b-Aslam adds, "he used to dwell long in his bendings and prostrations, and shortened the time of standing and sitting," (this tradition has several lines of ascription to Anas—recorded by al Bayhaḳi and others).

Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-i'l Ḥusayn was asked regarding Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, and he said, "he is the noblest of the Banu Umayyah and verily he will be raised up at the day of resurrection, unequalled and alone."

Maymún-b-Mihrán said that the learned in comparison with Omar A'bdi'l A'zíz were mere students. Abú Nuaym records on the authority of Riyáh-b-U'baydah by a sound ascription, that he said, "Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz went forth to prayers, and an old man was leaning on his arm, and I said to myself, 'verily this old man is rude;' and when he had prayed and entered *his house*, I joined him and said, 'may God prosper the Amír, who was the old man that was leaning on thy arm?' He replied, O Riyáḥ didst thou see him?' I said 'yes.' He answered, 'I do not hold thee to be other than a virtuous man—that was my brother al Khidḥr* who came to me and told me that I shall rule this people, and shall act with justice unto them.'" And from Abú Háshim that a man went to Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and said, "I saw the prophet in a dream, with Abú Bakr on his right hand and Omar on his left, and lo! two men were disputing and thou wert seated before him, and he said to thee. 'O Omar when thou rulest, do according to the works of these two, of Abú Bakr and Omar.'

* This person as is well known, is regarded as a prophet, and was supposed to have been the minister of an ancient king of Persia. By some he is said to be Elias, and by others St. George of England. His aid is frequently invoked by Muḥammadan story-tellers whether the knot be worthy of his untying or otherwise.

And Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz made him swear before God, *saying* 'didst thou see this?' And he swore, and Omar wept." A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

He was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of Sulaymán in the month of Ṣafar 99 as hath gone before, and he continued in the Caliphate for two years and five months about *the duration of* that of Abú Bakr, filling the earth with justice, removing grievances and establishing good laws. When the writing of the covenant was read containing his name, he was stupified and said, "by Allah, verily I never asked for this authority of God." The master of the horse brought him the Caliph's charger, but he refused it, and said, "bring me my mule." Ḥakam-b-Omar relates, "I was present with Omar-b-Abdi'l A'zíz when the equerries came demanding of him provender *for the horses* and the stipends of their attendants. He exclaimed, 'send them to the Syrian towns, and let any one buy them who listeth, and put the prices of them with the property of the Lord—this grey she mule sufficeth for me.'" Omar-b-Ḍarr says, that when Omar returned from the funeral of Sulaymán, his freedman said to him, "why do I see thee sad?" He replied, "one should grieve to be in the station that I am in,—there is not one of this people, but I wish to give him his due without his writing to me about it or demanding it from me." And from A'mr-b-Muhájir and others, that when Omar was appointed Caliph, he stood up before the people and praised God and glorified him and said, "O people! there will be no *revealed* Book after the Kurán and no prophet after Muḥammad,—now verily I am not one who decideth but one who executeth, nor one who beginneth but one who followeth, and I am not better than any one of ye but I am more forbearing in meekness, and verily a man that fleeth from a tyrannous Imám, doeth not wrongfully—surely there is no obedience due from the creature to what is sinful before the Creator." And from az Zuhri, that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz wrote to Sálim-b-A'bdi'llah* to describe to him the practice of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb concerning the poor-rate, and he wrote to him regarding what he asked telling him, "verily if thou doest unto thy age and thy people according to the works of Omar unto his age and people, thou wilt be greater before the Lord than Omar." And from Ḥammád† that when Omar was appointed Caliph he wept and said *to a certain person.* "O! such a one, dost

* Grandson of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb.

† Abu'l Kásim Ḥammád-b-Abi Layla Sapúr (or Maysara) a Daylamite born at Kúfah called ar Ráwíyah (the narrator) because he was able, according to his own account to the Caliph al Walíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik, to recite the poems of more poets than the Caliph had ever read or heard of. In one sitting he recited two thousand poems by poets who flourished before Muḥammad, and it was he who united in one collection the seven "Muallaḳát." He was treated by the Umayyads with preference and honour. He was born A. H. 95 (713—4) and died in 155 (A. D. 772). Ibn Khall.

A. H. 99. thou fear on my account?" He replied, "how is thy desire with regard
A. D. 717. to money?" He said, "I have no love for it." He answered, "then fear not for the Lord will assist thee." And from Mughírah, that at the time Omar succeeded to the Caliphate, he assembled the sons of Marwán and said, "verily the Apostle of God possessed *the estate of* Fadak, from which he derived funds and supported by it the children of the Banu Háshim and gave in marriage their orphans by its means, and verily Fáṭimah asked him to bestow it upon her and he refused, and it continued thus during the lifetime of Abu Bakr and Omar. Afterwards Marwán assigned it away, and it hath come into the hands of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz. Now I think that a thing forbidden to Fáṭimah by the Apostle of God is no right of mine, and verily I call ye to witness that I have restored it to what it was in the time of the Apostle of God." And from al Layth, that when Omar became Caliph, he began with his kindred and the people of his house, and confiscated what was in their hand, and called their substance, exactions.

Asmá-b-U'bayd narrates that A'nbasah-b-Sa'íd-b-i'l A'áṣ went in to Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and said, "O prince of the Faithful! the Caliphs before thee used to bestow gifts but thou hast forbidden them to us, and I have a family and an estate—wilt thou permit me to go to my estate to improve *the circumstances of* my family?" He replied, "the most beloved of ye *to me* is he who spares me his keep." Then he added, "be frequent in the remembrance of death, for if thou be in straitened circumstances it will enlarge them for thee, and if in affluence it will straiten it upon thee."

Furáṭ-b-u'l Sáíb narrates that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz said to his wife Fáṭimah, daughter of A'bdu'l Malik who possessed a jewel which her father had given her, the like of which had never been seen, "choose whether thou wilt give up thy jewel to the public treasury, or suffer me to separate from thee, for verily I am loth that I and thou and it should be in one house." She replied, "I prefer thee to it, and to double *its value.*" He therefore gave orders and it was taken away and placed in the public treasury of the Muslims; and when Omar died, and Yazíd succeeded to the Caliphate, he said to Fáṭimah, "dost thou wish that I should return it to thee?" she answered, "no, by Allah, I did not care for it during his life and shall I take it again after his death?" A'bdu'l A'zíz says that one of the prefects of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zi'z wrote to him, *saying*—"verily our city is in ill condition—if the prince of the Faithful thinketh fit to assign us money that we may repair it, let him do so:" and Omar wrote to him, *saying*, "when thou readest this letter, fortify it with justice and *purify* its streets from oppression—for verily that is its restoration, and peace *be to thee.*" Ibrahím as Sakúni states that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz said, "I never lied from the time that I knew that a lie was a disgrace to its utterer."

And Ḳays-b-Jubayr says that Omar among the Banu Umayyah is like the true believer of the family of Pharaoh.* And Maymún-b-Míhrán, that the Lord used to be regardful of His people by means of a succession of prophets, but that verily the Lord now watcheth over His people through Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz. And Wahb-b-Munabbah, "if there be a guide among this people it is Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz." A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

Muḥammad-b-Fudhálah narrates that A'bdu'llah-b-Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz passed by *the dwelling of* a monk in Mesopotamia, and the monk went down to him, and he had never visited any one before, and said, "knowest thou why I have come down to thee?" He replied, "no." He answered, "on account of the merits of thy father, I find him among the just Imáms in the position of the month of Rajab among the sacred months;" Ayúb-b-Suwayd has interpreted this to mean that the three consecutive months Ḍu'l Kaa'dah, Ḍu'l Hijjah, and al Muḥarram, are Abú Bakr, Omar and Othmán, and Rajab, separate from them is Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz. Ḥasan al Ḳaṣṣáb says, "I saw wolves grazing with sheep in the desert during the Caliphate of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and I said, 'good God! a wolf among sheep and not injuring them!' The shepherd answered, "when the head is sound, there is no harm to the body.'" Málik-b-Dínár narrates that when Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz ruled, the shepherds said, "on account of this good man who rules the people as a just Caliph, the wolves restrain themselves from our flocks." And Músa-b-Aa'yan, "we were tending sheep in Kirmán during the Caliphate of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, and the sheep and the wolf used to pasture in one place, but meanwhile one night, behold, a wolf attacked a sheep, and I said, 'I cannot but think that the just man is dead,' and they enquired and found that he had died that night." Walíd-b-Muslim states that he had heard that a man in Khurasán related, *saying*, "a stranger came to me in my sleep and said, 'when he of the Scar among the sons of Marwán rules, go and swear allegiance to him for he is a just Imám,' and I began whenever a Caliph arose, to ask regarding him until Omar A'bdi'l A'zíz succeeded, and the stranger came to me three times in my sleep, so I set out and swore allegiance to him." He also states on the authority of Ḥabíb-b-Hind al Aslami that he said, "Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab said to me, 'verily the Caliphs are three, Abu Bakr, Omar, and Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz,' I replied, Abu Bakr and Omar, verily we know them, but who is Omar? He answered, 'if thou livest thou wilt attain to *his time*, and if thou diest *before that* he will come after thee.' I remark that Ibn u'l Musayyab died before the Caliphate of Omar."

Ibn A'un says that when Ibn Sírín was asked regarding wine, he said, "the Imám of salvation that is, Omar-b-A'bdil A'zíz has forbidden its

* See page 36, Note *.

A. H. 99. use." And al Ḥasan declared, that if there is a Mahdi,* it is Omar-b-
A. D. 717. A'bdi'l A'zíz and if not he, then there is no other than Jesus the son of Mary." Málik-b-Dínár said—"people assert that Málik is an ascetic, whereas the ascetic is Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, for the world came to him and he abandoned it." And Yunas-b-Abi, Shabíb, "I saw Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and verily the waist-band of his drawers was hidden in the folds of fat of his stomach: I saw him again after he had become Caliph, and if I had wished to count his ribs without touching them I could have done so."

His son A'bdu'l A'zíz said, "Abu Jaa'far al Manṣúr enquired of me, *saying*, "what was the income of thy father when he succeeded to the Caliphate?" I replied "forty thousand dinars?" He asked, "and how much when he died?" I replied, "Four hundred dínárs, and if he had lived longer it would have been less." Maslamah-b-A'bdi'l Malik narrates, "I went in to Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz to visit him in his illness, and lo, he was wearing a dirty shirt and I said to Fáṭimah the daughter of A'bdu'l Malik, "dost thou not wash his shirt?" she replied, "by Allah, he has no other."

Abu Umayyah, the eunuch, the slave of Omar said, "I went in one day to my mistress, and she gave me a meal of lentils, and I said, "every day lentils!" she replied, "O my son, such is the meal of thy master the prince of the Faithful." When death was approaching, he sent me with a dínár, to the people of the monastery *of Sima'án*† to say—"if ye sell me a place for my grave, *it is well* otherwise I will turn from ye *elsewhere:* and I went to them and they answered "were it not that we are averse to his leaving us we would not consent." Al A'un-b-u'l Mua'mmar narrates that Omar went to his wife and said, "O Fáṭimah, hast thou a dirham that I may buy some grapes with it?" She said, "no" and added, "and thou, the prince of the Faithful, dost thou not possess a dirham wherewith to buy grapes?" He replied, "this is easier for me than to labour under manacles in hell."

Sahl-b-Ṣadaḳah says that when Omar was appointed Caliph, lamentation was heard in his house and they enquired about it and people said,

* "The directed" the surname of the twelfth and last Imám of the race of A'li. His name was Abu'l Ḳásim Muḥammad son of Ḥasan al A'skari the eleventh Imám. He was born at Sarramanrá 255 A. H., and he descended into a cistern in presence of his mother at 9 years of age, whence he is expected to return towards the end of the world to join the Messiah in combating Antichrist and establishing one faith. See D. Herb. and Ibn Khall.

† In the district about Damascus—a pleasant spot says Yakúṭ surrounded by gardens and buildings—Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz was buried here but the site of his grave is unknown.

that Omar had given his female slaves a choice, saying, "verily business hath come upon me that will keep me engaged from ye; therefore she that wishes that I should free her, I hereby free her, and she that desires that I should retain her, I will retain her though I have no need of her"—and they wept in despair at it. According to his wife Fáṭimah, when he entered the house, he used to throw himself down at his place of prayer and would not cease to weep and pray until *the drowsiness of* his eyes overpowered him and when he awoke, he would do the same thing throughout the night. A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

Al Walíd-b-Abi'l Musayyab said, "I never knew any one more in fear *of the Lord* than Omar." And Sa'íd-b-Su'ayd, that Omar prayed before the people on a Friday, wearing a shirt patched at the collar in front and behind, and a man said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, verily God hath given unto thee, and wert thou but to clothe thyself properly!" Omar looked down awhile, then raised his head and said, "moderation is most meritorious in affluence, and pardon most praiseworthy in power."

Maymún-b-Mihrán narrates, "I heard Omar say, 'if I remained among you fifty years, I should not perfect justice amogst you—verily I desire a thing, but fear lest your hearts endure it not, I therefore leave the world with that in my desire *unfulfilled*—wherefore if your hearts are averse to this thing, they must rest content with the other.'"

And Ibrahím-b-Maysarah, "I said to Ṭáús* 'is Omar A'bdu'l A'zíz the Mahdi?' He replied, 'he is a Mahdi but not *the* Mahdi, for he hath not entirely perfected justice.'" Omar-b-Usayd says, "it was before Omar's death that a man used to come to us with a considerable sum of money and say, 'use this as ye think fit,' and he continued until he had brought all his property: *thus* Omar verily provided for the wants of the people." And Juwayríyah,† "we went in to Fáṭimah, the daughter of A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, and she praised Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and said, 'if he had remained with us, we should have needed none after him.'"

A'tá-b-Abi Rabáḥ‡ narrates, "Fáṭimah the wife of Omar, told me that she went in to him, and he was at his place of prayer, his tears streaming

* Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán Ṭáús-b-Kaysán al Khauláni one of the most eminent of the Tábi'ís, was of Persian extraction. He died at Mecca A. H. 106 (725) and the crowd at his funeral was so great that the governor had to send a guard to clear the way. Abu'l Faraj al Jouzi says that he was called Ṭáús because he was the peacock of the Ḳurán readers, but it is the general opinion that it was his real name. Ibn Khall.

† The traditionist, a member of the Dubaía'h tribe—died A. H. 173, (A. D. 789-90) De Slane, I. K.

‡ He was a Mulatto born at al Janad and Mawla to the Fikr family at Mecca. He held a high rank as a Tábi'í, a jurisconsult and ascetic and he and al Mujáhid were the muftis of Mecca. He died A. H. 115 (733-4) at the age of 88. Ibn Khall.

A. H. 99. over his beard, and she said, 'O prince of the Faithful, has anything
A. D. 717. happened?' He replied, 'O Fáṭimah, verily I am invested with authority over the people of Muḥammad, the Arabs among them and the foreigners, and I was meditating upon the poor that are starving and the sick that are destitute, and the naked that are in distress, and the oppressed that are stricken, and the stranger that is in prison and the venerable elder, and him that hath a large family and small means, and the like of them in the countries of the earth and the distant provinces, and I felt that my Lord would ask an account of them at my hands on the day of resurrection, and I feared that no defence would avail me, and I wept.'" Al Auzáá'i says that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz was seated in his house and with him were the chiefs of the Banu Umayyah, and he said, "do ye wish that I should give each one of you to rule over a province?" and one of them said, "why dost thou propose to us what thou wilt not perform?" He replied, "do ye see this carpet of mine, verily I know that it will fall to ruin and decay, yet verily I am loth that ye should soil it with your feet—therefore how can I place ye in authority over my administration—in authority over the property of the Muslims and their persons? this cannot be for you—it cannot be!" And they said to him, "why, have we not kinship—have we not a claim?" He replied,—"ye and the most remote of the Muslims are but equal in my sight in this matter, save that a long journey's distance keeps *that* man of the Muslims from me."

Ḥamíd narrates, "al Hasan dictated to me a letter *addressed* to Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, in which he employed all his powers of persuasion and lamented his needs and his *large* family, and Omar ordered him a present." And al Auzáa'i, that when Omar desired to punish a man, he kept him in confinement for three days and then punished him, not wishing to be hasty in the first impulse of anger. And al Juayríyah-b-Asmá, that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz said, "my heart is most covetous—nothing of worldly goods is given to it but it desires something still better, and when I was given that than which nothing in the world is greater, my heart longed for that which is better than it—namely, heaven." According to A'mr-b-Muhájir the expenditure of Omar every day was two dirhams. Yusuf-b-Ya'ḳúb al Káhili says that Omar used to wear at night a cloak of camel's hair and the lamp in his house was placed on the top of three reeds upon which was some clay. Omar ordered his servant to heat some water for him and he went and heated a vessel in the public kitchen, whereupon Omar ordered him to take a dirham's worth of wood and place it in the kitchen. (A'tá al Khurasáni.) He used to light a wax-candle for himself when engaged in the needs of the Muslims, and when he had finished their business, he would extinguish it and light his own lamp. (A'mr-b-Muhájir.) The Caliph was always attended by three hundred guards and three hundred armed attendants, but Omar said to the guards, "verily I have among ye

Fate as a defender and Death as a guard—he among ye who remains, shall have ten dínárs, and whoso wishes may go to his family." (Al Ḥakam-b-Omar.) A'mr-b-Muhájir relates, "Omar once longed for an apple, and one of the people of his house made him a present of one, and he said, 'how sweet is its odour, and how beautiful it is! take it O slave! to him who sent it, and give him greeting and say to him "verily thy present hath pleased us very much." I said to him, 'O prince of the Faithful, he is the son of thy uncle and one of thy own house, and verily I have heard that the prophet used to eat *such* presents;' he replied, 'fie on thee—verily a present to the prophet was a present, but to us in these days it is a bribe.'" "I never knew Omar during his Caliphate," says Ibrahím-b-Maysarah, "strike any one but one man who had received presents from Mu'áwiyah, and he struck him three stripes." When Omar discontinued to the people of his house, the special allowance which used to be issued to them, they murmured against it, but he said, "my property will not be enough for ye all, yet as for this money, your claim to it is as the claim of a man *dwelling* afar at-Birku'l Ghimád."* (Al Auzáa'i.) He also wrote to cancel such orders of al Ḥajjáj as were opposed to public opinion. Yahya al Ghassáni says, "when Omar made me prefect of Mosul, I found theft and house-breaking more common there than in the majority of cities, wherefore I wrote to inform him of the state of the city and asked him whether I should take men up on suspicion and chastise them on mere accusation, or arrest them on clear proof and according as the law directed; he wrote to me *in reply* that I should arrest them only on clear proof and as the law directed, for if justice would not make them honest, then may God not reform them. I therefore acted accordingly and I did not leave Mosul until it had become one of the most orderly of cities and least frequent in theft and house-breaking." And Rajá-b-Ḥayát narrates, "I was conversing one night with Omar when the lamp grew dim and near it was an attendant *asleep*. I exclaimed, "shall I rouse him?" He said, "no." I said, "shall not I get up then?" He replied, "it is not polite for a man to exact service from his guest;" and he went to the oil flask and trimmed the lamp and returned and said, "I arose as Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz and have returned as Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz." According to Nuaym, Omar's secretary, Omar said, "fear of vainglory verily prevents me from speaking much." Makḥúl observes, "if I were to swear *to it* I would but speak the truth, that I never saw any one more pious and god-fearing than Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz."

A. H. 99.
A. D. 717.

When the mention of death was made, Omar, says Sa'íd-b-U'rúbah, would tremble in all his joints. He used to assemble every night the doctors of law and converse with them on death and the resurrection, and

* Or Birku'l Ghamád a town at the extreme corner of Yaman. Yaḳút M. B.

A. H 99. they would weep as if a bier were before them. (A'tá.) Ubaydu'llah-b-
A. D. 717. A'yzár narrates, "Omar preached to us in Syria from a pulpit of clay and said, 'O people purify your inner thoughts and your exterior conduct will be amended—direct your actions with regard to the world to come, and your worldly concerns will not be amiss—and know that a man between whom and Adam there is no living ancestor, has assuredly a heriditary portion in death,* peace be to ye.'"

The Banu Marwán assembled at Omar's gate and said to his son A'bdu'l Malik—"say to thy father that the Caliphs before him used to make grants to us and recognised our station, but verily thy father hath prohibited to us that which is in his hands;" and his son went in to him and informed him, and he replied, "tell them forsooth my father says to ye—'verily I fear, if I should rebel against my Lord, the punishment of the Great Day.'" (Kur., VI,) (Wuhayb-b-u'l Ward).

Omar said, "take ye for counsel that which those before ye approved to be good, and take not that which is opposed to them, for they were better than ye and wiser." Jarír† once came and took his post for a long time at the gate of Omar who would not notice him, whereupon he wrote to A'un-b-A'bdi'llah who was a confidant of Omar's—

O reader with the flowing turban,
This is thy day, verily my day hath passed.
Tell our Caliph if thou meetest him
I am at the gate like one chained to a pillar.

(Al Auza'ái.)

When Omar succeeded to the Caliphate, Bilál-b-Abi Bardah went and congratulated him and said, there have been those whom the Caliphate ennobled, but thou hast ennobled it, and there have been those whom it has graced it, but thou hast lent a grace to it and thou art as Malik-b-Asmá says:

"Thou addest a sweet odour to the most delicious fragance
If thou but touch it—where is thy like? where?
For lo! the pearl gives lustre to the beauty of the face
But the beauty of thy face gives lustre to the pearl."

(Júayríyah.)

When A'bdu'l Malik-b-Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz died, Omar began to praise him whereupon Maslamah‡ said, "O prince of the Faithful, if he had lived thou wouldst have made him heir." He said, "no." He answered,

* Lane mentions this (art عريق) as a tradition.

† Abu Hazrah Jarír-b-A'tiyah—the poet—the great rival of Farazdak and al Akhtal—for his history consult Ibn Khall. Kitabu'l Aghani—and the Journal Asiatique for April '34.

‡ Son of A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán.

"and why not, for thou wert but now praising him." Omar said, "I fear that there might have been a consideration in my regard towards him, such a consideration as a son holds in the eye of his father," (Ju'únah). A man said to Omar—"leave me a charge." He said, "I commend to thee the fear of God and the preferring of Him *above all things*, and affliction will be withheld from thee and help will be vouchsafed to thee from God" (Ghassán.) The daughter* of Usámah-b-Zayd went in to Omar and he arose before her and advanced towards her, and made her sit down in his seat, and he sat down before her and left her no wish ungratified. (Abu A'mr.) The sons of Marwán assembled together and they said, "if we went in to the prince of the Faithful, we might make him favourably disposed towards us by pleasantry;" and they entered and one among them spake and jested, and Omar regarded him; then another added his jest to the other's, and Omar said, "is it for this ye have assembled—for the lowest kind of discourse and that which breeds enmities? When ye assemble, betake yourselves to the Book of God, and if ye go beyond that, then to the laws of the Apostle of God, and if ye go again beyond that, then employ yourselves in *the interpretation of* the meanings of the traditions." (Al Ḥajjáj-b-A'nbasah.)

A. H. 99.
A. D. 717.

Iyás-b-Mu'áwiyah-b-Ḳurrah says, "I liken Omar to none but an excellent workman who has no tools with which to work—that is, he has none to help him." And Omar-b-Ḥafṣ narrates, "Omar said to me, 'when thou hearest a word from a Muslim, do not impute to it aught of evil as long as thou canst find for it a good motive.'"

Omar used to dissuade Sulaymán-b-A'bdi'l Malik from putting the Ḥarúríyah sectarians† to death and he would say to him, "imprison them until they show repentance." And a Ḥarúrí was brought before Sulaymán who said to him, "well now!" The Ḥarúri replied, "what shall I say, O villain, son of a villain?" Sulaymán exclaimed—"send for Omar-A'bdi'l A'zíz;" and when he came, he said, "listen to the speech of this man," and the Ḥarúrí repeated it, and Sulaymán said, "what dost thou think *should be done to* him?" but he was silent. He said again "I command thee to tell me what thou thinkest regarding him." He answered,

* Her name was Fáṭimah; she resided at the village of Mizzah near Damascus after the death of her father, the well known Mawla of the prophet who was despatched at the head of an army to Syria at the time the prophet was dying. (See page 74) Usámah died at Medína, and some say at Wadi'l Ḳurá about A. H. 54.

† A sect of schismatics called after Harúra, a town two miles distant from Kúfah because they first assembled there and taught that government belongs only to God. They consisted of Nejdeh and his Companions holding their tenets. They were also called Mubayyaḏhah because their ensigns in war were white. They dived so deeply, says Lane, into matters of religion that they became heretics—and hence the appellation is applied also to any who do thus. Lane, art. حر

A. H. 99. "I think with regard to him that thou shouldst revile him as he hath reviled A. D. 717. thee." He replied, "the matter *ends* not thus," and he commanded regarding him, and his head was struck off, and Omar departed. But Khálid the captain of the guard, overtook him, and said, "Omar, how couldst thou say to the prince of the Faithful—'I do not see anything for him but that thou shouldst revile him as he hath reviled thee? verily I was expecting that he would command me to strike off thy head." He replied, "and if he had commanded thee, wouldst thou have done it?" He answered, "yea, by Allah." Now when the Caliphate fell to Omar, Khálid came and stood up in the place of the captain of the guard and Omar said, "O Khálid put this sword from thee" and he added, "O God, verily I have humbled Khálid for thy sake, therefore raise him up never again." Then he looked upon the faces of the guard, and summoned A'mr-b-Muhájir the Auxiliary and said, "O A'mr, verily thou knowest that there is no kinship between me and thee save the kinship of Islám, but I have heard thee diligently reading the Ḳurán, and I have seen thee praying in a place when thou didst think that none observed thee, and I saw thee pray with devotion and thou art one of the Auxiliaries—take this sword therefore, for verily I give thee the command of my guard." (Yahya al Ghassáni.) Shu'ayb says, "I have been told that A'bdu'l Malik-b-Omar-b A'bdi'l A'zíz went in to his father and said, "O prince of the Faithful what wilt thou say unto thy Lord hereafter when he questioneth thee?" and added, "thou hast witnessed heresies and hast not crushed them, and laws *fallen into disuse* and thou hast not revived them." And his father answered, "may the Lord have mercy upon thee and reward thee for a good son—my child, verily thy tribe have bound this authority knot by knot and loop by loop, and were I to seek to oppose them by taking away what they possessed, I would not be safe from their making a rupture with me in which much blood would be shed—by Allah, the loss of worldly goods would be easier unto me than that a cupping-glass of blood should be spilt on my account, yet art thou not content that a single day in the world should come to thy father, except he crush a heresy therein and revive a law."

Omar said, "he is happy who is preserved from disputation, anger and covetousness" (Ma'mar.) It was said to Omar, "if thou wert to appoint a bodyguard and to be careful in thy food and drink."* He replied, "O God if thou knowest that I fear aught except the day of resurrection believe not in my fear." (Arṭah-b-Munḍir.) 'Adi-b-u'l Fadhl narrates, "I heard Omar preaching to the people, and he said, 'fear ye God, O people! and proceed with moderation in your quest *of worldly goods*, for if the destined portion of any one be upon the summit of a mountain or in the depths of

* Such sentences where the apodosis is wanting to complete the period are common enough in the Semitic languages and may be found frequently in the Bible, *e. g.* Gen. iii. 22.

the earth, it will reach him.'" And Azhar says, "I saw Omar preaching to A. H 99.
the people wearing a patched garment." And Abdu'llah-b-u'l A'la, "I A. D. 717.
heard Omar preaching on a Friday a single discourse which he kept repeating and beginning it with these seven sentences—'Praise be to God, we glorify Him and implore His help and His pardon, and we fly to God for protection against the wickedness of our passions and the evil of our deeds; whom God directeth, none can misguide, and there is no guide for him whom God alloweth to go astray—and I testify that there is no god but one God who hath no copartner—and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle;—he who obeyeth God and His apostle, verily he followeth the right path—and whoso rebelleth against God and His apostle, verily goeth astray." Then he commended *unto them* the fear of God and continued to preach, and he concluded his final discourse with these verses "O my servants who have transgressed" (Kur. XXXIX) to the conclusion of the section. Ḥájib-b-Khalífah al Burjumi says, "I was present when Omar being then Caliph, was preaching, and he said in his discourse, 'verily that which the apostle of God and his two companions have instituted, is the faith which we conform to and follow out and that which others besides those two have established we may put aside.'" (Abu Nuaym gives with their ascriptions in his Ḥuliyah all that I have advanced.)

Ibn 'Asakir records on the authority Ibrahim-b-Abi A'ylah that he said, "we went in to Omar on the day of the festival,* and the people were greeting him, and saying, "the Lord be propitious unto us and unto thee O prince of the Faithful," and he returned it to them and did not disapprove their conduct. I remark that this is an excellent precedent for a congratulatory salutation for *the day of* the festival, and for the year and for the month. He records also from Ju'únah, that Omar gave A'mr-b-Ḳays as Sakúni the command of an expedition *against the Greeks* and said, "receive graciously those among them that do good and forgive those of them that do evil—and be not the foremost among them, lest thou be slain, nor yet the hindermost lest thou appear cowardly, but be in the middle so that thy place may be seen and thy voice heard." And from Sáib-b-Muḥammad, that A'bdu'l Jarraḥ-b-A'bdi'llah wrote to Omar, *saying*, "verily the people of Khurasán are a race whose community is unruly and verily nothing will mend them but the sword and the scourge, therefore if the prince of the Faithful see fit to permit their use to me?" And Omar wrote, "now, verily thy letter hath reached me, saying, that the people of Khurasán are a community that are unruly, and that nothing will mend them but the sword and the scourge, but in truth thou hast

* By the term Eed is meant one of the two principal religious festivals of the Muslims. Eed u'l Adha (festivals of the victims) held on the 10th of Du'l Hijjah or the Eed ul Fitr the festival of the breaking of the fast after the Ramádhán.

A. H. 99. spoken falsely for justice will mend them and truth—therefore spread
A. D. 717. these amongst them and peace *be to thee.*" And from Umayyah-b-Zayd, of the Ḳuraysh that he said, "when Omar dictated his correspondence to me, he would say, 'O God I fly to thee for protection from the evil of my tongue.'" And from Ṣaliḥ-b-Jubayr that he said, "I have often times discoursed with Omar on a subject and he would get wroth and I would say—'it is written in a book,—fear the wrath of a youthful king and be gentle with him until his anger departeth;' and he would say to me afterwards, 'let not what thou seest in me, O Ṣáliḥ, hinder thee from recurring to the subject with me when thou seest it *fit.*'" And from A'bdu'l Ḥakím-b-Muḥammad al Makhzúmi that Jarír-b-u'l Khaṭafi went before Omar and was about to recite *poetry* when Omar checked him, but he said "indeed I am about to make mention of the Apostle of God." Omar replied—"well if it be the Apostle of God, then mention him"—and Jarír went on.

Verily He who sent the prophet Muḥammad
Hath conferred the Caliphate on a just prince,
Who hath restored extortions with exactness to their just owners
From their unrighteousness, and made straight the erring of the deviator.
Verily I seek of thee a present bounty
For the heart clings to the love of the present.

Omar said to him "I find nothing due to you in the book of God," He replied, "yes, O prince of the Faithful—verily I am a wayfarer." He therefore ordered him fifty dínárs from his privy purse.

It is recorded in the Ṭúyyúriyát that Ḥaríz-b-Othmán a'r Raḥbi went in with his father to Omar who asked the latter regarding his son, and then said, "teach him the great science." He answered, "and what is the great science?" Omar replied, "contentment, and abstaining from molesting *others.*" Ibn Abi Ḥátim records from Muḥammad-b-Kaa'b al Karadhi that he narrates, "Omar, summoned me and said, 'define justice to me.' I said, 'well, thou askest regarding a momentous thing—be to the little ones among men as their father—to the great as their son—to your equals among them as a brother and the same towards women, and punish men according to the degree of their faults and the measure of their bodily *endurance*, and strike not, be sure, a single blow of a scourge in anger lest thou exceed *justice* and be of those who oppress.'"

Abdu'r Razzáḳ records in his Musannaf from az Zuhri that Omar used to make his ablutions after *eating* anything that had touched the fire, so that he would make his ablutions after *eating* sugar. And from Wuhayb that Omar said, "he who considers his words as a part of his actions will be sparing of his conversation."

Ad Ḍahabi says that Ghaylán* professed a denial of predestination during the Caliphate of Omar, who sought to make him abjure, wherefore he said, "verily I was in error but thou hast directed me aright." Omar exclaimed, "O God—if he be sincere, forgive him, otherwise crucify him and cut off his hands and feet." And his prayer concerning him took effect, for he was seized in the Caliphate of Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Malik and his limbs were cut off and he was crucified at Damascus for the denial of predestination. Some other author says that the Banu Umayyah used to vilify A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib in the Khuṭbah, and when Omar ruled, he abolished this and wrote to his prefects to discontinue it, and he read in its place "verily God commandeth justice and the doing of good." (Kur. XVI) and the rest of the verse, and the reading of this has continued to this day. A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

Al Ḳáli says in his Dictations on the authority of Aḥmad-b-Ubayd that Omar before his Caliphate versified.

"Restrain thy heart from love
And from subservience to passion,
For by the life of thy Lord, verily in
The greyness of thy head and its baldness
Is an admonisher if thou canst
Take warning as he is admonished who is wise.
Till how long wilt thou not forbear?
Till how long and how long!
After thou hast been called of mature age
Dost thou still snatch at the náme of youth!
Youth is worn out and thou
If thou live, will be a hostage to calamity.
That sufficeth as an admonisher
To a man from wandering astray."

At Tha'álabi says in the Laṭáif u'l Ma'árif (Curiosities of Knowledge) that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb, Othmán, A'li, Marwán-b-u'l Ḥakam and Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz were bald, and after that, baldness ceased *to be seen* among the Caliphs. Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár says that a poet said of Fáṭimah, daughter of A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán and wife of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz.

Daughter of a Caliph—a Caliph her grandsire,
Sister of Caliphs and her husband a Caliph."

* Ghaylán of Damascus according to Sale, (p. 112) together with Mábad al Juhni and Jonas al Aswári, broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination shortly after the rise of the first heresy in Islám, that of the Khárijites under the Caliphate of A'li. Their opinions were followed by Wásil-b-A'ta the founder of the Mu'atazalites.

A H. 99. He continues "no other woman but herself can claim in her behalf this
A. D. 717. verse up to my time," and I add up to mine.

His sickness and death.

Ayúb states that it was said to Omar A'bdu'l A'zíz, "if thou wert to go to Medína and wert to die there, thou wouldst be buried in the place of the fourth grave with the Apostle of God." He replied, "by Allah, that the Lord should chastise me with every torture save hell-fire, would be preferable to me than that the Lord should conceive that I deemed myself worthy of that place." Walíd-b-Hishám says that it was said to Omar in his sickness, "wilt thou not get thyself a remedy?" He answered—"verily I knew the moment in which I was given to drink *poison*, and if my cure were but to touch the lobe of my ear or were I brought a perfume which I had only to raise to my nose, I would not do it." U'bayd-b-Ḥasán narrates that when Omar was on the point of death, he said *to those present*—"depart from me," and Maslamah and Fáṭimah sat down by the door and they heard him saying, "welcome these faces that are not the faces of men or genii." Then he said, "as to this future mansion *of paradise*," (Kur. XXVIII) and the rest of the verse: then the sound grew faint, and they went in and found him dead. Hishám says that when the news of Omar's death went abroad, Ḥasan al Baṣri said, "the best of men is dead:" and Khálid ar Ribi'í, "I find in the Pentateuch that the heavens and the earth shall weep over Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz for forty mornings." Yusuf-b-Máhak says, "while we were levelling the earth over the grave of Omar, lo! there fell upon us a scroll of parchment from the sky in which was *written*, 'In the name of God the most Merciful, the Compassionate. Immunity from God for Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz from hell-fire.'"

Ka'tádah narrates that Omar wrote to the heir who was to succeed him, "In the name of God the most Merciful the Compassionate."

From Omar-b-Abdi'l Azíz, to Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Mallik.

"Peace be to thee! Verily I glorify God unto thee, besides whom there is no other God. And now, verily, I write *to thee*, being nigh unto death through my sickness, and insooth I know that I shall be questioned regarding the things that I have governed, the King of this world and the next taking account of me concerning it, and I am unable to hide from him a tittle of my deeds. If therefore He be content with me verily I shall be happy and shall escape from enduring contempt, but if He be displeased with me, then woe unto me for that which I shall become. I ask of God, of Him besides whom there is no other God, to save me

through His mercy from hell-fire and to vouchsafe unto me His approbation and Paradise. Let the fear of God be upon thee—and the people—the people—*be thy care*, for verily thou will remain after me but a little while." (Abu Nua'ym has given all this with their ascriptions in the Ḥuliyah). A. H. 99. A. D. 717.

Omar died at Dayr-Sima'án, in the district about Emessa* on the 20th or as some say the 25th of Rajab of the year 101 (5th or 10th February 720), he being at that time thirty-nine years and six months old. His death was caused by poison. The Banu Ummayyah hated him on account of his severity to them and his confiscating from them much that they had plundered. He neglected to take precautions and they gave him poison to drink. Mujáhid narrates, "Omar said to me, 'what do people say about me?' I replied 'they say thou art disordered in mind' He replied, 'I am not disorderd in mind: verily, I knew the moment in which they gave me *poison* to drink.' Then be summoned one of his slaves and said —'alas! for thee—what brought thee to give me poison to drink?' He replied, 'one thousand dinars that I was given and *the promise* that I should be liberated.' Omar said, 'bring them here.' Mujahid adds that he brought them and Omar put them into the public treasury and said to him, 'go that no one may see thee.'"

Among people of note who died in Omar's reign were, Abu Imámah-b-Sahl-b-Ḥunayf, Khárijah-b-Zayd-b-Thábit, Salim-b-Abi'l Jaa'd, Busr-b-Sa'íd,† Abu Othmán an Naḥdi, and Abu's Saḥá.

YAZÍD-B-A'BDI'L MALIK.

Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-i'l Ḥakam, Abu Khálid, of the house of Umayyah, a native of Damascus, was born in the year 71 and ruled the Caliphate in succession to Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, according to the covenant of his brother Sulaymán, as hath gone before. A'bdur Raḥman-b-Zayd-b-Aslam says that when Yazíd ruled he said *to the people* "take as your rule of life, the conduct of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz;" and there were brought to him forty Shaykhs and they testified to him, *saying*—"for the Caliphs there is neither *a day of* reckoning nor punishment."

* Yaḳúṭ says Damascus: it is probably somewhere between those two towns. Another of the same name was in Mount Lebanon and a third near Antioch. Sima'án is Simon, and Yakúṭ says that the convent was named, it is supposed, after Simon Peter, "one of the great doctors of the Christians!"

† Ibn u'l Athír, says Buṣr-b-Saa'd. The name Abu's Saḥa is probably wrong—I have never met a name of the kind and, it is not mentioned in the Kámil. Abu Sáliḥ Zakwán died in the time of Omar and also Abu Sáliḥ Samán.

32

A. H. 101. A. D. 720. When Omar died, Yázid exclaimed, "by Allah, Omar was not more in need of the Lord than I,"—and for forty days he continued to follow the example of Omar, and then abandoned it. (Ibn u'l Májishún). When Omar was on the point of death, he wrote to Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik *saying*, "peace be to thee! now, verily I do not see myself other than what I am—I commend to thee in God's name the people of Muḥammad—for verily thou wilt leave the world to one who will not praise thee, and wilt go unto One who will not hold thee excused—and peace *be to thee!*" (Sulaym-b-Bashír.)

In the year 102 Yazíd-b-u'l Muhallab rebelled against the Caliphate, and Muslamah-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-Marwán was despatched against him, and Yazíd was defeated and slain, and that at A'kr* a place near Karbalá. Al Kalbi says, "I was a youth when people used to say that the Banu Umayyah slaughtered religion on the day of Karbalá and clemency† on the day of A'kr. Yazíd died towards the end‡ of Shaa'bán in the year 105 (28th January 724).

Of people of note who died during his reign were, ad Dḥahhák-b-Muzáḥim, A'di-b-Arṭáh, Abu'l Mutawakkil an Náji, A'ṭá-b-Yasár, Mujáhid, Yahya-b-Wathláb the Ḳurán reader of Kúfah, Khalíd-b-Maa'dan as Shaa'bi the scholar of Iráḳ, A'bdur Raḥmán-b-Ḥassan-b-Thábit, Abu Ḳilábah al Jarmi, Abú Burdah-b-Abi Músa al Asha'ri, and others.

HISHÁM-B-A'BDI'L MALIK.

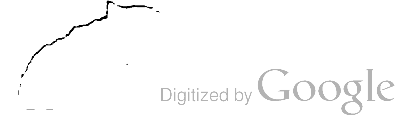
Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Malik, Abu'l Walíd was born after the year 70§ and succeeded to the Caliphate according to the covenant of his brother Yazíd. Muṣaa'b az Zubayrí says that A'bdu'l Malik had a dream regarding which he questioned Sa'íd-b-u'l Musayyab, who interpreted it *to mean* that four of the issue of his loins would bear sway. Hishám was the last of these. He was discreet and wise. He would never allow any money to enter his treasury until forty people had testified upon oath that it had

* The printed edition has A'kír which is incorrect.

† By the Caliph's orders 300 Iráḳian prisoners were put to death at Kúfah. This inhumanity was not however confined to one side, for Mu'áwiyah, Yazíd's son, according to Weil, on leaving Wásit slaughtered 32 of the prisoners he had taken. Among them A'di-b-Arṭah and his son. See Weil, Gesch, Caliph, and Ibn Khall, who has a long article on Yazíd-b-Muhallab. The family of Muhallab were as celebrated under the Umayyads for generosity as the Barmekides under the house of A'bbás.

‡ On the 25th according to Ibn u'l Athír.

§ In the year 72 according to Ibn u'l Athír.



been rightfully exacted, and that to every just claimant had been given his due. A. H. 105. A. D. 724.

A man once addressed Hishám abusively, and he said to him, "O such a one, it doth not befit thee to revile thy Caliph." And once he was wroth with a man and said—"by Allah, verily I intended to scourge thee!" (Al Aṣma'i.) Saḥbal-b-Muḥammad says, "I never saw one of the Caliphs to whom *the shedding* of blood was more hateful and upon whom it was more grievous, than Hishám." It is recorded on Hishám's authority that he said, "there is not one remaining of the pleasures of the world, but I have enjoyed it, save one—a friend regarding whom I can dispense with the trouble of being vigilant concerning what is between me and him."

When Hishám built ar Rusáfah* near Ḳinnisrín, he desired to retire there for one day during which no care should approach him, but the day was not half spent when there floated towards him a feather covered with blood from some part of the frontier and was borne to him, and he exclaimed, "not a single day!"

It is said that the following line is his and no other of his is recorded.

"If thou dost not rebel against concupiscence, it will lead thee
To what will occasion evil speaking against thee.

He died in Rabíi'† u'l Ákhir of the year 125. (6th February 743).

In the year 107 of his reign Ḳaysaríyah in Asia Minor‡ was taken by the sword.

In the year 108 Khanjarah§ was taken by al Baṭṭál the famous hero.

In the year 112 Kharshanah|| near Malaṭíyah was captured.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of Hishám, were, Sálim-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Omar, Ṭaús, Salaymán-b-Yasár, I'kramah Mawla of Ibn

* About four parasangs west of Rakkah towards the desert. He built it when the plague desolated Syria and used to reside in it during the summer. One of Yaḳúṭ's authorities (Ibn Buṭlan) asserts it to have been originally a fort built of stone in which was a large Christian Church built by Constantine the son of Helena. Beneath the Church was a cistern on marble pillars paved with marble and full of rain water. The people living in its neighbourhood were mostly Bedouin Christians. The word Rasafah رصفة signifies a dam constructed for the purpose of obstructing or retaining water—hence the place was so called after the cistern in the fort, no other water nearer than the river Euphrates being procurable.

† On the 6th according to Weil.

‡ Yaḳuṭ spells this word قيسارية and not قيصرية as in the text.

§ The printed edition and MS. both have Hanjarah. Yaḳuṭ does not give it, but names Khanjarah as a portion of the Grecian territory. Abdullah al Baṭṭál was one of the Generals of Mu'áwiyah-b-Hishám who commanded the troops in Asia Minor. In 739-al Baṭṭál was defeated in one of his expeditions and slain. See Weil, p. 638, Vol. 1, and Ibn ul Athír for the year A. H. 122.

|| Harsanah in the printed edition and MS. but Ibn u'l Athir and Yaḳuṭ make it Kharshanah.

A. H. 125. A'bbás, al Kásim-b-Muhammad-b-Abí Bakr i's Siddík, Kuthay the poet
A. D. 743. *lover of* A'zza, Muhammad-b-Kasl-al Karadhi,* al Hasan al Basri, Muhammad-b-Sirín, Abu't T'ufayl A'ámir-b-Wáthilah the last of the Companions, Jarír, Farazdak, A'tíyah al A'úfi, Mu'áwiyah-b-Kurrah, Makhúl, A'tá-b-Abi Rabáh, Abu Jaa'far al Bákir, Wahab-b-Munabbih, Sukaynah daughter of al Husayn, al A'a'raj, Katádah, Náfi Mawla-b-Omar, Ibn A'ámir the Kurán reader of Syria, Ibn Kathír Kurán reader of Mecca, Thábit al Bunáni, Málik-b-Dínár, Ibn Muhayyasah† the Kurán reader, Ibn Shiháb az Zuhri, and others.

Among the narratives concerning Hishám, Ibn Asákir records on the authority of Ibrahim-b-Abi A'ylah that he said, "Hishám desired to place me over the finances of Egypt, but I declined and he grew wroth so that his countenance was agitated and there was a fierceness in his eye, and he cast upon me a forbidding look and said, 'thou shalt assuredly take charge willingly or against thy will;' but I restrained myself from speaking till his anger had calmed down, and I said, 'prince of the Faithful, may I speak?' He replied, 'yes.' I said, 'verily God hath spoken in His glorious Book, "we proposed the faith unto the heavens and the earth and the mountains and they refused to undertake the same &c." (Kur XXXIII now, by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, He was not wroth with them when they were loth, and I do not deserve that thou shouldst be angered against me because I refused, or that thou shouldst force me when I am unwilling'—and he laughed and forgave me." And from Khálid-b-Safwán‡ that he said, "I visited Hishám and he said, 'say, what is it? O son of Safwán,'—I began—one of the kings set forth on a pleasure excursion to al Khaurnak,§ and he was a man of wisdom as well as of wealth and power, and he looked round and said to his, courtiers—'unto, whom doth this belong'? and

* Ibn u'l Athír writes this name Kurti قرطي. but Ibn Khall confirms the reading of the text; al Karadhi signifies a dealer in Karadh. قرظ the leaf of the salam tree used in tanning. See Ibn Khall, De, S. Vol. 3, p. 373.

† Not Muhayyasan as in the text. See Ibn u'l Athir for the spelling of this name, under the year 113 A. H.

‡ His father was the chief of the Banu Tamím and a great orator. Khálid was equally distinguished in his oratory and his avarice and his frequent divorces. No night, he used to say, was so pleasant as the one wherein he had dismissed his wives. Ibn Kutaybah K. M.

§ This was an Nua'mán-b-Imr u'l Kays-b-A'di descended from Kahtán—the palace of Khaurnak built by him was near Kúfah. It was designed by a Greek called Sinimmár and finished in sixty years. The architect was thrown from its summit by order of Nua'mán for boasting that by the removal of a secret part of the masonry the building would fall. The story in the text is given much the same in Yakút.

they said—'unto the king.' He exclaimed, 'have ye seen any who hath been favoured as I have been favoured?'" Now there was with him one of the most excellent of those versed in lore and he said, "verily thou hast enquired regarding a certain matter—dost thou give me leave to reply?" The king answered, "yes." He said,—"hast thou regarded the condition in which thou art? is it a thing in which thou wilt continue or rather a thing which hath come to thee by inheritance, and which shall pass from thee to another as it hath come to thee?" He answered—"such is the case." He continued, "dost thou then pride thyself on a trifling thing which thou dost possess but for a short time and from which thou must sever for a time that will endure, and *of which* account will be demanded of thee?" The king exclaimed, "alas! then—where is there a refuge and where a haven of retreat?" and a cold shudder seized him. The other said, "either thou must continue in thy sovereignty and act in obedience to God in regard to what displeaseth or gratifieth thee, or thou must relinquish thy kingdom and lay down thy crown and cast from thee thy worn garments and worship thy Lord." He answered, "I will reflect to-night and will go to thee in the morning." And when it was morning, he knocked at his door and said, "I have chosen this mountain and these solitudes and have put on my garments of sackcloth, and if thou wilt be my companion—do not deny me." And they dwelt upon the mountain until they died—

A. H. 125.
A. D. 743.

A'ḍi-b-Zayd-b-Ḥammád* says on this subject:

"O thou who rejoicest at other's affliction and scoffest
At fortune! art thou exempt and perfect?
Or hast thou a firm covenant with time?
Nay! thou art an arrogant fool!
Whom hast thou seen whom Death hath suffered to endure?
Or who hath over him a defender to save him from being wronged?
Where is Khuṣrau—king of kings—father of
Sasan, and where Sabúr before him?
And the fair† illustrious race, monarchs
Of Rúm? no mention of them remains.
And the Lord of Hadhr‡ when he founded it and when

* Not al Himár as in the text. He was a poet of the time of Ignorance. He and his family professed the Christian religion. For his life consult Kitáb u'l Aghání. Tom. II. p. 18, and the Journal Asiatique for November '38.

† Called also Banu'l A'ṣfar from A'ṣfar, son of Rúm, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. See Lane, for other derivations of this word.

‡ Between Mosul and Takrít. The name of a certain king Saṭírún is connected with this city's early history—it was built of cut stone and was of great magnificence which is still attested, according to Yaḳúṭ, by the remnants of its ruined walls. It afterwards fell into the possession of a chief called Dhayzan and being built under

A. H. 125.
A. D. 743.

The Tigris and the Khabúr went back towards it—
He built it strongly of marble and covered it with cement,
And now birds have their nests in its pinnacles.
Death hath not respected him and perished
Hath his kingdom, and his gate is deserted.
And remember the Lord of Khaurnak the day
That he gazed from an eminence and be the memory a guide to thee!
His wealth gladdened him and the plenty
That he possessed—and the river lay before him and Sadír.*
And his heart repented and he said,
What is the happiness of a creature that is about to die?
And after prosperity and empire and dominion
The graves have concealed them there,
And they become like unto a withered leaf
That the east and west winds whirl away."

The narrator continues, "and Hishám wept until his beard was wet, and he commanded his two daughters to take up his couch and he secluded himself† in his palace. And his servants and his retinue went to Khálid-b-Ṣafwán and said, 'what hast thou desired with the prince of the Faithful? thou hast ruined his happiness.' He replied, 'begone from me—I have verily made a covenant with God, that I would never be alone with a king, but I would remind him of the Most High.'"

AL WALI'D-B-YAZI'D-B-A'BDI'L MALIK.

Al Walíd-b-Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-Marwán-b-i'l Ḥakam,—the profligate Caliph, Abu'l A'bbás was born in the year 90. When his father was on the point of death, he was unable to appoint him successor as he was but a child; he therefore covenanted for his brother Hishám, and named him heir after Hishám. He assumed the government on the death of Hishám in Rabii' u'l A'khir in the year 125. He was a libertine and a wine-drinker and a breaker of the divine commands. He wished to make

talismanic influence, it could not be taken save by the breaking of the spell. For the story consult Yaḳút. The heroine was the daughter of Dhazan, who had been so delicately nurtured that a crumpled myrtle leaf disturbed her sleep. Ibn Khall says that Satírún and Dhazan were the same person. See under "*art*" Muḥammad-b-Jábir.

* A river near Hírah—also a palace built near Khaurnak by Nu'amán the Great for a Persian king—consult Yaḳút.

† For لَزَمَ read لُزِمَ I believe the text here to be corrupt. The MS. has امر بابنتيه و ضم فرشه و لذم قصرة

the pilgrimage in order that he might drink upon the summit of the Kaa'bah. A. H. 126.
The people abhorred him for his profligacy, and rose up against him and A. D. 744.
he was slain on (27th) Jumáda'l Ákhirah of the year 126. (16th April 744).

It is recorded on his authority that when he was besieged he said to the people, "have not I increased your largesses? Have not I removed your grievances? Have not I given unto the poor among ye?" They replied, "we do not reproach thee for ourselves, but we find fault with thee for thy transgressions against the prohibitions of God, and the drinking of wine and marriage with the concubines of thy father who have borne children to him, and thy contempt for the commands of the Lord." And when he was slain and his head was cut off and taken to Yazíd an Náḳiṣ, he placed it on a spear, and his brother Sulaymán-b-Yazíd looking upon it said—"away with it—I testify that he was a wine-drinker, licentious and profligate and he sought to seduce me into immorality."

Al Mu'áfa al Jaríri* says, "I have collected some particulars regarding the life of al Walíd and his verses which contain the wickedness he committed through his folly and weakness of mind and the heresies he openly expressed regarding the Ḳurán, and impiety towards God." Ad Ḍahabi observes that the impiety and atheism of al Walíd are not clearly established, but he was notorious for drinking and profligacy, and for that reason they rebelled against him.

Mention of al Walíd was once made in the *presence* of al Mahdi and a man said that he was an atheist, and al Mahdi replied, "go to, the Vicegerency of God in his charge is too sublime *an office* that He should have given it to an atheist." Al Walíd was one of the most comely of men as well as one of the most violent and he was among the most polished of poets. Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah az Zuhri was always reviling al Walíd and finding fault with him to Hishám, and saying, "it is not lawful for thee *to do other* than put him aside," but Hisham was not able to do so, and if az Zuhri had lived until al Walíd reigned, the latter would have put him to death. (Abu'z Zinád.)

Hisham desired to put aside al Walíd and bestow the succession upon his son, but al Walíd said,

Thou hast been ungrateful for the favours of *thy* benefactor—wert thou but thankful
The most Merciful would requite thee with favour and bounty.
I have seen that thou hast planned industriously to set me aside,

* Probably Abu Ma'súd al Mu'áfa-b-Imrán, a native of Mosul of the tribe of Azd, who studied jurisprudence under Sufyán at Thauri. He was remarkable for his learning and piety, died A. H. 184. I. K. De Slane.

A. H. 126. If thou wert wise, thou wouldst annul what thou has designed.
A. D. 744. I behold thee working enmity upon those that remain,
Happy for them wert thou to die from the evil thou workest!
I am as one among them to-day, while their frequent exclamation is
O would that we had been in happier circumstances* or that thou hadst never lived.

(ad Ḍhakhák-b-Othmán).

Ḥammád ar Ráwíyah narrates, "I was one day with al Walíd and two astrologers came in to him and said, 'we have looked into what thou hast commanded us, and we have found that thou wilt reign for seven years. I was desirous,' continues Ḥammad, 'to deceive him so I said falsely—"I too am learned in signs and the systems of knowledge, and verily I have looked into this and have found that thou wilt reign forty years." And he looked down in thought and then said, 'what they have declared will not afflict nor what thou hast said, make me over-confident. By Allah, I will assuredly gather in the revenue lawfully like unto the gathering of him who was to live forever, and I will surely disburse it according to its just claims, as he would disburse it who was to die to-morrow.' "

In the Musnad of Aḥmad verily there hath come down a tradition—"there shall be over this people, a man called al Walíd; he will assuredly be more hard upon this people than Pharaoh upon his subjects."

Ibn Fadḥli'llah says in the Masálik (Ways).† "Al Walíd was an inexorable tyrant, a title that does not wrong him—a path which he trod, but which did not guide him aright—the Pharaoh of this transitory age—of this world filled with calamities. He will come at the day of resurrection at the head of his tribe, bringing them into hell-fire and delivering them over to shame. Miserable the station where they alight—and hateful their place of return on that plain of assemblage. He hath shot arrows at the holy Book, and hath been licentious and hath not feared‡ sins."

As Súli records on the authority of Sa'íd-b-Salím that Ibn Míyádah repeated to al Walíd the verse of his in which he says:

"You have surpassed the Kuraysh, save the family of Muḥammad
Save the Banu Marwán, the eminent.

* I read with the MS. خير. Of the word حين in the printed edition, I can make no sense.

† مسالک الابصار في اخبار ملوک الامصار. Viœ oculorum de historia principum magnarum urbium—in twenty folios by Shiháb-úddin Aḥmad-b-Yahya-b-Muḥammad, al Kirmáni, a'd Dimishḳi, as Sháfi'i known as Ibn Fadhli'llah, died 749 (1348). A supplement to this work was written by the author's son. Haj. Khal.

‡ It may be also translated—"hath not concealed his sins"—according as the verb may be taken from the root خوف or خفى

Al Walíd said to him, "I see that thou hast put before us the family of Muhammad." He replied, "I do not think it is lawful to do otherwise." And this Ibn Míyádah is he who says of al Walíd also in his long poem.— A. H. 126. A. D. 744.

"I purposed to say a true speech,
And verily I shall say it in spite of enemies.
I have seen al Walíd the son Yazíd blessed,
His shoulders strong under the burdens of the Caliphate."

YAZÍD-AN-NÁḲIṢ-B-U'L WALÍD.

Yazíd the Retrencher, Abú Khálid-b-u'l Walíd-b-Abdi'l Malik was surnamed the Retrencher because he cut down the allowances to the troops. He usurped the Caliphate and slew his nephew al Walíd and took possession of the government. His mother was Shahfarand daughter of Firúz son of Yazdajird, and the mother of Fírúz was daughter of Shirúyah son of Khusrau, and the mother of Shírúyah was daughter of Kháḳán the Turkish chief and the grandmother of Fírúz was the daughter of the Roman Emperor—for this reason Yazíd says boastingly :

"I am the son of Khusrau, my ancestor was Marwán
Cæsar was my grandsire and my grandsire was Khaḳán."

At Tha'álabi says that he was the most noble in descent on both sides as well in regard to the monarchy as the Caliphate, and when he had put al Walíd to death he stood up to preach and said, "now verily, by Allah, I have not rebelled out of insolence or ingratitude, nor seeking after worldly advantage, nor aiming at sovereignty and verily I have been but an oppressor unto my own soul if the Lord have not mercy upon me—but I came forward out of zeal for God and His religion as a summoner to His Book and the laws of his prophet, at a time when the banners of right guidance were defaced, the light of piety extinguished and a tyrant appeared making lawful, things that are forbidden and indulging in heretical innovations.* And when I beheld that, I feared that a darkness had come over ye which would not be removed for the multitude of your transgressions and the hardness of your hearts,—and I feared lest he should seduce many of the people to follow his course, and that they would consent, wherefore I asked of the Lord a blessing upon my purpose, and I summoned those of my family and under my authority who obeyed my call, and the Lord freed the people and the cities from him by the jurisdiction that is from God and there is no power or strength but from God. O ye people!

* He himself was a Mua'tazalite. See Masa'údi.

A. H. 126. A. D. 744. verily I promise ye, if I rule your affairs, that I shall not lay a brick upon a brick, nor a stone upon a stone, nor carry away revenue from any city until I have fortified its frontier and expended for its welfare what will suffice to make ye secure, and if any balance should remain, I will transfer it to the city that is next to it, in order that the means of subsistence may be duly provided for, and that you may all be on an equality therein. If therefore ye desire to swear allegiance to me on the conditions I have proposed, I am yours, and if I deviate *from my word*, allegiance to me will not be binding upon ye. And if ye see any one more capable than I am for this authority, and ye desire to make a covenant with him then I will be the first to swear him allegiance and ask pardon of God for myself and for ye."*

Othmán-b-Abi'l A'átikah says that the first Caliph who came forth armed on the two festivals was Yazíd-b-u'l Walíd: he came forth then between two ranks of armed horsemen from the gate of the fort to the place of prayer.

And on the authority of Abu Othmán al Laythi, that Yazíd said, "O children of Umayyah, beware of singing, for it lessens shame, increases concupiscence and destroys manliness and indeed it takes the place of wine and doth that which intoxicating liquor effects, but if needs be that ye do it, then restrain your women therefrom, for song is an incentive to incontinence."

Ibn A'bdi'l Ḥakam narrates, "I have heard as Sháfi'í say that when Yazíd assumed the government, he summoned the people to deny predestination and seduced them to it and honoured the followers of Ghaylán. Yazíd did not long enjoy the Caliphate but died in the same year on the 7th of D'u'l Hijjah:† thus his Caliphate lasted not quite six months, he being thirty-five years old, some say forty-six. It is said he died of the plague."

IBRAHI'M-B-U'L WALI'D-B-A'BDI'L MALIK.

Ibrahím-b-u'l Walíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik was acknowledged Caliph after the death of his brother Yazíd an Náḳiṣ who as some say made a testament in his favor, while others assert that he did not. Burd-b-Sinán narrates, "I was with Yazíd-b-u'l Walíd when he was on the point of death, and Ḳaṭan‡ came to him and said, 'I am a messenger from those who are

* This discourse is translated by Weil from Tabari and it is given by Ibn u'l Athír. They differ slightly, but much less so from each other than either of them from the text of as Suyúṭi.

† According to Weil the end of that month.

‡ Perhaps Ḳaṭan-b-Mudrik al Ḳilábi governor of Baṣrah.



behind thy gate asking of thee in the name of God's justice why thou hast A. H. 126.
appointed over their affairs thy brother Ibrahím.' But he grew wroth A. D. 744.
and said 'I appoint Ibrahím?'—then he said *to me* 'O father of the learned, whom dost thou think that I should appoint?' I replied, 'I shall not counsel thee regarding the conclusion of what I warned thee against entering upon.' Then a faintness came over him so that I thought that he was dead. Then Ḳaṭan sat down and forged a testamentary document *as if* from the dictation of Yazíd and summoned some people and asked them to bear witness to it—but no, by Allah, Yazíd made no testament at all."

Ibrahím continued in the Caliphate seventy days* and was then deposed, for Marwán-b-Muḥammad set forth against him *and* received the covenant of allegiance and Ibrahím fled. Afterwards he came and abdicated the government and resigned it to Marwán and voluntarily swore him allegiance and Ibrahím lived after that till the year 132 and he was killed among those of the Banu Ummayyah who were slain in the massacre perpetrated by as Saffáḥ.

It is related in the history of Ibn A'sákir that Ibrahím heard traditions from az Zuhri and narrated them on the authority of his paternal uncle Hishám, and his son Yáḳúb recited them from him. His mother was a slave concubine,† and he was the brother of Marwán u'l Ḥimár by his mother. His deposal took place on Monday the 14th of Ṣafar in the year 127 (23rd November 744). Al Madáini says that his authority was never completely established, one party acknowledging him as Caliph and another acknowledging his temporal government, and another refusing altogether to swear him allegiance, and one of the poets of that time has said—

We swear Ibrahím‡ allegiance every Friday—
Verily a government must perish that hath thee for its ruler.

It has been said by some one that the impression on his signet ring was, "Ibrahím relies upon God!"

* Lit. nights, but the word ليل is often used to signify a period of twenty-four hours counted from the sunset of one day to the sunset of the next.

† Umm-Walad, signifies a slave who has borne a child to her master. After she has become a mother, she can no longer be sold, and is considered as married to her master though no marriage ceremony may have been performed.

‡ For تبايع ابراهيم of the text, I read with Masa'údi, نبايع ابراهيم.

A. H. 127.
A. D. 744.

MARWÁN AL ḤIMÁR.

Marwán the Ass, Abu A'bdu'l Malik-b-Muḥammad-b-Marwán-bi'l Ḥakam was the last of the Caliphs of the Banú Umayyah. He was surnamed al Jaa'di after his preceptor al Jaa'd-b-Dirham,* and the Ass, because he was never weary of fighting those who rose up against him, and he would make march after march and was patient under the hardships of war. It is a proverbial expression—"such a one is more patient than an ass in war," and for that reason he was so named. Another reason given is, that the Arabs name every hundred years an ass, and when the rule of the Banú Umayyah was nigh upon a hundred years, they called Marwán the Ass, on that account.

Marwán was born in Mesopotamia of which his father was administrator in the year 72 and his mother was a slave concubine. Before his Caliphate he had the government of several important prefectures and took Iconium in the year 105. He was famed for his horsemanship, intrepidity, manliness, sagacity and recklessness. When al Walíd was slain and the news reached him, he being in Armenia, he summoned such of the Muslims as approved him, to do him allegiance, and they swore fealty to him. As soon as he heard of the death of Yazíd, he disbursed sums of money and set out and fought Ibrahím and put him to flight. Marwán was then acknowledged Caliph and that occurred in the middle of Ṣafar in the year 127 and his authority was firmly established.

The first thing he did was to command the exhuming of Yazíd an Náḳiṣ, and he took him out of his grave and crucified him for his murder of al Walíd. However he found little repose in the Caliphate on account of the number of those that rose against him on every side up to the year 132. Then the Banú A'bbás rebelled against him, and at their head A'bdu'llah-b-A'li, the paternal uncle of as Saffáḥ. He set out to engage them, and the two armies met near Mosul. Marwán was routed and he returned to Syria, but A'bdu'llah followed him and Marwán fled to Egypt. Ṣáliḥ, the brother of A'bdu'llah pursued him and they met at the village of Búṣír† and Marwán was slain in Ḍu'l Hijjah of the same year. (5th August 750.)

* Ibn u'l Athír says that Jaa'd had the reputation of being an atheist, and he indoctrinated Marwán with his own heresies, teaching the creation of the Ḳurán and the denial of predestination.

† Four several places all in Egypt—says Gibbon bore the name of Busir or Busiris, so famous in Greek fable. The first where Marwán was slain to the west of the Nile in the province of Fium or Arsinoe, the second in the Delta, the third near the Pyramids, the fourth, which was destroyed by Diocletian, in the Thebais. Chap XII, Decline and Fall.

Of people of note who died during his reign were, as Suddi, the A. H. 132.
elder, Málik-b-Dínár, the ascetic, A'ásim-b-Abi'n Najúd, the Ḳurán reader, A. D. 750.
Yazíd-b-A'bi Ḥabíb, Shaybah-b-Niṣáḥ the Ḳurán reader, Muḥammad-b-u'l Munkadir, Abu Jaa'far Yazíd-b-i'l Ḳa'ḳáa' the Ḳurán reader of Medína, Abu Ayúb as Sikhtiyání, Abu'z Zinád, Ḥammám-b-Munabbih, and Wásil-b-A'tá the Mua'tazalite.

As Ṣúli records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ṣáliḥ, that when Marwán was slain, his head was cut off and sent to A'bdu'llah-b-A'li, who gazed upon it, and it was removed, when a cat came and tore out the tongue and began to gnaw it; whereupon A'bdu'llah-b-A'li said, "if the world had shown us none other of its wonders but the tongue of Marwán in the mouth of a cat, it would have been sufficient for us."

AS SAFFÁḤ,

First Caliph of the House of A'bbás.

As Saffáḥ, the first Caliph of the House of A'bbás, Abú'l A'bbás, A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-A'bbás-b-A'bdi'l Muttalib-b-Háshim, was born in the year 108 (some say 104) at Ḥumaymáh in the district of Balḳá, and there grew to manhood. He was acknowledged Caliph at Kúfah. His mother was Ráiṭah of the tribe of Ḥárith. He related traditions on the authority of Ibrahím-b-Muḥammad the Imám, and his paternal uncle. Isa-b-A'li related them on his. He was younger than his brother al Manṣúr.

Aḥmad records in his Musnad on the authority of Abú Sa'íd al Khudrí that the Apostle of God said, "there shall come forth from the people of my house, after the lapse of time and the appearance of seditions, a man called as Saffáḥ, and it shall come to pass that his largesses of money shall be by handfuls."

U'baydu'llah al A'yshí narrates—"my father relates 'I heard the Shaykhs saying—by Allah, verily the Caliphate hath come to the children of A'bbás, and there is not upon the earth any more learned in the Ḳurán, nor more distinguished for piety nor more devout than they.'" The origin of the authority of the Banú A'bbás was that the Apostle of God told his uncle A'bbás that the Caliphate would descend to his posterity, and his descendants continued in expectation of it (Ibn Jarír at Ṭabari). *The latter relates* from Rishdín-b-Kurayb, that Abú Háshim A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-i'l Ḥanafíyah went to Syria, and met Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-A'bbás and said, "O cousin, verily I have information which I wish to lay before thee, but be sure tell no one of it—verily this authority

A. H. 132. which people hope for, shall be with you." The other replied, "verily
A. D. 750. I was aware of it, but let no one hear of it from thee."

Al Madáini* narrates on the authority of a number of people, that the Imám Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-A'bbás said, "we have three opportunities—the death of Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah, the beginning of the century, and the rupture in Africa. At that time the summoners shall summon *the people* in our behalf, and our allies from the east shall come until their horsemen shall reach the west."

And when Yazíd-b-Abi Muslim was slain in Africa and the Berbers were reduced, Muḥammad the Imám sent a man to Khurásán and commanded him to invite *the people* to approve one of the posterity of Muḥammad and not to name any one. Then he despatched Abú Muslim al Khurásáni and others, and wrote to the principal men who received his letters favourably, but it came to pass that Muḥammad died, leaving the succession to his son Ibrahím. On the news of this reaching Marwán, he imprisoned Ibrahím and put him to death. Ibrahím had bequeathed the succession to his brother A'bdu'llah as Saffáḥ and his followers gathered about him and he was acknowledged as Caliph at Kúfah on the 3rd Rabíi' u'l Awwal in the year 132. He read prayers to the people on the Friday and said in his discourse, "praise be to God who hath chosen Islám for Himself and hath honored it and exalted it and magnified it and hath chosen it for us and strengthened it by us, and made us its people, its asylum and its defence to maintain and protect it." Then he went on to mention the kinship *of the Banu A'bbás alluded to* in the Kurán until he said, "and when the Lord took to Himself His prophet, his companions stood up in authority until the Banu Ḥarb and Marwán usurped it, and they were tyrannous and appropriated every thing to themselves. And God bare with them for a time until they angered Him, wherefore He took vengeance upon them by our hands, and restored unto us our right, that He might be bountiful through us upon those who are outcast† throughout the earth, and He hath ended with us as He began with us and we of the *prophetical* house have no grace but through God. O ye people of Kúfah ye are the seat of our regard and the abiding place of our affection—ye have not been remiss in this, nor hath the rigour of the tyrannous turned ye from it—for ye are the most favored people unto us and of those who most honour us; wherefore verily I have increased your largesses by a

* Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad al Madáini was a Mawla of the family of A'bd Shams-b-A'bd Manáf. He was born A. H. 135 (752-3) and died A. H. 225 (839-40). He was a disciple of the Mua'tazalite doctor Ma'mar-b-u'l Ashath. He wrote upwards of twenty works on Muḥammad and many others biographical and historical treatises. De Slane I. K.

† For استضعفوا read أستضعفوا

hundred *dirhams* each. Therefore be prepared, for I am the justifying shedder of blood and the destroying avenger."* A. H. 132. A. D. 750.

I'sa-b-A'li† when he mentioned their setting out from Ḥumaymah‡ for Kúfah, used to say, "fourteen men departed from their homes, seeking what we sought through the greatness of their resolution, the steadfastness of their hearts."

When news of the allegiance sworn to as Saffáḥ reached Marwán, he set forth to encounter him, but was defeated as hath gone before, and afterwards slain. At the ceremony of allegiance sworn to as Saffáḥ, a countless number§ of the Banu Ummayyah and their followers were put to death and his dominions were firmly settled under his authority to the furthest confines of the West.

Ad Ḍaha'bi says that in his reign the unity of the State was dissolved and all between Tahart and Ṭubnah as far as the Soudán fell from his obedience, as well as the entire kingdom of Spain, and there come forth in these provinces, those‖ who took possession of them, and that so continued.

As Saffaḥ died of small-pox in Ḍu'l Hijjah in the year 136 (9th June 754) bequeathing the succession to his brother Abú Jaa'far. In the year 136 he removed to Anbár and made it the seat of government.

Regarding accounts of as Saffáḥ, S'úli relates among his sayings, "As power becomes great, concupiscence grows less. It is rare that bounty is given unasked but a just claim is destroyed thereby. Verily they are the basest and meanest of men who account avarice prudence, and clemency ignoble. When forbearance is mischievous, to pardon is weakness. Patience is praiseworthy save in what prejudices the faith or renders sovereignty contemptible, and moderation is commendable except at the season of opportunity. As Ṣúli adds that as Saffáḥ was the most generous of men—he never made a promise and delayed its fulfilment at its appointed time, nay he never rose from his seat without performing it.

* This discourse which is here considerably shortened, is given in full by Ibn u'l Athír. During its delivery as Saffaḥ was seized with an attack of fever and sat down. His uncle Dáuúd-b-A'li rose and continued the oration which will be found in the Kámil.

† The uncle of the Caliph al Manṣúr and of as Saffáḥ.

‡ The Kámil has erroneously جهيمة

§ Sulaymán-b-A'li put to death a number of them at Baṣrah, and had their bodies flung to the dogs. Abdu'llah-b-A'li, in Palestine massacred about ninety of them. "The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre, the board was spread over their fallen bodies and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans." The surprising accuracy of Gibbon can only be known to those who consult his authorities. Though the Kámil is not one of them, the above passage is almost a literal translation from it.

‖ The Edrisites of Mauritania and the Fatimites of Africa and Egypt.

A. H. 136. A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥasan once said to him, "I have heard of a million
A. D. 754. dirhams but have never seen them," whereupon he ordered concerning them and they were brought, and he commanded him to take them with him to his house.

As Ṣúli says that the impression on his signet-ring was, "God is the reliance of A'bdu'llah and on Him he confideth." Scarcely any poetry of his has been handed down.

Sa'íd-b-Muslim al Báhilí narrates that A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥasan went in unto as Saffáḥ and the assembly was full of the Banú Háshim and their followers and the chiefs of the people and with him he carried the Ḳurán and he said, "O prince of the Faithful, give us our right which God hath vouchsafed unto us in this book." He replied, "verily thy great-grandfather A'li, who was better than I am and more just, held this authority, and he gave unto thy progenitors al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn somewhat, and it would be but right did I give thee the same, and if I have done that, verily I have given thee thy due, and if I have done more, then this should not be my reward from thee." And A'bdu'llah departed and returned no answer, and the people were astonished, at the reply of as Saffáḥ. Historians say that under the House of A'bbás the unity of Islám was dissolved, and the Arab name lapsed from the registers, and the Turks were installed in public offices and the Daylamites came into power, and afterwards the Turks, and a mighty empire belonged to them, and the dominions of the earth were parcelled out and on every side was a usurper, doing violence to the people and ruling them with tyranny. They say that as Saffáḥ was quick to shed blood and his prefects in the east and west followed his example in that, but withal he was liberal with his wealth.

Of people of note who died in his reign were Zayd-b-Aslam, Abdu'llah-b-Aslam, A'bdu'llah-b-Abí Bakr-b-Ḥazm, Rabíi' ar Ráí,* jurisconsult of Medína; A'bdu'l Malik-b-U'mayr, Yahya-b-Abi Isháḳ al Hadhrami, Abdu'l Ḥamíd the wellknown scribe slain with Marwán at Búṣír, Mansúr-b-u'l Mu'atamir, and Ḥammám-b-Munabbih.'

AL MANṢ'ÚR.

Al Manṣúr Abu Jaa'far, A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-A'bbás (whose mother was Salámah a Berber slave concubine) was born in the year 95 and had known his grandfather but had no traditions from

* Or the Rationalist, so called, because he drew many of his legal decisions from the fourth source of Muḥammadan law, which is entitled Rái (private judgment) or Ḳiyás (analogy). This system was followed by the Ḥanafites who were called Ashábu'r Rái, or Rationalists. See De Slane, I. K. notes to Rabíi' u'r Rái.

him. He narrated them on the authority of his father and A'tá-b-Yasár; and his son, al Mahdi, from him. A. H. 136. A. D. 754.

He was acknowledged Caliph according to the bequest of his brother and was the foremost among the Banú A'bbás in majesty of demeanour, bravery, prudence, judgment and haughtiness—a hoarder of wealth, averse to pastime and frivolity, of cultivated mind, of excellent converse in science and literature and with a natural taste for jurisprudence.

He put a multitude of people to death until his power was established, and it was he who scourged Abu Ḥanífah on account of *his refusal to accept* the office of Ḳáḍhi, and then put him in prison where he died after some days. It is also said that he despatched him by poison because he had passed a judicial sentence authorizing rebellion against him. He was polished in language, eloquent and fluent, well fitted, for governing but excessively avaricious. He was surnamed Abu'd Dawániḳ* on account of his scrutiny of the accounts of intendants and artificers even to fractions of dirhams and grains.

Al Khaṭíb records on the authority of the prophet that he said, "from us shall arise as Saffáḥ and from us al Manṣúr, and from us al Mahdi," (ad Ḍahabi states this to be unacknowledged and its ascription interrupted). He and Ibn A'sákir and others state on the ascription of Sa'íd-b-Jubayr that Ibn A'bbás said, "from us *shall come* as Saffáḥ, from us al Manṣúr and from us al Mahdi." The ascription of this is pronounced by ad Ḍahabi to be sound. Ibn A'sákir records from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri that he narrates, "I heard the apostle of God say, 'from us *shall arise* al Ḳáim, from us al Manṣur, from us as Saffáḥ and from us al Mahdi. As to al Ḳaím, the Caliphate shall come to him, and during his reign not a cupping-glass of blood shall be spilt, as to al Manṣur, his standard shall not be turned back: as to as Saffáḥ, he will lavish treasure and blood and with regard to al Mahdi, he shall fill the Caliphate with justice as it hath been filled with tyranny.'"

And from al Manṣúr, that he said, "I beheld myself as it were in the precincts of the temple and the Apostle of God was in the Kaa'bah the door of which was open and a crier cried out, 'where is A'bdu'llah?' and my brother Abu'l A'bbás arose and stood upon the step and was taken within, and it was not long before he became forth with a spear upon which was a black pennon measuring four cubits. Then there was cried out, 'where is A'bdu'llah?' And I stood upon the step and was made to ascend and lo! there was the Apostle of God and Abu Bakr, Omar and Bilál, and he invested me with authority and commended to me his people, and put on my head a turban, the windings of which were twenty and

* A Dániḳ is the sixth part of a dirham.

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A. H. 136. three and he said, 'take this unto thyself, O father of the Caliphs, until
A. D. 754. the day of resurrection.' "

Al Manṣúr assumed the Caliphate in the beginning of the year 137. The first thing he did was to put to death Abu Muslim al Khurásáni, the author of their Call and the founder of their dynasty. In the year 138 A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mu'áwiyah-b-Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-Marwán the Umayyad entered Spain and conquered it. His reign was long and Spain continued in the hands of his descendants until after the fourth century. This A'bd'r Raḥmán was a man of learning and justice. His mother was a native of Barbary.

Abu Mudhaffar al Abiwardi says that people used to say that the two sons of two Berber women ruled the world—al Manṣúr and A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mu'áwiyah.

In the year 140 he laid the foundation of the city of Baghdád. In the year 141 appeared the Ráwandíyah* sectaries the asserters of metempsychosis and al Manṣúr put them to death. During the same, Ṭabaristán was conquered.

Ad Ḍahabi says that in the year 143 the doctors of Islám began at this period to compose works on tradition, jurisprudence and the interpretation of the Ḳurán. Thus Ibn Juraij† wrote at Mecca, Malik composed the Muwaṭṭa at Medína, al Auzáa'í wrote in Syria, Ibn Abi A'rúbah,‡ Ḥammád-b-Salamah§ and others in Basrah, Ma'mar, in Yaman,|| Sufyán at Thauri in Kúfah, Ibn Isḥák drew up his Magházi (wars of Islám.) Abu Ḥanífah wrote treatises on law and the theory of private judgment. Very soon after Hushaym,¶ al Layth, and Ibn Lahía'h com-

* Weil is in accordance with Ibn u'l Athir who calls them "Ráwandíyah, a people of Khurásán, followers of A'bu Muslim and believing in metempsychosis." Masa'údi calls the sect Khurramiyah—in one MS. (خرميه) and in two others حربية and جرميه Yaḳúṭ places Ráwand between Káshán and Ispahan. The text ريونديه is incorrect.

† Abu Khálid A'bdu'l Malik of Mecca, by adoption a member of the Ḳuraysh. It is said he was the first in Islám to compose books, died A. H. 149, (766). Ibn Khall. For جريح read جريج

‡ A traditionist of Basrah, died A. H. 156, (772-3.) De Slane I. K.

§ Abu Sulamah Ḥammád-b-Salamah, a traditionist of the highest order, descended from an enfranchised slave of this Banu Tamím, died A. H. 167. Ibid.

|| Ma'mar-b-Abi U'rwah Ráshid a Mawla to the tribe of Azd, learned traditions from az Zuhri a native of Baṣrah and settled in Yaman, died A. H. 153. De Slane I. K.

¶ Abu Mua'wiyah, Hushaym the Traditionist was a native of Baṣrah died A. H. 183. De Slane in translating this passage of ad Ḍahabi (Introduction to Vol. 1,) gives "Ibn Hishám," for "Hushaym." Ibn Hishám's family was also of Baṣrah though he was born at old Cairo. He is the author of the history of the Prophet drawn from Ibn Isháḳ's work and called Sírat Ibn Hishám. He died A. H. 218 I have not the work of ad Ḍahabi to consult: the Nujúm, of Abú'l Maḥásin from which De Slane



posed their works. Then followed Ibn u'l Mubárak and Abu Yusuf and Ibn Wahab, at which period the collection of works of science and their classification increased greatly and treatises on the Arabic language and idiom were drawn up and also on history and the encounters of the desert Arabs. Before this period, the learned used to discourse from memory or lectured on science from manuscripts, accurate, but unsystematically arranged." A. H. 143. A. D. 760.

In the year 145 occurred the rebellion of the brothers Muḥammad and Ibrahím, the two sons of A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥasan-b-i'l Ḥasan-b-A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, but al Manṣúr defeated and slew them and a large number of the descendants of the *prophetical* House. Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return. Al Manṣúr was the first who occasioned dissensions between the A'bbassides and the Aliites for before that they were united. He persecuted many of the learned who had risen with them or counselled rebellion, by putting them to death and scourging them and in other ways—among them Abu Ḥanífah and A'bdu'l Ḥamíd-b-Jaa'far, and Ibn A'jlán. Among those who pronounced on the legality of rebelling with Muḥammad against al Manṣúr, was Málik-b-Anas. It was said to him—"upon our necks is the oath of allegiance to al Manṣúr!" He replied—"ye swore allegiance under compulsion and an oath is not binding upon one who is forced."

In the year 146 occurred the expedition against Cyprus. In the year 147 al Manṣúr removed his paternal uncle I'sa-b-Músa from the succession to which as Saffáḥ had appointed him after al Mansúr. Isa was he who fought for him against the two brothers and defeated them and he rewarded him by setting him aside against his will and nominating his own son al Mahdi.

In the year 148 the whole empire was firmly established under the authority of al Manṣúr, and awe of him waxed great in the minds of men. The provinces submitted to him and Spain alone was excluded from his sway, for A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mu'áwiyah, the Umayyad, of the house of Marwán, had taken possession of it, but he was not called prince of the Faithful but "the prince" only and in the same way, his posterity.

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cites, has "Hishám" without any prefix. De Slane is incorrect in his translation of the word الراى in his Introduction, (p. xxiv) as will be seen on a reference to the original in Abúl Maḥásin where the name Rabíi' does not occur. Moreover after the words الراى in the Nujúm follows بالكوفة Now Rabíi' was jurisconsult of Medína and Ibn Khall mentions nothing of his ever having been at Kúfah whereas it was Abu Ḥanífah's native town. For the biographies of those authors not mentioned in the notes, consult Ibn Khall.

A. H. 145. In the year 149 al Manṣúr completed the building of Baghdad. In
A. D. 762. the year 150, the Khurásán troops under their leader Ustáḍ Sís* revolted from his authority and seized the greater part of Khurásán, and calamities increased and evils waxed great and affairs grew serious with al Manṣúr, for the strength of the army of Khurásán amounted to 3,00,000 warriors horse and foot. Ajtham† al Marwazi engaged them in battle but he was slain and his army destroyed. Then al Manṣúr despatched Kházim-‡ b-Khuzaymah to attack them at the head of a prodigious force that obstructed the plains, and the two armies met and fought obstinately. It was a famous battle. It is said that seventy thousand men were slain in it and Ustáḍ Sís was routed and he fled to the mountains. The general, Kházim, gave orders in the following year regarding the prisoners, and their heads were struck off and they were in number 14000. Then they besieged Ustáḍ Sís for some time, until he surrendered. They kept him in confinement and dismissed his troops who numbered 30,000,

In the year 151 al Mansúr built ar Rusáfah (*of Kúfah*) and made it a strong and lofty construction.

In the year 153, al *Mansúr* compelled his subjects to wear tall caps—they used to make them of reed and paper, and cover them with black. Abú Dulámah§, says—

We desired an increase from the Imám
And the chosen Imám gave us an increase to our caps.
Thou mayest behold them on the heads of men as if
They were wine jars of the Jews covered with the burnús.

In the year 158 al Manṣúr commanded the governor of Medína to imprison Sufyán at Thauri and A'bbád-b-Kathír and they were put into confinement, and the people feared that al Manṣúr would put them to death when he came from the pilgrimage, but the Lord did not suffer him to reach Mecca in health, for he arrived ill and died, and the Lord was sufficient for them against his wicked purpose. His death occurred at Baṭn|| in Ḍu'l Hijjah (6th) (7th October 775) and he was buried between al Ḥajún and Bír Maymún. Salm¶ al Khásir says,

* So Ibn u'l Athír and Weil. The text gives اسناد سیس which is incorrect.

† Ibn u'l Athír has "Ajsham" اجشم

‡ For حازم read خازم

§ Abú Dulámah was an Abyssinian slave celebrated for his wit, his amusing adventures and his talent for poetry. He died A. H. 161 (778-9). His real name was Zand. Some amusing stories regarding him, may be found in Ibn Khallikán.

|| Baṭn Murr or Marr, five miles from Mecca. This name is not mentioned by Weil or Ibn Athir: Masa'údi says that death overtook him at the Bustán of the Banú A'ámir on the Irák road. Al Ḥajún is a hill overlooking Mecca.

¶ A native of Basrah, a poet notorious for his profligate life. He lived at Bagh-

The pilgrims returned and left the son of Muḥammad A. H. 158.
As a pledge at Mecca in the niched tomb. A. D. 775.
They witnessed the entire ceremonies while their Imám
Beneath the broad stone, purposing to perform the pilgrimage, witnessed them not.

Regarding accounts of al Manṣúr, Ibn A'sákir records with its ascriptions, that Abu Jaa'far al Manṣúr used to travel for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, before his Caliphate. Once when he was about to enter a place of resort, the guardian seized him and said, "pay down two dirhams before thou enterest." He replied, "loose me for for I am one of the Banú Háshim." The man said, "pay down two dirhams." He replied "loose me, for I am one of the descendants of the uncle of the prophet." The man went on, "pay down two dirhams." He replied, "loose me for I am a man versed in the book of God." The man repeated "pay down two dirhams." He exclaimed "loose me for I am a man skilled in jurisprudence and the law of inheritance." He replied "pay down two dirhams." When at length the man's insistance wearied him, he paid the two dirhams and returned and set himself to amassing money and to scrupulous niggardliness therein, until he received the nickname of Abú'd Dawáníḳ. And on the authority of Rabíi'-b-Yunas the chamberlain, who narrates, "I heard al Manṣúr say, 'the Caliphs are four, Abu Bákr, Omar, Othmán and A'li, and the kings are four, Mua'wiyah, A'bdu'l Malik, Hishám and I." And from Málik-b-Anas, "I went in unto al Manṣúr and he said, 'who are the most excellent of men after the apostle of God!' I replied, 'Abu Bakr and Omar.' He said, 'thou hast hit it—and such is the opinion of the prince of the Faithful.'" And from Isma'íl al Fihri, "I heard al Manṣúr on the day of A'rafah, saying in his discourse from the pulpit at A'rafah, 'O ye people! verily I am the Lord's ruler upon His earth and I govern ye through His grace and guidance and I am His treasurer over His tribute which I divide according to His pleasure and bestow with His permission. And verily the Lord hath made me as a lock upon it: when He willeth to open me, he openeth me that I may give unto ye, and when it pleaseth Him to fasten me, He fasteneth me. Wherefore turn ye to the Lord, O ye people! and ask of Him on this glorious day in which he hath given unto ye of His grace, as he hath made known to ye in His Book when he saith, "this day I have perfected your religion for ye and have completed my mercy upon

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dad and received his epithet (the loser) because he sold a copy of the Ḳurán to buy a book of poetry or else because he squandered his patrimony. He died about 186 A. H. De Slane I. K.

A. H. 158. ye, and I have chosen for ye Islám to be your religion" (Kur. V)*, that He
A. D. 775. may vouchsafe unto me justness of conduct, and guide me to rectitude and inspire me with clemency unto ye and kindness towards ye, and open me to be bountiful unto ye, and the distribution of your allowances in equity, for he hearkeneth and granteth.'" As Ṣuli records this and mentions further at the beginning of it, that the reason of this discourse was that the people esteemed him niggardly, and he adds at the end, "and people said 'the prince of the Faithful transfers to his God the responsibility of withholding *his bounty*.'" And he records on the authority of al Asma'í and others that al Manṣúr ascended the pulpit and said, "praise be unto God: I glorify Him and implore His aid, and I believe in Him and put my trust in Him and I testify that that there is no god but one God who hath no equal." Then there arose before him a man who said, "O prince of the Faithful, be thou mindful of Him whom thou art praising." He answered, "welcome, welcome, verily thou hast admonished me by One that is great and put me in fear of One that is mighty—God forbid, that I should be as one who when it is said to him, 'fear God,' his pride takes it as an offence, but the exhortation began with me and proceeded from me; and thou! thou speaker, I swear by Allah. it was not God thou thoughtest of, but thou soughtest that it should be said—he arose and spake and was punished but bore it patiently. But the thing is not worthy of notice from such a speaker, and take this as a favourable opportunity from God.† Have a care. Verily I have pardoned it. Beware, ye men, of the like of it;—and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle." He then returned to his discourse *as fluently* as though he were reading it from paper.

He also records with various ascriptions that al Manṣúr said to his son al Mahdi—"O Abú A'bdu'llah, nothing maketh a Caliph virtuous but piety, nor well disposeth a monarch but obedience, nor reformeth a people but justice; and the best of men to pardon is he who is the most powerful of them to chastise, and the feeblest of men in intellect is he who oppresseth him that is beneath him. Do not proceed with an affair until thou hast reflected upon it, for the meditation of a wise man is a mirror which showeth him his faults and his merits. O son, seek the continuance of bounty by gratitude, and of power by pardon, and of obedience by conciliating affection, and of victory by humility and forgiveness of men." And from Mubárak-b-Fudhálah that he said, "we were with al Manṣúr when he summoned a man and sent for a sword, and Mubárak said, 'O prince

* This passage it is said was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting aount A'rafat the last time Muḥammad repaired to the temple of Mecca, therefore clled the pilgrimage of Valediction. Sale, p. 81.

† The Kámil has اغتنمها اذ عفوت.

of the Faithful, I heard al Ḥasan declare that the Apostle of God said, "when the day of resurrection cometh, a crier of the Lord's shall rise and shall cry out—arise those whose reward is with God, and none shall stand up but he who hath pardoned." And al Manṣúr said—let him go his way.' " A. H. 158. A. D. 775.

And from al Aṣma'i, that a man was taken to al Manṣúr whom he was about to punish, but the man said, "O prince of the Faithful, vengeance is but justice, but forgiveness would be super-eminent virtue and may God preserve the prince of the Faithful from choosing for himself the less noble of two courses without being able to attain to the higher degree;" and he pardoned him. And from the same, that al Manṣúr met a desert Arab in Syria and said to him, "praise God, O Arab, who hath taken from ye the plague under the government of us of the prophetical house;" He replied, "verily God hath not overwhelmed us with both bad dates and bad measure, your government and the plague."

And from Muḥammad-b-Manṣúr al Baghdádi, that a certain devotee* stood up before al Manṣúr and said, "verily the Lord hath given unto thee the whole earth, redeem then thy soul, with a portion of it. Remember the night which thou shalt pass in the grave,—a night thou hast never before so passed, and remember the night which shall bring forth the day that hath no night after it." And al Manṣúr was silenced and commanded money to be given to him, but he said, "if I needed thy money, I should not have admonished thee." And from A'bdu's Salám-b-Ḥarb, that al Manṣúr sent for A'mr-b-U'bayd who came to him, and *he* commanded money to be given to him but he refused to accept it, and al Manṣúr said, "by Allah, thou shalt accept it." He replied, "by Allah, I will not accept it." Al Mahdi *who was present* said to him, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath taken his oath." He replied, "the prince of the Faithful is more able to pay the expiation of broken oaths than is thy uncle."† Al Manṣúr said to him, "ask for what

* This was A'mr-b-Ubayd whose mention follows in the next anecdote. Both of them are related in his life in Ibn Khallikán. He was a celebrated ascetic and scholastic theologian; his devotion was proverbial though his orthodoxy is disputed by nearly all but his own sect of the Mu'atazalites of which he was the chief. He was born A. H. 80 (699) and died A. H. 144 (761-2). Al Manṣúr composed an elegy on his death and praised him as an orthodox believer and saint.

† In Ibn Khallikan, he addresses al Mahdi, as "son of my brother" and therefore calls himself his uncle, not of course meaning that there existed the remotest relationship, for A'mr's father acted as lieutenant to the successive chiefs of police at Baṣrah and had been one of the prisoners taken at Kabul. The expiation for breaking an oath consists in granting freedom to a slave or in once feeding and clothing ten paupers—if this cannot be done, a fast for three days is obligatory. De Slane, I. K. Vol. I, p. 53.

A. H. 158. A. D. 775. thou needest." He replied, "I ask thee not to send for me until I go to thee, and not to give unto me until I ask of thee." He said, "dost thou know I have made this *al Mahdi* my heir?" He replied, "the supreme power will come to him the day it comes to him, and thou wilt be otherwise employed *than in providing for it*." And from A'bdu'llah-b-Sáliḥ that al Manṣúr wrote to Sawwár Ḳádhi of Basrah, *saying*, "look to the piece of land regarding which a certain officer and a certain merchant have disputed and give it to the officer;" and Sawwár wrote, "verily it was proved to me that it belonged to the merchant, and I cannot withdraw it from his possession except on clear evidence." Then al Manṣúr wrote, "by Allah, save whom there is no God, thou shalt give it to the officer;" Sawwár replied to him, "by Allah, save whom there is no God, I shall not withdraw it from the possession of the merchant except lawfully." When this letter reached al Manṣúr, he exclaimed, "thou hast filled *thy office* with justice and my judges are now turning me to justice." And from another source that Sawwár was denounced to al Manṣúr who summoned him, and al Manṣúr happened to sneeze and Sawwár did not bless him, and al Manṣúr said, "what prevented thee from saying a blessing?" He replied, "because thou didst not praise God."* Al Manṣúr said, "indeed I praised God to myself," and he answered "I prayed for a blessing on thee to myself." The Caliph exclaimed, "go back to my office, for verily if thou payest no regard to me, thou wilt pay none to any other."

And from Numayr al Madani who narrates, "al Manṣúr arrived at Medína, and Muḥammad-b-Imrán at Talḥaí was holding judgment as Ḳáḍhi and I was his scribe. And certain camel-owners sought justice against al Manṣúr in some affair, and Muḥammad ordered me to write to him to appear, and to do them justice; but I asked to be excused, but he would not excuse me, wherefore I wrote the summons and sealed it." He said—"by Allah, no one shall go with it but thyself." Wherefore I carried it to ar Rabíi' who went in unto al Manṣur. Shortly after he came forth and said to the people, "verily the prince of the Faithful saith to ye—"I have been summoned to the judgment-seat, but let no one go up with me." Then he and ar Rabíi' went, but the Ḳádḥi did not rise before him, nay, he loosed his mantle and wrapped it round his legs and back, and then summoned the plaintiffs. They made their plaint and he decided in their favour against the Caliph; and when he had finished, al Manṣúr said to him, "may God reward thee for thy judgment, with the best of rewards—verily I have commanded to be given to thee, ten thousand dinárs."

* The prayer for the sneezer (which is, may God avert from thee what may make thy enemy rejoice at thy affliction) is uttered, when he has, in odedience to an injunction of the prophet said الحمد لله praise be to God. Lane, art. شمت.

And from Muhammad-b-Hafs al I'jlí, that a son was born to A'bú Dulámah, who went early in the morning to al Mansúr and informed him and recited— A. H. 158. A. D. 775.

" If there sat above the sun, on account of their liberality
A people, it would be said—sit ye O children of A'bbás.
And ascend upon the rays of the sun, all of ye
Unto heaven, for ye are the most bountiful of men.

Then Abu Dulámah drew out a purse and al Mansúr said, "what is that?" He replied, "I mean to put into it what thou orderest for me." He said, "fill it for him with dirhams," and it held a thousand dirhams. And from Muhammad-b-Sallám al Jimhi, that it was said to al Mansúr, "is there any yet left of the pleasures of the world that thou hast not enjoyed?" He replied, "one thing is still wanting—that I should sit upon a bench, and round me the traditionists, the disciple writing from dictation, saying, 'whom didst thou mention* may the Lord have mercy on thee?'" The next morning the courtiers and the sons of the ministers came with their ink-horns and tablets, but al Mansúr said, "ye are not they—for they are of soiled garments, weary of foot, long of hair, the couriers of the earth, the transmitters of tradition." And from A'bdu's Samad-b-A'li, that he said to al Mansúr, "verily thou hast applied punishment as if thou hadst never heard of pardon." He answered, "because the Banú Marwan, their bones have not yet decayed and the swords of the descendants of Abú Tálib have not been sheathed, and we are among a people who saw us subjects yesterday and Caliphs to-day, and the fear of us will not take possession of their hearts save by ignoring pardon and the adoption of chastisement." And from Yunas-b-Habíb that Ziyád-b-A'bdi'llah al Hárithí wrote to al Mansúr, petitioning for an increase to his allowances and stipends, and employed all his eloquence in *the composition of* his letter but al Mansúr noted on the case, *saying*, "verily wealth and eloquence when combined in one individual, make him vain-glorious, and the prince of the Faithful hath compassion on thee on that account; therefore be content with eloquence." And from Muhammad-b-Sallám, that a slave girl saw al Mansúr with a patched tunic, and she exclaimed—"the Caliph with a patched tunic!" He replied, "fie on thee, hast thou not heard the words of Ibn Harmah:†

* That is, of course, asking for the names of the authorities whom the traditionist mentions in the ascriptions of any tradition.

† Abú Isḥáḳ Ibrahím-b-A'li-b-Maslamah-b-A'ámir-b-Harmah died A. H. 176. Al Asma'í says of him that he was the last of the poets, and his life has been written by as Súli (probably not now extant). This is the only information regarding him furnished by De Slane in his life of as Suli. I. K.

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A. H. 158.
A. D. 775.

Verily a youth may attain honor though his mantle
Be thread-bare, and the collar of his tunic, patched."

Al A'skari says in the Awáil that al Manṣúr among the sons of Abbás, was like A'bdu'l Malik among the Banu Umayyah, in niggardliness. One of the people saw upon him a patched tunic, and said, "great is He who hath tried Abú Jaa'far with poverty in his own kingdom."

Salm the camel-driver once drove al Manṣúr's camel, singing to it, and al Manṣúr was so excited with delight, that he nearly fell from the animal, and he rewarded him with half a dirham. The man said, "I drove Hisham and he rewarded me with ten thousand." The Caliph replied, "He had no right to give thee that from the public treasury. O Rabíi',* appoint some once to take it from him;" and they did not finish with him until al Manṣúr made him drive the camel, going and coming for nothing.

In the Awail of al A'skari it is stated that Ibn Harmah was much addicted to wine, and he went into al Manṣúr, and versified, *saying*,

"His glances from both sides of his throne
When he launches them, contain punishment or favour.
On the one hand he to whom thou grantest *protection*, thou protectest from destruction,†
On the other, he whom thou wishest to be bereft of a child, he is bereft.

And al Manṣúr was pleased with him and said, "what is thy need?" He replied, "write to thy prefect at Medína not to punish me, if he finds me drunk." Al Manṣúr answered, "I will not abate a single restrictive ordinance of the ordinances of God." He said "contrive some expedient for me." And al Manṣúr wrote to his prefect, *saying*, "whoever bringeth before thee Ibn Harmah drunk, scourge him with a hundred stripes and scourge Ibn Harmah with eighty." Wherefore when the watch used to pass by Ibn Harmah when he was drunk, he would exclaim, "who will buy a hundred for eighty," and then leave him and pass on. Al Manṣúr gave him on this occasion ten thousand dirhams and said to him, "take care of them, O Ibrahím, for there is nothing for thee like it again with me." He replied, "verily I will meet thee on the bridge of as Ṣiráṭ with it, with the seal of the court treasurer."‡

* Abu'l Fadhl Rabíi'-b-Yunas was chamberlain to al Manṣúr, and later, on the deposition of Abú Ayúb, al Múriáni, became his vizier, and continued in the service of al Mahdi in the same capacity. The Caliph treated him with signal favor. He died in A. H. 170 (786) in the reign al Hádi, poisoned according to some, by that Caliph. Ibn Khall.

† This line is faulty: in the text the word امنة as it stands has no meaning and will not scan—I suggest and adopt the following emendation. فام الذي آمنتَ امنتُهُ الردي

‡ The word جهبذ is used by Masa'údi in this sense, in his life of al Mahdi.

Among the lines of al Manṣúr, and they are few, is the following— A. H. 158. A. D. 775.

When thou hast formed an opinion be steadfast in it,
For verily it is an ill-judgment that is vacillating.
Nor grant thy enemies respite in power for a single day
But be beforehand with them, lest they obtain the same to-morrow.

Abdu'r Raḥmán-b-Ziyád-b-Anu'm al Ifríḳi narrates, "I was pursuing my studies with Abú Jaa'far al Manṣúr before his Caliphate, when he took me into his house and placed some food before me, wherewith there was no flesh-meat. Then he called out, 'girl! hast thou any sweetmeats?' She said, 'no.' 'Nor any dates?' 'No.' Then he laid himself down and read 'peradventure your Lord will destroy your enemy,' &c. (Kur. VII.) And when he succeeded to the Caliphate, I visited him, and he said, 'how is my government compared with that of the Banu Umyyah?' I replied, 'I see no oppression under their rule, but I find it also under thine.' He exclaimed, 'we have no helpers.' I answered, 'Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz said that a monarch is like a market that attracts to itself what will sell freely in it: if he be virtuous, they bring him the virtuous among them; if he be wicked, they bring him the wicked among them,' whereupon al Manṣúr lowered his eyes."

Among the sayings of al Manṣúr are,* "kings can tolerate every thing but three practises—revealing a secret, an outrage on his harem, or a blow aimed at his power. When thy enemy stretches out his hand to thee, cut it off if thou art able, otherwise kiss it." The ascriptions of these are given by as Ṣúli who also records on the authority of Ya'ḳúb-b-Jaa'far as one of the instances related of the quick apprehension of al Manṣúr,† that he entered Medína and said to ar Rabíi', "find me a man who will point out to me the *chief* mansions of the people." And a man came to him and began to inform him about the houses, save that he never began to speak until al Manṣúr questioned him. And when he left him he ordered him a thousand dirhams. The man asked ar Rabíi' for it, but he replied, "he said nothing to me about it, but he will soon ride round again when you can remind him." Al Manṣúr continued his ride a second time, and the man began to give him information *regarding the houses*, but found no opportunity of speaking *on the subject of his reward.* At length when the Caliph desired to leave him, the man said, beginning of his

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Speaking of Sharík, he says, كتب له بارزاقه الي الجهبذ translated by M. de Meynard, "le Khalife lui ayant donné un bon sur le payeur de la cour."

* This is told by Masaúdi of al Mámún.

† This story will be found in Ibn Khallikan's life of ar Rabíi'-b-Yunas.

A. H. 158. own accord, "and this, O prince of the Faithful, is the house of A'átikah
A. D. 775. of whom al Aḥwaṣ* says

"O dwelling of A'átikah which I avoid
Through dread of foes, upon thee my heart is fixed."

Al Manṣúr was displeased at his beginning to speak unasked, but he went over the poem in his mind, and behold there was in it,

"I see that thou performest what thou dost promise
But there are some insincere of speech who promise what they never perform."

Al Manṣúr laughed and said—"confound thee! Rabíi' give him a thousand dirhams."

As Ṣúli records on an ascription from Isḥáḳ of Mosul that al Manṣúr never joined his courtiers in convivial drinking bouts or musical entertainments, but when he sat, a curtain was between him and them, a distance of twenty cubits being between it and them and he the same distance from it. The first of the Banu A'bbás who mixed with his courtiers, was al Mahdi. And from Yaḳúṭ-b-Jaa'far, that al Manṣúr said to Kutham-b-u'l A'bbás-b-A'bdi'llah-b-i'l A'bbás, who was his prefect over Yamámah and Baḥrayn, "what is *the meaning of* Kutham and whence is it derived?" He replied, "I do not know." Al Manṣúr exclaimed, "thy name a Hashimite name, and thou not understand it! by Allah, thou art ignorant." He replied, "will the prince of the Faithful deign to enlighten me regarding it?" Al Manṣúr said, "the Káthim is he who broacheth *a cask of wine* after eating and "yekthimu al ashiyá" means, he takes the things and breaks them."

It is related that a fly was worrying al Manṣúr, whereupon he sent for Muḳátil-b-Sulaymán† and asked him why God had created flies? He replied, "to humble the mighty by their means." Muḥammad-b-A'li al Khurásáni says that al Manṣúr was the first Caliph who admitted astrologers into his society, and acted according to the dictates of the stars, and the first Caliph for whom Syrian and Persian books were translated into Arabic, such as the apologue of Kalílah and Damnah,‡ and Euclid. He

* A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad al Anṣári, surnamed al Aḥwaṣ (and not al Akhwaṣ as the text and all the MSS. of Ibn Khall except the autograph have it) was a descendant of one of the Anṣárs. He cultivated poetry and such was the virulence of his satires that Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz banished him to the island of Dahlak in the Red Sea. Omar's successor recalled him, and he died A. H. 179 (795-6.). De Slane, I. K. Vol. I, p. 526.

† Abu'l Ḥasan Mukátil-b-Sulayman-b-Bashír; he was distinguished as an eminent commentator on the Ḳurán. As a traditionist his authority is disputed, and the general opinion is unfavorable to his veracity. He died at Basrah, A. H. 150 (767-8. Ibn Khall.

‡ Translated by A'bdu'llah Ibn u'l Mukaffa' the Kátib renowned for the elegance

was the first who appointed his freedmen to offices and preferred them before Arabs, and this custom became frequent after his time, until the Arab sway and preeminence declined. He was also the first who sowed dissensions between the Banu A'bbás and the descendants of A'li for before that they were united in interest. A. H. 158. A. D. 775.

Traditions from the narration of al Manşúr.

As Şúli says that al Manşúr was the most learned of men in traditions and genealogy, famous for his research. Ibn A'sákir in his history of Damascus gives the ascription of a tradition told by al Manşúr from Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet wore his signet ring on his right hand. And as Şúli mentions an ascription through al Manşúr from Ibn A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, " the people of my house are like unto the ark of Noah; who saileth in it is saved, who remaineth behind perisheth." And through al Manşúr from the father of Ibn A'bbás that the apostle of God said, " when I appoint a governor and fix for him his stipend, whatever else he may acquire *over and above*, is unlawful plunder." And from the father of Yahya-b-Ḥamzah al Ḥadhramí that he narrates, " al Mahdi appointed me to the office of Ķádhi and said, " be fearless in thy judgments for my father told me on the authority of al A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, " the Lord saith—by my majesty and glory, I will take revenge upon the oppressor in his present life and in his life to come, and I will take vengeance upon him who seeth one oppressed, being able to succour him and yet doth it not.' " And through al Manşúr from Ibn A'bbás that the prophet said, " every connection and every affinity shall be sundered at the day of resurrection, save connection with me] and affinity to me. And from the same that he said, " I heard A'li-b-Abi Tálib say, 'journey not in the last three nights of the lunar month nor when the sun is in Scorpio.' "

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Manşúr were Ibn u'l Muķaffa', Suhayl-b-Abi Şáliḥ, al A'lá-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán, Khálid-b-Yazíd al Mişri the jurisconsult, Dauúd-b-Abi Hind, Abu Ḥázim Salimah-b-Dínár al Aa'raj (the lame), A'tá-b-Abi Muslim al Khurásáni, Yunus-b-U'bayd, Sulaymán al Aḥwal (the one-eyed), Músa-b-U'kbah, author of the Magházi, A'mr-b-Ubayd al Mu'atazali, Yahya-b-Sai'd al Anşári, al Kalbi, Ibn Isḥáķ Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad as Şádiķ, al Aa'mash, Shibl-b-A'bbád the Ķurán

of his style. He was a Persian by birth, and a Magian but made the profession of Islám: his orthodoxy however was always suspected. He was put to death under al Manşúr's orders.

A. H. 158. reader* of Mecca, Muḥammad-b-A'jlán, al Madani the jurisconsult, Muḥammad-b-Abdi'r Raḥmán-b-Abí Layla, Ibn Juraij, Abu Ḥanífah, Ḥajjáj-b-
A. D. 775. Arṭát, Ḥammád ar Rawíyah, Rúbah the poet, al Jaríri, Sulaymán at Tamími, A'asim al Aḥwal, Ibn Shirmah ad Ḍhabbi, Mukátil-b-Ḥayyán, Muḳátil-b-Sulaymán, Hishám-b-U'rwah, Abu A'mr-b-i'l A'lá, Asha'b at Ṭammáa', the avaricious, Ḥamzah-b-Ḥabib az Zayyát, al Auzáa'i' and others.

AL MAHDI.

Al Mahdi Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-i'l Manṣúr was born at Aidaj† in the year 127 or as some say 126. His mother was Umm Músa, daughter of al Manṣúr a descendant of the Ḥimyarite‡ princes. He was munificent, much extolled, of handsome countenance, beloved by his subjects and of orthodox belief. He persecuted the Zindíḳs§ and destroyed a considerable number of them. He was the first who commanded the writing of polemical works in refutation of the Zindíḳs and the heretics. He related traditions on the authority of his father and Mubárak-b-Fudhálah; and Yahya-b-Ḥamzah, and Jaa'far-b-Sulaymán al Ḍhaba'í, and Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'llah ar Raḳáshi, and Abu Sufyán Sa'i'd-b-Yahya the Ḥimayarite, have narrated them from him. "I have never known it said," observes ad Ḍahabi, "that there was any invalidation or correction of his testimony." Ibn A'di records from a tradition of Othmán ascribed to the prophet, "al Mahdi shall be of the descendants of my uncle A'bbás." Muḥammad-b-u'l Walíd the Mawla of the Banú Háshim is the single authority for this, and he was one who fabricated traditions. Aḍ Ḍahabi in this place adduces a tradition of Ibn Masa'úd ascribed to the prophet, "the name of al Mahdi shall correspond with mine and the name of his father with that of my father."

* The difference between a "Kári" and a "Mukri," is that the first reads the Kurán to his pupils, the second makes them read and corrects them where they err. De Slane, I. K. p. 675, Vol. 1.

† Between Khuzistán and Ispahan.

‡ His genealogy according to Masa'údi, al Manṣúr-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Ḍi Sahm-b-Abi Sarḥ, descended from Ḍú Ru'ayn a Himyrite prince.

§ The precise religious or irreligious code of this free-thinking commune of sectarians, is nowhere satisfactorily given, but the broad principles of their school seems to have been a denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, the rejection of all religious systems, but a strict observance of the laws of nature as imprinted in the heart of man and the profession of the love of humanity in its widest sense. A practical application of this last, permitted incestuous marriages. Consult Weil, p. 105, under al Mahdi.

When al Mahdi grew up, his father appointed him governor of Ṭabaristán and its dependencies, and he was taught polite literature and associated with the learned and distinguished himself. Subsequently his father named him to the succession and when his father died, he was acknowledged Caliph. The news reached him at Baghdad and he preached before the people and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful is a servant— he hath been summoned and hath answered to the summons, and he hath been commanded and hath obeyed." Then his eyes filled with tears and he said, "verily the apostle of God wept at separating from his friends, and indeed, I have suffered a great separation and have been invested with a weighty charge, but the prince of the Faithful reckons upon a reward from God and I implore His assistance upon the Caliphate of the Muslims. O ye people! be inwardly, as ye appear outwardly, obedient to us, and we will grant ye security and ye will be made worthy of commendation in the end. Lower ye the wings of submission unto him who hath diffused justice amongst ye, and hath put away coercion from ye and hath shed peace over ye, since the Lord hath approved him as a promoter of these things. By Allah, I will consume my life between chastising and favouring ye." Nifṭawayh says that when the public treasure came into the hands of al Mahdi, he set about the removal of grievances and took a considerable part of the public stores and distributed them and treated generously his kindred and his clients. Another author observes that the first who congratulated al Mahdi on his accession to the Caliphate and condoled with him on his father's death was Abu Dulámah who said A. H. 158. A. D. 775.

"Of my eyes one of them is seen joyful
Glad for its lord, while the other sheds tears.
Weeping and smiling by turns, for saddens it
That which it takes ill, and that which it experiences, makes it glad.
Now the death of the Caliph in the inviolable state of pilgrimage, grieves it,
And that this most clement one has arisen, gladdens it.
I have never before beheld what I have now seen nor do I experience
My combing one hair while plucking out another.
The Caliph is dead, alas for the religion of Muḥammad!
But there comes to ye after, one that succeeds him.
God hath granted to this, the honor of the Caliphate
And to the other the beauteous gardens of delight."

In the year 159 al Mahdi made a covenant for the succession in favor of his sons Músa al Hádi and Harún-ar Rashíd after him. In the year 160, Bárabad* in India was taken by force. During the same al Mahdi

* So the word is given both by Ibn u'l Athír and Weil. The latter cannot determine the position of the town, but supposes it to have been on the sea coast or on one of the arms of the Indus. The expeditionary fleet was commanded by A'bdu'l

A. H. 160. made the pilgrimage and the guardians of the Kaa'bah informed him that
A. D. 776-7. they feared its breaking in from the number of coverings over it, and he gave orders regarding it, and it was stripped and restricted to the covering of al Mahdi. Snow* was carried to al Mahdi at Mecca. Ad Ḍahabi observes that this was never arranged for any sovereign before.

In the year 161, al Mahdi commanded the construction of the Mecca road, and built houses along it and made reservoirs, and he ordered the abandonment of the reserved places for Imáms in the mosques of Islám and lessened the size of the pulpits and restricted them to the measure of the pulpit of the Apostle of God.

In the year 163 and the following years, conquests in the Grecian provinces were numerous. In the year 166 al Mahdi removed to Ḳaṣr u's Salám† and he ordered to be established for him a postal service of mules and camels from the prophetical city (Medína) and from Yaman and Mecca to the royal residence. Ad Ḍahabi says that he was the first who established a post from al Ḥijáz to al I'ráḳ. During this and the following years al Mahdi was energetic in the persecution of the Zindíḳs and in exterminating them and hunting them down throughout the provinces and putting *people* to death on mere suspicion. In the year 167 he ordered a great enlargement of the sacred mosque (of Mecca)‡ and brought a number of buildings within its enclosure. In the year 169 al Mahdi died: he had given chase to an animal, and the quarry rushed into a ruined building; the horse following, al Mahdi struck his back against the doorway and died on the spot. This took place on the 22nd Muharram. (4th August 785). It is also said that he died of poison. Salm al Khásir laments him as follows:

" There weeps over al Mahdi one that weeps
As if frenzy were on her, yet she is not insane.
Yea—she tears her countenance and discovers
Her locks and reveals her tresses.
Verily, if the Caliph has passed away after his exaltation,
Surely he has left deeds which have not passed away.

Malik-b-Shiháb al Masma'í. The troops before setting sail on their return were attacked by a disease in the mouth, of which about a thousand died. Shipwreck added to their discomfiture and a similar attempt was not repeated.

* "A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanseras which he distributed along a measured road of 700 miles, but his train of camels laden with snow could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet." Decline and Fall. Chapter LII.

† "The palace of peace"—Yaḳúb states this to have been erected at Rakkah, by ar Rashíd the son of al Mahdi—Rakkah is the ancient Nicephorium.

‡ Burton is an error in giving the year 163, as the date of this enlargement. See Mecca, p. 151.

The peace of God throughout each day A. H. 169.
Be upon al Mahdi from the time when he remained a pledge *of the* A. D. 785.
grave.
We have left religious peace and worldly happiness all
Where the prince of the Faithful lies buried."

Among accounts of al Mahdi, as Ṣúli says that when he covenanted for the succession of his son Músa, Marwán-b-Abi Ḥáfṣah said,

" Allegiance hath been covenanted for Músa at Ruṣáfah
By which God hath made fast the loops of Islám.
Músa, he whose merit the Ḳuraysh know
And unto them is preeminence among the tribes.
Through Muḥammad (*Músa*) after the prophet Muḥammad
All lawful things have sprung to life, and all that is forbidden hath perished.
The guide of his people—who are through him
Protected from ignominy and deprivation.
Músa sways the rod of the Caliphate after him (*al Mahdi*)
And with that are dried up the records of pens!"*

Another says—

" O son of the Caliph, verily the people of Aḥmad (*Muḥammad*)
Their desires incline to thee in obedience.
Thou shalt fill the earth with justice, like unto that
Which the learned of the people used to relate to them,
Until their dead shall desire to witness
Of the justice of thy rule what the living behold.
Then upon thy father now be the gladness of their empire
And hereafter upon thee its garment and its mantle."

As Ṣúli records with its ascription that a woman advanced before al Mahdi, and said, " O sinew† of the Apostle of God! see to my need." He exclaimed, " I have never heard that *epithet* from any one—(turning to his attendants), do what she wants and give her ten thousand dirhams." Ḳuraysh al Khuttali says that Ṣáliḥ-b-A'bdi'l Ḳuddús al Baṣrí was brought

* جفت القلم is an expression that signifies an unalterable fact, the ink of the pen that decreed it having dried up—so the tradition جف القلم بما انت لاق that is, all that a man meets with in the world has already been destined and cannot be avoided or altered. See the Ṣaḥíḥ of Bukhári, Chapter on Fate, p. 976, Folio and Kirmáni's notes on this expression.

† It may also mean—" heir." The word signifies also the heirs of a person who has left neither parent nor offspring, and can be applied to a single person as well as to a pl. number.

A. H. 169. before al Mahdi on the charge of being a Zindík, and Ṣáliḥ exclaimed,
A. D. 785. "I repent before God," and he recited to him regarding himself.

"Enemies suffer not at the hands of a fool
What a fool suffers at his own.
And an old man will not abandon his habits
Until he is hidden in the dust of his grave."

Al Mahdi therefore let him go, but when he was about to depart, he called him back and said, "didst thou not say that an old man will not abandon his habits?" He replied, "yes." "In the same way then," said he, "thou wilt not abandon thy ways until thou diest," whereupon he ordered him to be put to death. Zahír states that ten traditionists were brought before al Mahdi, among them Faraj-b-Fudhálah and Ghiyáth-b-Ibrahím. Now al Mahdi took pleasure in pigeons and when Ghiyáth was introduced, it was said to him, "recite a tradition unto the prince of the Faithful." Whereupon he related from so and so on the authority of Abu Hurayrah from the prophet, "there shall be no wager except on a hoof* or an arrow or lance head" and he added to it, "or a wing." Al Mahdi then ordered for him ten thousand dirhams," but as he arose, al Mahdi said, "I declare that the nape of thy neck is as the nape of the neck of a liar. Surely thou hast interpolated that." Then he gave orders regarding the pigeons and their throats were cut. It is related that Sharík went in unto al Mahdi who said to him, "one of three things thou must do—either thou must take the office of Ḳádhi, or thou must instruct my sons and relate traditions to them or eat a meal with me." He considered a moment and said, "to eat with thee will be least inconvenient to me." Whereupon al Mahdi ordered dishes of marrow mixed with sugar and other things, of which he eat; but the cook said, "he will not prosper after it." The narrator adds that after this Sharík taught traditions to them and accepted the office of Ḳádhi.†

Al Baghawi records in the Ja'diyát on the authority of Hamdán al Iṣbaháni that he narrates, "I was with Sharík when there came to him the son of al Mahdi, who leaning *against the wall* asked him concerning a tradition, but Sharík did not take any notice of him, so he repeated *his*

* The tradition is not here given entire, it should be الا في خف او حافر او نصل "except in the hoof of *a camel*, or that of a horse, mule or ass, or in the case of an arrow or lance head"—(shooting or throwing the lance), because all these are used in fight with the enemy. Lane, art سبق

† Masaúdi adds to this story that the Caliph having given Sharík an order on the paymaster, Sharík made some difficulty on the subject of payment, upon which the paymaster said—"you have not been selling cloth?" "No," said Sharík, "but something more precious, my religion." Murúj ud Dahab, Vol. VI.

question and Sharík repeated *his conduct*, when the former said to him, "it seems as though thou thinkest lightly of the sons of the Caliph!" He replied, "not so, but knowledge is too precious in the estimation of its possessors, for them to throw it away." The other then sank down upon his knees and then put his question, whereupon Sharík said, "thus should knowledge be sought."

A. H. 169.
A. D. 785.

Among the verses of al Mahdi recited by as Ṣúli *are the following*—

"The people will not restrain themselves from us,
The people do not weary of us,
Verily their endeavour is
To dig up what we have buried.
If we dwell in the bowels of the earth
They would come where we were."*

As Ṣúli records with its ascription to Muḥammad-b-U'márah, that al Mahdi had a slave girl of whom he was passionately fond, and she likewise of him, save that she avoided him not a little, whereupon he sent one clandestinely to her who knew what was in her mind, and she said *to him*, "I fear lest he should weary of me and leave me and I should die." Al Mahdi then said concerning this,

"A girl fresh as a new moon
Hath conquered my heart.
Whenever my love is assured to her
She bringeth but excuses;
Separation is not pleasing to me
Nor our refraining from meeting.
Nay, I will continue in my affection
For her, keeping in fear, satiety."

The following is by him on his boon-Companion, Omar-b-Bazíi'.

"O God! perfect unto me my joy
Through Abu Hafṣ my comrade:
For the pleasure of my life
Is in song and wine,
And perfumed slave girls
And music and enjoyment.

* The next line I have omitted to translate as I can make no sense of it and believe it to be corrupt. I give it for the benefit of those who may succeed better. و هم ان كاشفونا * في الهوى يوما مجننا The first two lines only of the verse are given by Masaúdi but differently to those in the text. They are placed in the mouth of Abú Zakkár a singer performing before the Caliph Harún ar Rashíd.

A. H. 169. I observe that the poetry of al Mahdi is much smoother and more
A. D. 785. graceful than that of his father or of his sons.

As Ṣúli also states with ascription to Isháḳ of Mosul, that al Mahdi at the beginning of his reign, like al Mansúr, kept himself secluded from his courtiers for about a year, after which he mixed with them. It was suggested to him that he should withdraw himself more, but he said, "verily the enjoyment consists in their being present." And on the authority of Mahdí-b-Sábiḳ, that a man called out to al Mahdí while he was among his cortege.

Say to the Caliph, Ḥátim is a traitor to thee,
Then fear God and save us from Ḥátim.
For when a virtuous man asks the assistance of a traitor
He becomes a partner in his guilt.

Whereupon al Mahdi said, "let every one of my prefects who is named Ḥátim, be deprived of office." And from Abú U'baydah that he said, "al Mahdi used to read to us the five appointed services of prayer in the mosque of Baṣrah when he came there. One day prayers were being begun when a desert Arab exclaimed, 'I am not in a state of legal purification, and verily I desire to join the prayers behind thee.' Whereon he ordered them to wait for him, and they waited for him, and al Mahdi entered the arched niche of the mosque and stayed until it was said that the man had come, upon which he recited the takbír, and the people wondered at the considerate courtesy of the Caliph." And from Ibrahim-b-Náfi', that some of the people of Basrah carried a dispute concerning one of the streams about Baṣrah before al Mahdi, and he said, "verily the earth belongeth to God being in our hands for *the benefit of* the Muslims, therefore that regarding which there hath been no purchase, its value, reverts to all of them and for their advantage. Therefore no one individual hath any claim upon it." Then the deputation said, "this stream is ours by the direction of the apostle of God, for he said, 'he who cultivateth waste land it belongeth to him,' and this land is waste." Al Mahdi threw himself forward at the mention of the prophet, until his cheek touched the ground, and he exclaimed, "I hearken unto what he hath said and obey." Then he continued, "it remains now to be shown that this is waste land, so that I may make no objection, and yet how can it be waste when the water surrounds it on all sides—now if they can establish the proof of this, I will assent."

And on the authority of al Asma'i, I heard al Mahdi from the pulpit at Baṣrah say, "verily the Lord hath laid upon ye a command, in *the performance* of which He Himself set the example and made His angels follow Him for He hath said, 'verily God and his angels bless the prophet &c.' (Kur. XXXIII.) He hath distinguished him by means of it

among the apostles inasmuch as He hath distinguished ye by it among nations." A. H. 169. A. D. 785.

I have to observe that he was the first to speak thus in a discourse, and preachers unto this day have been guided by it as an example.

When al Mahdi died, and sackcloths were, hanging from the cupolas of the Caliph's harem, Abu'l A'táhíyah* said—

" At eve, they went in dyed garments,
And in the morning they were clad in sackcloth.
Unto every butting ram in the world
Shall come a day when there shall be one butting against him.
Thou art not immortal
Didst thou live to the age of Noah:
Weep for thyself, hapless one
If thou art to weep."

Traditions from the narration of al Mahdi.

As Ṣúli gives a tradition through al Mahdi from Abu Sa'íd al Khudri who said, " the apostle of God preached a discourse to us from the afternoon until sunset which some remember and some have forgotten, and he said *in it,* ' now verily the goods of this world are sweet and refreshing' and the rest of the tradition in full."

And through al Mahdi from A'bbás, that a deputation of Persians visited the apostle of God, and they had shaved their beards and allowed their moustaches to grow long, and the prophet said—" do the contrary of what they do—let your beards grow long and shave your moustaches," and the shaving of the moustache means the removal of as much of it as falls upon the lip," and al Mahdi placed his hand upon his upper lip.

Manṣúr-b-Muzáḥim and Muḥammad-b-Yahya-b-Ḥamzah, narrate of of Ḥamzah-b-Yahya that he said, " al Mahdi read to us the evening prayer and called out in a high voice, ' In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate.' I exclaimed, ' O prince of the Faithful what means this!' He replied, ' my father related to me, on the authority of

* Abu Isḥáḳ Isma'il-b-u'l Ḳásim was born at Ain u't Tamr in A. H. 130, brought up at Kúfah and settled at Baghdad. He was surnamed Abu'l A'táhiyah, and also al Jarrár, because he sold jars. He was among the principal of the poets who flourished in the early times of Islám and ranked in the same class with Bashshár and Abú Nawás. His passion for U'tba, a female slave of al Mahdi and his numerous odes to her, added to his notoriety, but did not advance his suit, for though the Caliph was willing to bestow her upon him, she disbelieved in his affection and abhorred his face. He died at Baghdad in 211 (A. D. 826). Ibn Khall.

A. H. 169. Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet called aloud—In the name of God, the
A. D. 785. most Merciful, the most Compassionate'—I said to al Mahdi, 'may I transmit this on thy authority?' He replied, 'yes.'"

Ad Ḍahabi says, "this ascription is unbroken in continuity but I never knew any one adduce al Mahdi, or his father as authority for religious ordinances." Muḥammad-b-u'l Walid, client of the Banú Háshim is the only authority for this, and Ibn A'li states that he fabricated traditions. I remark that he is not alone in this, for I have noticed another that follows him.

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Mahdi were Shu'bah-*b-u'l Hajjáj Abu Bistám*, Ibn Abí Ḍib, Sufyán at Thaurí, Ibrahim-b-Adham the ascetic, Daušd at Tái the ascetic, Bashshár-b-Burd the most eminent of the post-classical poets, Ḥammád-b-Salamah, Ibrahim-b-Ṭahmán and Khalíl-b-Aḥmad, author of the treatise on prosody.

AL HÁDI.

Al Hádí, Abú Muḥammad, Músa-b-u'l Mahdi-b-i'l Manṣúr, whose mother was a Berber slave concubine called al Khayzurán, was born at Rai in the year 147 and was acknowledged Caliph after his father, in accordance with the latter's deed of succession. Al Khaṭíb says that no one ruled the Caliphate before him at his age. He continued in it for a year and some months. His father charged him as his last bequest to exterminate the Zindíḳs and he pursued them actively and put to death a large number of them. He used to be called Musá Aṭbiḳ, because his upper lip was contracted, and his father placed a servant in charge over him when he was a child, who whenever he saw his mouth open would say, "Musa, draw *your lips* together!" (Aṭbiḳ), whereon he would recover himself and compress his lips. He was therefore thus distinguished.

Ad Ḍahabi says that he was addicted to drinking and frivolous amusement, and used to ride a brisk-going donkey, and did not uphold the dignity of the Caliphate; yet withal he was eloquent, with a great command of language, well educated, an aspect of awe encompassed him and he possessed intrepidity and hardiness. Another author describes him as a despot, and as being the first before whom men marched with sharp scimitars and staves and strung bows. His prefects imitated him in this and the *wearing of* arms prevailed much in his time.

He died in Rabíi' u'l Awwál* in the year 170, (15th Sept. 786). Accounts are conflicting regarding the manner of his death. Some say

* The text has "Ákhír." This is an error probably of the copyist as in the life of ar Rashíd, as Suyúti places al Hádi's death in Rabíi' I. All other authorities

that he pushed one of his courtiers over a precipitous bank upon the stumps of a reed bed that had been cut, but the courtier clung to him and he fell and a reed entered his nostril and they were both killed. It is said too that he had an ulcer in his stomach. Another account is, that his mother al Khayzurán poisoned him, when he sought to murder ar Rashíd in order to confer the succession on his own son. A. H. 170. A. D. 786.

It is said that his mother was an imperious woman, assuming absolute direction of affairs of state. A line of persons attended at her gate every morning, but he forbade them doing so, and addressed her in rough language, and said,* "verily, if there attendeth a noble at thy gate, I will assuredly strike off his head—but as for thee, hast thou not a spindle to employ thee, or a Ḳurán, or beads to engage thee in devotion?" And she arose beside herself with anger, and it is reported that he sent her poisoned food, but she caused some of it to be given to a dog which was *immediately* affected† by it. She therefore conspired to put him to death when he was prostrate with fever and they smothered him with the bed covering and sat upon its sides. He left seven sons.

Of the verses of al Hádi, are the following on his brother Hárún when he refused to renounce the succession.

I counselled Hárún, but he rejected my counsel,
And every man that taketh not advice, repenteth;
I invite him to a deed that will restore harmony between us,
But he turneth from it, and in that he doth wrong.
And were it not for my expectation of his *consent* from day to day
He should do what I say under compulsion.

Among the events of al Hádi's reign, it is recorded by Al Khaṭib on the authority of al Fadhl that al Hádi was wroth with a man, and they interceded for him with the Caliph, upon which he was pacified towards him, and the man went to make his excuses, and al Hádi said to him, "my approval exempts thee from the pain of apology." And on the authority of Musaa'b, that Marwán-b-Abí Hafṣah went in unto al Hádi

concur in the mouth being Rabíi' I, except Ṭabari, who says Jumáda I, and a Makín, Rabíi' II, but this latter is a mere slip of the pen, as he himself states the duration of al Hádí's reign te be one year and 52 days, which fits in with 14th Rabii' I. Weil fixes the date at the 16th Rabíi' I. See Gesh, der. Cal.

* This speech is not accurately given by as Suyúṭi and is marred in the telling. Ibn u'l Athír and Masau'di concur in their narratives of it.

† The verb انتثر has not this meaning in the Lexicons, but it is plain that this is the sense intended which would be usually expressed by تأثر

A. H. 170. and recited to him a panegyric on him, until he came to the following verse,
A. D. 786.

His bounty and intrepidity are to-day so evenly balanced
That no one knows with which the superiority lies.

Al Hádi said to him, " which dost thou prefer, thirty thousand dirhams down, or one hundred thousand paid through the accountant's office ?" He replied " give the thirty thousands dirhams down and let the hundred thousand come round to me *through the office*." Al Hádi said " nay, both shall be paid down together," and the sum was taken to him.

As Ṣ'úli observes that no woman is known to have given birth to two Caliphs, except al Khuzayrán, the mother of al Hádi and ar Ráshíd, and Wiládah, daughter of al Abbás, of the tribe of A'bs,* wife of A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, who bore al Walíd and Sulaymán ; and Sháhín† daughter of Firúz son of Yazdajird, son of Khusrau, who bore to al Walíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik, Yazíd an Náḳiṣ and Ibrahím, both of whom succeeded to the Caliphate. I remark that there may be added to these, Bai Khatún, the concubine of the last al Mutawakkil who gave birth to al A'bbás and Ḥamzah who both ruled the Caliphate ; and Kazl a concubine of the same who bore Dauúd and Sulayman who governed it likewise.

As Ṣúli also says that no Caliph was ever known to ride post, except al Hádi *who rode* from Jurján to Baghdád,‡ He adds that the impression on his signet ring was, "the Lord is the reliance of Músa and in him he confides."

The following, according to as Ṣúli is by Salm al Khásir eulogising al Hádi.

Músa is a rain—a cloud that riseth early,—and is then discharged—he appropriates power to himself—how hath he forcibly seized—and waxed strong !—and then pardoned !—just in disposition—of enduring renown—*for* good and evil—weal and woe—the best of mortals—of the race of Mudhar—a moon that is at full—unto him who beholdeth—He is the refuge—of them that are nigh—and the glory—of those that remain.

As Ṣúli says, " this detached verse—is of the measure Musta'filun—Musta'filun ;§ he was the first to employ it and I have never heard poetry of this detached character by any one else."

* There are two of this name ; one a branch of the Ḳays A'ylán, the eponymous head of which was A'bs-b-Baghídh-b-Rayth, and the other of the Banú Kudhḥáa'h sprung from A'bs-b-Khaulán. Muntaha'l Arab.

† See page 257. The name there given is " Shahfarand."

‡ This took place when the death of his father was announced to him and he accomplished the distance according to Ibn u'l Athir, in twenty days.

§ A variety of the Rajaz, dimeter acatalectic, the third epitrite — — ◡ — varied by the diiamb ◡ — — ◡ —

O carminum | dulces notæ,
Quas ore fun | dis melleo.

He traces an ascription to Sa'íd-b-Salm who is reported to have said, "verily I trust that the Lord will be merciful unto al Hádi on account of an act of his which I witnessed. I was present with him one day when Abu'l Khiṭab, as Saa'di was reciting a poem to him in his praise *continuing* till he came to,

"'O best of those whose hands tie the waist band,
O best of those whom *the race of* Muḍhar hath invested with their authority.'"

Al Hádi said to him, "have a care! whom *dost thou mean?* Shame on thee!" For he excepted no one in his verse; whereupon I exclaimed, "O prince of the Faithful, surely, he means of the people of this age." The poet then reflected and said,

"Save the prophet, the Apostle of God* to whom
Belongeth preeminence and thou, in that preeminence, doth glory."

Al Hádi said, "now thou hast hit it and hast done well," and he ordered fifty thousand dirhams to be given to him.

Al Madáini says, that al Hádi condoled with a man on account *of the loss* of his son, and said, "he made thee glad when he was *to thee* a temptation† and an evil, and now grieveth thee when he hath become unto thee a reward and a mercy!"

As Ṣúli narrates that Salm al Khásir recited on al Hádi the following verse coupling condolence and congratulation.

"Verily Músa hath assumed the Caliphate and guidance unto salvation,
And Muḥammad (*al Mahdi*) prince of the Faithful, is dead.
He is dead whose loss the people suffer in common
And he hath arisen who will suffice thee for him who is gone."

And Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah says similarly—

"Verily there pride themselves in every city
On account of the grave of the prince of the Faithful, the cemeteries.

* Who was eighteenth in direct descent from Mudhar-b-Nizár-b-Maa'd-b-Adnán; the generations between Adnán and Ishmael are uncertain, some enumerating eight, others (and among these, Muḥammad himself) counting no more than three. See Sale's Genealogical Tables.

† This is said with reference to Kur. VIII, "Know that your wealth and your children are a temptation to you" وَاعْلَمُوا اَنَّمَا اَمْوَالُكُمْ وَاَوْلَادُكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ and it is mentioned in a tradition that the death of a child is the occasion of a storing of reward unto the father.

.D. And had they not been consoled in his son after his death,
786. Never would the pulpits have ceased to weep over him.
And if Músa had not arisen upon them, they would have wailed
With a yearning cry, as the tribes yearn for the best portions of plunder."

Traditions from the narration of al Hádi.

As Ṣúli narrates from al Muṭallib-b-U'kkáshah al Marri that he said, "we went to al Hádi as evidence against a man who had reviled one of the Ḳuraysh and passed on even to the disparagement of the prophet—whereupon he convened an assembly for us, to which he summoned the chief jurisconsults of his time, and had the man brought into his presence; and we gave evidence against him. The countenance of al Hádi changed, and he hung down his head, and then raised it, and said, 'I heard my father al Mahdi relate on the authority of Ibn A'bbás, that he said—he who desireth to put scorn upon the Ḳuraysh, may the Lord put scorn upon him, and thou, O enemy of God, wert thou not satisfied in desiring that for the Ḳuraysh but thou must pass on to disparage the prophet? Strike off his head:" (recorded by al Khatíb from the ascription of as Ṣúli): and the tradition in this narration stops thus *with Ibn Abbás*, but one with another ascription traced to the prophet, hath also come down.

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Hádi were, Náfi', Ḳurán reader of the people of Medína and others.

HARU'N U'R RASHI'D.

Ar Rashíd Harún, Abú Jaa'far-b-u'l Mahdi Muḥammad-b-il Manṣúr A'bdi'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-i'l A'bbás succeeded as Caliph by the covenant of his father on the death of his brother al Hádi on Friday night the 16th Rabii' I, in the year 170. As Ṣúli mentions that that on this night al Mamún was born to him, and in the whole course of time there has never been a night but this, in which a Caliph died, a Caliph succeeded, and a Caliph was born. He used to be called Abú Músa but took henceforth the surname of Abú Jaa'far. He related traditions on the authority of his father and grandfather and Mubárak-b-Fudhálah, and his son al Mamún and others have related them on his. He was one of the most distinguished of Caliphs and most illustrious of the princes

of the earth. He undertook many military expeditions as well as pilgrimages, as Abu'l A'lá al Kilábi has said concerning him— A. H. 170. A. D. 786.

" He who seeketh or desireth to meet thee
Will find thee either in the two sacred cities or on the most distant frontier.
If in the country of the enemy, it will be on a high-mettled charger,
If in the land of the desert, on a camel's saddle."

His birth took place at Rai when his father was Prefect over it and over Khurásán in the year 148. His mother was a slave concubine called Khuzayrán who was also the mother of al Hádi, and Marwán-b-Abi Ḥafṣah* has said regarding her:

" O Khuzayrán, rejoice thee and again rejoice !
For thy two sons have come to rule the universe."

Ar Rashíd was very fair, tall, handsome, of captivating appearance, and eloquent. He was versed in science and literature. During his Caliphate, he used to pray every day a hundred " rakaa'ts," until he died, never neglecting them save for some special cause, and he used to give in charity from his private purse every day a hundred dirhams.

He loved science and its professors, and held in reverence the sacred shrines of Islám and abhorred disputation in religion and controversy on established points of doctrine. The opinion of Bishr al Marrísi† on the creation of the Ḳurán was reported to him, and he exclaimed—" if I catch him, I will strike off his head."

He used to weep over his own extravagance and his sins, especially when an exhortation was addressed to him. He loved panegyric and would bestow large sums in reward for it. There are likewise verses attributed to him.

On one occasion Ibn u's Sammák‡ the preacher went in unto him and

* He was descended from Abu Ḥafṣah Yazíd, according to some a Jewish convert, according to others one of the captives taken at Istakhar. He was purchased by Othmán, given to Marwán-b-al Ḥakam who married him to one of his own concubines by whom he had had a daughter called Ḥafṣah. This girl was brought up by Yazíd as his own and he received the surname of " father of Ḥafṣah " Marwán, the subject of this notice, was extremely avaricious and asked 1000 dirhams for every verse he wrote in praise of the Abbaside Caliphs. De Sacy Chrest. Arab. Tom. III, p. 518.

† Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán Bishr-b-Ghiáth al Marrísi a theologian and jurisconsult of the school of Hanífah. He taught openly the creation of the Ḳurán and he belonged to the sect of the Murgians which is called after him the Marrísian, and he held that it was not an *act* of infidelity to bow down to the sun and moon but only a token of it. He died at Baghdád A. H. 218, (833-4). Ibn Khall. De Slane writes incorrectly " Marísi" for Marrísi."

‡ Abu'l Abbás Muḥammad-b-Sabíh surnamed al Madḳúr (or as Ibn u'l Athír says



A. H. 170. he exerted himself to the utmost to do him honor, and Ibn u's Sammak
A. D. 786. said to him—"thy humility in thy greatness is nobler than thy greatness:" then he addressed him an exhortation and made him weep. He was also in the habit of going in person to the house of al Fuḍhayl-b-I'yadḥ.*

A'bdu'r Razzák says, "I was with al Fudhayl at Mecca when Ḥarún passed by and al Fudhayl said, "the people dislike this man, but there is not on earth any more esteemed by me than he—were he to die, thou wouldst surely behold most serious events occur."

Abu Mu'áwiyah ad Ḍharír† says, "I never mentioned the prophet before ar Rashíd, but he said, 'may God bless my lord;' and I related to him this tradition of his, 'I would that I might do battle for the sake of God and be slain, and be brought to life and slain again,' and Ḥarún wept until he sobbed aloud; and I once related to him the tradition, 'Adam and Moses entered into a disputation,' and there was by him one of the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, and the Ḳurayshi said,—but where did he meet him?—At this ar Rashíd grew wroth and exclaimed—the leather mat and the sword!—shall a Zindíḳ impugn a tradition of the prophet!'—But I continued to pacify him and to say, 'O prince of the Faithful, it came from him unpremeditatedly,' until he was appeased. I was *once* taking a meal with ar Rashíd, when a man whom I did not perceive poured water upon my hand, and ar Rashíd said, 'dost thou know who is pouring water upon thee?' I said, 'no.' He replied, 'it is I, out of reverence for *thy* knowledge.'" Mansúr-b-A'mmar‡ says "I never saw any more copious in tears when engaged in devotional exercises than three men, al Fudhayl-b-I'yádḥ, ar Rashíd, and another."

U'baydu'llah al Ḳawaríri narrates that when ar Rashíd met al Fudḥayl,

al Muḍakkar) and known as Ibn u's Sammak, (son of the seller or catcher of fish). He was a native of Kúfah and a professional narrator of anecdotes. His devotion, his pious exhortations and the elegance of his language acquired him great celebrity. He died at Kúfah, A. H. 183 (799-80). Ibn Khall.

* Abu A'lí al Fudhayl-b-I'yádḥ a celebrated ascetic. Drew his origin from a family of the tribe of Tamím which had settled at Tálakán in Khurásán. He was born at Abiward or Samarkand, passed his youth at Abiward and then went to learn traditions at Kúfah, from thence he removed to Mecca where he dwelt tell his death in 187 A. H. (803). It is said that his commenced life as a highway robber and was converted by hearing a sentence of the Ḳurán pronounced, when he was about to climb a wall to see a girl whom he loved. Ibn Khall.

† Abú Mu'áwiyah Muḥammad-b-Khäzim, ad Ḍharír (the blind) adopted member of the tribe of Minḳar, born at Kúfah A. H. 113. He was a traditionist of eminence, died A. H. 195 (811). De Slane, I. K.

‡ A native of Khurásán (or of Baṣrah as some say) celebrated for his wisdom piety and eloquence as a preacher. He also delivered traditions. He resided at Cairo and died A. H. 225 (839-40). De Slane, I. K.



the latter said to him, "O thou with the handsome face! art thou he who is answerable *before God* for this people?' Layth related to me on the authority of al Mujáhid, *that the verse* 'and the cords *of relation* between them shall be cut asunder,' (Kur. II) signifieth the connection that was between them in the world, and Ḥarún began to weep and sob."* As an instance of his good qualities, *it is said* that when the news of the death of Ibn u'l Mubárak† reached him, he gave an audience of condolence and commanded his nobles to condole with him on the loss of Ibn u'l Mubárak. A. H 170. A. D. 786.

Niftawayh says that ar Rashíd followed in the footsteps of his grandfather Abú Jaa'far save in covetousness, for no Caliph before him, had been as munificent as he. He bestowed on one occasion on Sufyán-b-U'yaynah‡ one hundred thousand dirhams, and on another, two hundred thousand on Isháḳ§ of Mosul, and he gave Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah for a poem, five thousand dínars, a robe of honor, a horse from his own stud and ten Greek slaves.

Al Aṣma'i narrates, "ar Rashíd said to me, 'O Aṣma'i, what hath made thee neglect me and keep aloof from me?' I replied, 'by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, the provinces, after thee could not attach me *to them*, until I came to thee.' And he was silent but, when the people dispersed he said 'what means could not attach me,' (alaḳatni).|| I said,

'Of thy two hands, one keepeth not within it a dirham
Through munificence, while the other sheddeth blood with a sword.'

* This story is related differently and probably more correctly in Ibn Khall.

† Abú Abdu'r Raḥmán Abdu'llah al Marwazi, a Mawla to the tribe of Handhalah, a man of profound learning and of mortified life. He loved retirement and was extremely assiduous in the practice of ascetic devotion. He died at Hít on the Euphrates on his return from a military expedition in A. H. 181 (797). The nauseous details of his funeral are given by Maṣa'údi. Ibn Khall.

‡ He was an imám of learning and piety and distinguished for the exactitude of his traditions. His parents lived at Kúfah where he was born A. H. 107. He made the pilgrimage seventy times. He died at Mecca, A. H. 198 (814). Ibn Khall. In the text for عيينه read عيينة

§ Abú Muḥammad Isḥák known by the name of Ibn u'n Nadím al Mausili (son of the boon companion from Mosul) a member by adoption of the tribe of Tamím and born al Arraján. He was a constant companion of the Caliphs in their parties of pleasure: he was well versed in pure Arabic and the history of the poets, in jurisprudence and tradition, and as a singer was without a rival. Born A. H. 150, died 235 (A. D. 850). Ibn Khall.

|| The verb iláḳat means to bind to one's self or to put raw silk into an inkstand as is the oriental custom, to prevent the reed-pen being overcharged with ink. Al Aṣm'ai who had a marvellous command of the Arabic language and knowledge of the poets and their works, purposely used an uncommon word to attract the attention of

A. H. 170. He replied, 'thou hast said well and continue to be thus; honor us in
A. D. 786. public and instruct us in private,' and he ordered for me five thousand dínárs."

In the Murúju'd Ḍahab (*Meadows of gold*) of Mas'aúdi, the author says that ar Rashíd desired to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea at a point adjacent to Farama,* but Yahya-b-Rashíd the Barmecide said to him that the Greeks would carry off the people from the sacred mosque *(at Mecca)* and that their ships would come up to al Ḥijáz; he therefore abandoned it.

Al Jáhidh† observes that there were assembled round ar Rashíd *such a company* as were never united under any other *Caliph, to wit,* his ministers the Barmecides, his Ḳádhi Abú Yusuf, his poet Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah, his boon companion al A'bbás-b-Muḥammad the paternal uncle of his father, his chamberlain al Fadhl-b-u'r Rabíi' one of the most celebrated and remarkable of men, his musician Ibráhím of Mosul, and his wife Zubaydah. Another author says that all the days of ar Rashíd were as happy in their joyousness as if they had been marriage-feasts, and ad Ḍahabi states that a narrative of the adventures of ar Rashíd would extend to great length and his good actions are numerous. There are accounts of him also in his diversions, forbidden pleasures and musical entertainments,—may God exalt him.

Of people of note who died in his reign were Málik-b-Anas, al Layth-b-Saa'd, Abú Yusuf the disciple of Abú Ḥanífah, al Ḳásim-b-Maa'n, Muslim-b-Khálid al Zanji, Núḥ al Jámi', the Ḥáfidh Abú U'wánah al Yeshkuri, Ibráhím-b-Saa'd az Zuhri, Abú Isháḳ al Fazári, Ibráhím-b-Abí Yahya the master of as Shafi'i, Asad al Kúfí one of the most eminent of the disciples of Abú Ḥanífah, Ismaíl-b-A'yyásh, Bashir-b-u'l Mufadhdhal, Jarír-b-Abdi'l Ḥamíd, Ziyád al Bakkái, Sulaym the Ḳurán reader, the disciple of Ḥamzah,‡ Sibawayh the great master of Arabic, Dḥaygham

Harún, and then illustrated it by a verse which instructed the Caliph in its meaning as well as in the needs of the speaker. The Arabic verse in the printed edition is incorrect. The word كَفَاكَ should be pointed كَفّاكَ and the second hemistich should begin with the word جودا which has been omitted, but which is in the MS. The metre is Rajaz.

* Near what is now el Arísh on the Mediterranean; the town of Farama has disappeared and no trace of it remains. See Yaḳúṭ for its history.

† Abú Othmán Amr-b-Bakr known as al Jáhidḥ (the starer) and al Hadaḳi (the goggle-eyed) on account of the prominence of his eyes. He was a native of Baṣrah, celebrated for his learning and author of numerous works on every branch of science. One of his best works is the Book on Animals. Numerous anecdotes are told of him by Ibn Khall whom the reader may consult. He died at Baṣrah A. H. 255 at the age of ninety.

‡ Probably Ḥamzah-b-Ḥabíb az Zayyát one of the seven readers of the Ḳurán and master of al Kisái, died at Ḥulwán A. H 156 (772-3). Ibn Khall.

the ascetic, A'bdu'llah al U'mari the ascetic, A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Mubárak, A. H. 170.
A'bdu'llah-b-Idrís ad Kúfí, A'bdu'l A'zíz-b-Abí Házim, ad Darawardi, al A. D. 786.
Kisái master of the Kurán readers and grammarians and Muhammad-b-u'l Hasan the disciple of Abú Hanífah both on the same day; A'li-b-Mushir, Ghunjár, I'sa-b-Yunas as Sabíi'í, al Fudhayl-b-I'yádh, Ibn u's Sammák the preacher, Marwán-b-Abí Hafsah the poet, al Mu'áfa-b-I'mran al Mawsili, Mua'tamir*-b-Sulaymán, al Mufadhdhal-b-Fudhálah Kádhi of old Cairo, Músa al Kádhim (the forbearing), Músa-b-Rabíi'h Abu'l Hakam al Misri one of the saints, an Nua'mán-b-A'bdi's Salám al Isbaháni, Hushaym, Yahya†-b-Abi Záidah, Yazíd-b-Zuray', Yúnas-b-Habíb the grammarian, Yakúb-b-A'bdi'r Rahmán, the Kurán reader of Medína, Sa'saa'h-b-u's Sallám, the learned doctor of Spain, one of the disciples of Málik, Abdúr Rahmán-b-u'l Kásim the most eminent of the disciples of Málik al A'bbás-b-u'l Ahnaf, the famous poet, Abú Bakr-b-A'yyásh, the Kurán reader, Yusuf-b-u'l Májishún and others.

The following are among the events of his reign. In the year 175 A'bdu'llah-b-Musaa'b az Zubayri falsely accused Yahya-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Hasan, the descendant of A'li of having invited him to rebel with him against ar Rashíd, whereupon Yahya imprecated with him the curse of God upon which ever of them spoke falsely, in the presence of ar Rashíd and locked his hand in the hand of the other, and exclaimed, "say—O God, if thou knowest that Yahya did not invite me to oppose and rebel against the prince of the Faithful here, then commit me to my own power and strength, and utterly destroy me by a chastisement from thee. Amen. Lord of created things." Az Zubayri stammered hesitatingly but repeated it, and Yahya did the like, and they arose *and departed* and az Zubayri died the same day.

In the year 176 the city of Dubsah‡ was captured by the Amír A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-A'bdi'l Málik-b-Sálih al A'bbási. In the year 179 ar Rashíd performed the lesser pilgrimage in the month of Ramadhán and remained in the state of Ihrám§ until he made the greater pilgrimage and went on foot to A'rafah from Mecca.

In the year 180 occurred the great earthquake in which the top of the minaret at Alexandria fell. In the year 181, the fort of Safsáf|| was

* "Mua'mmar" according to Ibn u'l Athír. معمر بن سليمان بن طرخان التيمي

† "Zakariya." Ibn u'l Athír.

‡ Ibn u'l Athír has Dalsah or Dulsa, for the word is not pointed, but Dulsah is stated in a note to be a variant. I cannot find the name on the map. He places this event in the year 190.

§ *I. e.* abstaining from all acts which are unlawful at that season.

|| On the frontier of Syria between Antioch and the Grecian territory.

A. H. 180. captured by force of arms, the captor being ar Rashíd. In the year 183
A. D. 796. the Khazars* burst upon Armenia and fell upon the true believers and made great slaughter and carried away captive more than a hundred thousand souls. Thus a grievous calamity fell upon Islám, the like of which had not been heard of before.

In the year 187, there came a letter to ar Rashíd from Nicephorus† the Roman Emperor breaking the truce which had been established between the Muslims and Irene Empress of Rome. The letter ran as follows: "From Nicephorus, the Roman Emperor, to Harún, sovereign of the Arabs: After preliminaries—verily the Empress who preceded me gave thee the rank of a rook and put herself in that of a pawn, and conveyed to thee many loads of her wealth, and this through the weakness of women and their folly. Now when thou hast read this letter of mine, return what thou hast received of her substance, otherwise the sword shall decide between me and thee." When ar Rashíd read the letter, he was so inflamed with rage, that no one durst look upon his face, much less speak to him, and his courtiers dispersed from fear, and his ministers speechless forbore from counsel. Then ar Rashíd sent for an inkhorn and wrote upon the back of the letter. "In the name of God, the most Compassionate the most Merciful, from Harún the prince of the faithful to Nicephorus the Roman dog. Verily I have read thy letter, son of an unbelieving mother, and the answer thou shalt behold and not hear." Thereupon he set out the same day and did not stay until he reached Heraclea, and there took place a famous battle and a manifest victory, and Nicephorus implored peace and engaged to pay a tribute which he would transmit to him every year and it was accepted. But when ar Rashíd returned to ar Rakkah, the dog violated the engagement, deeming impossible the return of ar Rashíd in the winter, and no one durst tell ar Rashíd of the violation, but A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-Yusuf at Tamími versified, saying,

"Nicephorus hath violated what thou didst concede to him,
Therefore around him the circle of destruction shall revolve.
Give the good news to the prince of the Faithful,
Verily he is a spoil that the great God hath vouchsafed thee."

And Abú'l A'táhíyah made some verses which were shown to ar Rashíd, and he said—"indeed hath he done so?" He therefore set out on his

* A Turkish tribe north of Derbend, their eponymous ancestor being Khazar the son of Japhet, the son of Noah—for a particular account of them, consult Yakút. The cause of their irruption was the death of the Khákáns daughter whom the Barmecide Fadhl-b-Yahya had wooed. The Khákán had been informed that the Muslims had put her to death. According to another account the murder of the Khákán himself by an Arab provoked the calamity. See Weil, Vol. V, p. 158.

† The printed edition has يقفور for نقفور

return march in the face of the greatest hardships until he caused his camel to kneel in the Emperor's courtyard, and continued until he attained his purpose and accomplished *the object* of his holy war: and concerning this, Abu'l A'tahíyah says, A. H. 180. A. D. 796.

Now hath Heraclea perished in war
At the hand of the king who is guided to success.
Harún hastened thundering with death,
And lightening with bright cutting swords;
And his standards upon which victory alights
Speed by as though they were broken masses of cloud.

In the year 189 he ransomed his people in captivity with the Romans, so that there did not remain a single Muslim captive in their territories. In the year 190 he took Heraclea and spread his troops over the Roman territories. Shuraḥíl-b-Maa'n-b-Zaidah captured the fortress as Ṣaḳáliyah, and Yazíd-b-Makhlad,* Malaḳuniyah.† Ḥumayd-b-Ma'yuf set out against Cyprus, and devastated and wasted it by fire and carried away into captivity sixteen thousand of its people.

In the year 192 ar Rashíd marched towards Khurásán, and Muḥammad-b u's Ṣabáḥ at Ṭabari mentions that his father accompanied ar Rashíd to an Nahrawán, and he used to enter into conversation with him on the road, until he said *one day*, "O Ṣabáḥ I do not think that thou wilt see me again after this,"‡ I replied, "nay—may the Lord bring thee back in safety." He continued, "I do not think thou knowest what I have." I answered, "no—by Allah." Ar Rashíd said "come till I show thee," and he left the road and signed to his attendants who retired. Then he said "the faithfulness of God, O Ṣabáḥ, *be thy oath*, that thou keep it secret concerning me," and he uncovered his stomach, when lo! there was silken bandage round about his stomach, and he said, "I have concealed this disease from all men, for each one of my sons hath a spy upon me; Masrúr is the spy of al Mamún, and Gabriel the son of Bakhtíshúu'§ is the spy of al Amin, and I have forgotten the third. There is not one of them but counts my breathings, and reckons my days and finds my life too long, and if thou wishest to know this, I will at once send for a horse and they will bring me one very lean in order to increase my malady *by its roughness*." And he sent for a horse and they brought one such as he described, and he

* Read مُخْلَد for مُخَلَّد

† The printed edition has erroneouly al Ḳuníyah. Malaḳuníyah is stated by Yaḳúṭ to be near Iconium. According to Theophanes, the Arabs took Thebasa (Dubsah or Dalsah?) Malacopæa, Sideropolis, and Andrasus. Neither Yaḳúṭ nor Weil fix the position of as Sakáliyah. See Weil's notice of these names, Tom. II, p. 160.

‡ The narrative here passes from the third to the first person with the usual قال.

§ His physician.

A. H. 192. glanced at me and then mounted and bid me farewell, and set out for
A. D. 807. Jurján. Shortly after he left it in the month of Ṣafar of the year 193, while still suffering, for Ṭús, and continued there till he died.

Ar Rashíd had covenanted for the succession of his son Muḥammad in the year 175 on account of his mother Zubaydah's great eagerness for it and surnamed him al Amín, he being at the time five years of age. Ad Ḍahabi says that this was the first unsettlement that came upon the Muslim state as regards the Imamate. He afterwards covenanted for his son A'bdu'llah after al Amín in the year 182 and surnamed him al Mámún and bestowed on him the government of all the provinces of Khurásán. Next he covenanted for the succession of his son al Ḳásim after his two brothers, in the year 186 and surnamed him al Mútamin, and made him governor of Mesopotamia and the frontiers while he was yet a child. When he had thus partitioned the world among these three, it was observed by one of the learned, that he had thrown among them what would be their injury, and that the evil of it would work mischief to his people. The poets recited congratulatory poems on the covenant of allegiance, and he afterwards suspended copies of the covenant in the temple of Mecca, and regarding this Ibráhím of Mosul and said—

"The best of affairs in their issue,
The most just of ordinances in their completion,
Is a deed, the decrees of which hath promulgated
The most Merciful in the Sacred Temple."

And A'bdu'l Malik-b-Ṣáliḥ says :*

"The love of the Caliph is a love to which submit themselves not
The sinner against God, and the schismatic who promoteth discord.
God invested Harún with this jurisdiction
When He chose him, He verified our faith and our laws.
And Harún through this benignity unto us, hath given jurisdiction over the earth
Unto al Amín, al Mámún, and al Mútamin."

It has been stated by some authorities that ar Rashíd withheld the Caliphate from his son al Mua'tasim on account of his being illiterate, but the Lord caused it to come to him and made all the Caliphs succeeding him, to be of his descendants, and did not establish a Caliph from among sons of ar Rashíd, save of his stock.

* Abú A'bdu'r Raḥmán A'bdu'l Malik-b-Sáliḥ-b-A'li-b-A'bdi'llah-b-i'l A'bbás-b-A'bdi'l Muttalib. He was the most elegant speaker of all the surviving descendants of al A'bbás. The town of Manbij which he held as appanage, was his place of residence. He died at Rakkah A. H. 193. Ibn Khall.

Salm al Khásir says regarding the covenant in favour of al Amin— A. H. 193. A.D.808-9.

"Say to the dwellings on the white sand-hills
Watered by the morning rain-clouds,
Verily men and spirits have sworn allegiance to the guide unto salvation
Unto Muḥammad, the son of Zubaydah, daughter of Jaa'far.*
Verily God prospered the Caliphate, when he built
The House of Vicegerency, for the nobly born, the illustrious,
For he is the Caliph through his sire and grandsire
Who bear testimony unto him by *evidence of* sight and report."

Upon this Zubaydah stuffed his mouth with jewels which he sold for twenty thousand dínárs. (£10,000.)

Some particulars of the life of ar Rashíd.

As Silafí records in the Ṭuyyúriyát with ascription to Ibn u'l Mubárak, that when ar Rashíd succeeded to the Caliphate, one of the slave girls of al Mahdi made an impression on him and he sought her hand, but she said, "I am not lawful unto thee, since thy father used to visit me." But he grew violently enamoured of her and sent to Abú Yusuf,† and asked of him, *saying*, "hast thou any remedy for this case?" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful—what! is a slave girl to be believed whenever she makes an assertion? do not credit her—for verily she is not to be trusted." Ibn u'l Mubárak observes *on this* "I know not at whom I should most wonder in this affair—whether at this man who steeped his hands in the blood of the Muslims and *seized* their goods, or at this slave girl who of her own accord shrunk from the prince of the Faithful, or at this jurisconsult and judge of the earth who said, 'violate the honour of thy father and gratify thy lust and put it upon my shoulders?" As Silafí records also on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-Yusuf that ar Rashíd said to Abú Yusuf, "I have bought a slave and wish to take her at once before the legal period of abstention be passed—hast thou a device to offer?" He

* Son of the Caliph al Manṣúr.

† The Ḳádhi Abú Yusuf Yaḳúb al Anṣári. He was a native of Kúfah and one of Abú Ḥanífah's disciples, a legist, a learned scholar and a Ḥáfidḥ. While at Baghdád, he acted as Ḳáḍhi to al Mahdi, al Hádi and Hárún by the latter of whom he was treated with great honor and respect. He was the first who bore the title of Ḳáḍhi u'l Ḳudḥát (or Chief Justice) and it is said that he was the first who changed the dress of the ulemá (learned) and gave it the form which it retains to this day. The anecdotes told of him by Ibn Khall are numerous. He was born 113 A. H. and died at Baghdád A. H. 182 (798) holding the Ḳádḥiship till his death.



A. H. 193. replied, "Yes—give her to one of thy sons and then marry her."* And
A.D.808-9. from Isháḳ-b-Ráhwayh that ar Rashíd sent for Abú Yusuf one night, who gave him his judgment *on the case required.* Ar Rashíd then ordered one hundred thousand dirhams (£2,500) to be given to him. "Abú Yusuf exclaimed if the prince of the Faithful sees good, he will order it to be given at once before morning." Ar Rashíd said *to his attendants*, "bring it immediately;" but one of his suite exclaimed "the Treasurer is at his house and the doors *of the Treasury* are locked." Abú Yusuf retorted "verily the doors were locked when he sent for me." They were therefore opened *and the money given.*

As Ṣúli records with ascription to Ya'kub-b-Jaa'far, that ar Rashíd set out in the year in which he assumed the Caliphate, in order to ravage the outlying Roman provinces and returned in Shaa'bán and performed the pilgrimage with the people at the close of the year, and distributed great sums among the Sacred Cities. He had previously seen the prophet in a dream who had said to him, "this authority will come to thee during this month; make war therefore and perform the pilgrimage and give largely to the people of the Sacred Cities:" all of which he carried out. And from Mu'áwiyah-b-Ṣáliḥ on the authority of his father, that the first verse composed by ar Rashíd was when he made the pilgrimage in the year of his accession to the Caliphate; he entered a house and lo! at the head of a chamber in it was a line of a verse written upòn the wall.

"Now, O prince of the Faithful, dost thou not see
(I ransom thee) that separation from a friend is a momentous thing?"

Whereupon he sent for an inkhorn and wrote beneath it with his own hand—

"Yes; and the camels marked for sacrifice, and what moves
In Mecca wearied, at a hurried pace."

And from Saíd-b-Muslim that the understanding of ar Rashíd was as the understanding of the learned. An Nu'máni versified to him in describing a horse,

"As if his two ears when he raises his head
Were the first feather of a wing or an obliquely-nibbed pen."

Ar Rashíd said "omit كان (as if) and say "thou wouldest think his two ears." So that the verse may run smoothly.†

And from A'bdu'llah-b-u'l A'bbás-b-i'l Faḍhl-b-i'r Rabíi' that ar Rashíd swore that he would not approach a female slave of his for a certain number of days, and he was much attached to her. And when the period

* This legal period of abstention not being required in cases of marriage.

† The Caliph's emendation does not touch the scansion which is the same with either word. The metre is Rajaz.

had elapsed, she did not seek to make him reconciled to her, whereupon he said, A. H. 193. A.D. 808-9.

"*He shunned me when he saw me infatuated
And prolonged his patience, when he discovered it.
He was my slave and hath now become my master
Verily this is among the wonders of the age."

Then he sent for Abú'l A'táhíyah and said "Cap these lines" who said,

"The potency of love hath disclosed to him my humiliation
In my love for him, and he hath a comely face:
And through the one I have become his slave
And through the other hath appeared and become manifest what I feel."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Ibn U'layyah that ar Rashíd seized a Zindíḳ, and gave orders that his head should be struck off, and the Zindíḳ said, "why dost thou strike off my head?" He replied "I shall free the people from thee." He replied "and where art thou against the thousand traditions which I have falsely ascribed to the Apostle of God, not one word of which he spoke?" Ar Rashíd answered, "and where art thou, O enemy of God, before Abú Ishaḳ al Fazári, and A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Mubárak who can sift and eject them letter by letter?"

As Ṣúli records on the authority of Isháḳ al Háṣhimí that he said, "we were with ar Rashíd when he exclaimed, 'I hear that the people suspect me of hatred towards A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib, whereas, by Allah I love no one with the love I bear to him, but these people are the most violent in hating and reviling us, and in attempting to excite discord in our kingdom, notwithstanding that we have taken their blood-revenge, and shared with them what we possess, so that they are more favourably inclined to the children of Umayyah than towards us. But as to the descendants of his loins, they are indeed the chiefs of the people and the first in merit, and verily my father al Mahdi related to me on the authority of Ibn Abbás that he heard the prophet say regarding al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn—whoso loveth those two, verily loveth me, and whoso hateth those two, verily he hateth me;—and he likewise heard him say—Fátimah is the chief of the women of the universe, save Miriam the daughter of I'mrán† and Ásyah daughter of Muzáhim.'"

* This mode of appealing to a mistress under the mark of an address to one of the other sex is common in oriental poetry. It is from a jealousy of making public the circumstances of life, or the attractions of those whom Eastern custom rigidly excludes from the gaze of men. According to De Slane this is still carried so far in Cairo that public singers dare not amuse their auditors with a song in which the beloved indicated is a female.

† This is the name given in the Ḳurán to the father of the Blessed Virgin. (Ḳur.

A. H. 193. It is related that Ibn u's Sammák went in unto ar Rashíd who called
A.D.808-9. for *water to* drink, and a goglet was brought to him, and when he took hold of it, Ibn u's Sammák said "gently! O prince of the Faithful! if thou wert forbidden this draught, at how much would'st thou purchase it?" He answered "with the half of my kingdom." The other said—"drink, may the Lord make it wholesome to thee." And when he had drunk, Ibn u's Sammák said, "I ask of thee, if its emission from thy body were forbidden thee, at how much would'st thou purchase its emission?" He replied "with the whole of my kingdom." He continued "verily a kingdom whose price is a draught of water and its emission, is not worth contending for." And Harún wept bitterly.

Ibn u'l Jauzi relates that ar Rashíd said to Shaybán, "give me an admonition." He replied, "that thou shouldst consort with one who will terrify thee until security cometh upon thee, is better than that thou shouldst consort with one who will inspire thee with a feeling of security until fear cometh upon thee." Ar Rashíd said, "explain this to me." He replied, "he who saith to thee, 'thou art answerable for thy people,' is a better counsellor unto thee than one who saith—ye people of the prophetical house—your sins are forgiven ye—for ye are the kinsfolk of your prophet." And ar Rashíd wept until those who were around him had compassion on him.

In as Şúli's work of the Auráķ *it is stated* with its authorities, that when ar Rashíd assumed the Caliphate, and installed Yahya-b-Khálid as first minister, Ibráhím of Mosul said,

"Didst thou not see that the sun was wan,
But when Harún came, its rays shone forth.
The world has become clothed with beauty through his sovereignty,
For Harún is its monarch and Yahya its minister."

Whereupon ar Rashíd made him a present of one hundred thousand dirhams and Yahya gave him fifty thousand.

The following is by Dauúd-b-Razín of Wasiţ on Harún.

"Through Harún the light hath shone over every city,
And in the justice of his disposition the ways of rectitude are through him established.
The Imám whose works are directed to the service of God,
And what most frequently occupy him to that end, are war and pilgrimage.
The eyes of the people are blinded by the light of his face
When his shining countenance appeareth before men.

III, see Sale's notes, p. 39). Asyah was the wife of Pharaoh who saved the life of Moses from the anger of her husband. (Kur. XX, Sale, p. 257).

Hopes grow ample through the munificence of his hand, A. H. 193.
For he giveth unto him who hopeth from him beyond what he hopeth." A.D.808-9.

The Ḳáḍhi al Fáḍhil* observes in one of his Epistles. "I know of no journey ever undertaken by a monarch in search of knowledge, save that by ar Rashíd, who journeyed with his two sons al Amín and al Mámún to study the Muwaṭṭa† under Málik: the original of the Muwaṭṭa heard by ar Rashíd was in the library of the Egyptians. Afterwards the Sultán Saláḥ-u'ddín-b-Ayúb travelled to Alexandria and studied the Muwaṭṭa under Ibn Ṭáhir‡-b-A'uf—I do not know of a third *that can be added* to these two."

The following is by Manṣur an Namari§ on ar Rashíd—

"He made the Ḳurán his Imám and his guide
When the Ḳurán chose him as a defence."

And from a poem of his is this verse—

"Noble qualities and beneficence are valleys,
God hath caused thee to dwell in them where they meet."

It is said that ar Rashíd rewarded him for this with a hundred thousand dirhams.

* Abú A'li Abdu'r Raḥím al Lakhmi, al A'sḳaláni, known as the Ḳáḍhi al Fáḍhil (the excellent Ḳáḍhi) was the son of the Ḳáḍhi al Ashraf (the most noble) and grandson of the Ḳáḍhias Sa'íd (fortunate). He was born at Ascalon in A. H. 529 and was Vizír to al Málik an Násir Saláh-u'ddín by whom he was treated with great favour. He was pre-eminent as a writer of epistles and surpassed every predecessor. Such is the judgment of Ibn Khall confirmed by the opinion of his contemporaries but to a European taste, his style is turgid, and the specimens of his correspondence given by Ibn Khall, show the conventional mannerism and the hackneyed tropes of all Oriental letter writers. He died at Cairo A. H. 596, (1200).

† The famous work on tradition by Málik-b-Anas, which is part of the basis on which the Málikite system of jurisprudence is founded.

‡ The printed edition has incorrectly the name A'li for the preposition a'la (علي) and Ibn (بن) for abi (ابي) The MS. has not these faults. Abú Ṭáhir Isma'íl-b-Makki-b-Isma'íl-b-Isa-b-A'uf az Zuhri was a doctor of the school of Málik and a Mufti of the highest consideration, The Ḥáfidḥ as Siláfí attended his lectures and as the text rightly says, the Sultán Salah-u'ddín studied the Muwaṭṭa under him. He died A. H. 581 (1185).

§ Manṣúr-b-u'l Zibrikán-b-Salmah called an Namari because descendod from Namar-b-Ḳásiṭ. He was a native of Mesopotamia and brought by al Fáḍhl-b-Yahya to the notice of ar Rashíd. This poet adroitly copied Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah in joining to his eulogies of the Caliph the disparagement of the family of A'li, by which he intended to show that he did not recognize their claim to the Imámate. A practice pleasing to the Caliph, notwithstanding his professions of love towards A'li and his affected kindness to his descendants. Mansúr died at Rás u'l A'yn in the reign of Harún: consult Kitáb u'l Agháni, Tom. 12.

A. H. 193. A.D.803-9. Al Ḥusayn-b-Fahm narrates that ar Rashíd used to say—"among the most pleasing to me of what has been said in my praise, is—

The father of al Amín, al Mámún and al Mútamin
"How generous is he as an affectionate father! and how *generous* those whom he hath begotten."

Isháḳ of Mosul says, "I went in unto ar Rashíd and recited to him,

'A woman enjoyed thrift, I said to her, Stay thee
For that is a thing to which there is no way.
I see that men are friends of the munificent and I see not
A miser in the universe that hath a friend.
And verily I have seen that avarice bringeth contempt on those that practise it.
And my spirit is too generous that it should be called avaricious.
And the best of circumstances for a youth—if thou knowest it,
Is when he hath acquired a thing, that he be in the habit of giving to others,
My gift is as the gift of the abundant in generosity,
And I have not, as thou verily knowest, little.
And how should I fear poverty and be deprived of wealth
While the judgment of the prince of the Faithful is so excellent.'"

Ar Rashíd exclaimed—"no indeed—how? if it please God. O Fadhl, give him one hundred thousand dirhams. To God be attributed the flow of the verses he hath brought us! How admirable is their point and how beautiful their arrangement!" I said, "O prince of the Faithful, thy words are better than my verse." He replied, "O Fadhl, give him another hundred thousand."

In the Ṭuyyuriyát with its ascription to Isháḳ of Mosul, *it is stated* that Abú'l A'táhíyah said to Abú Nawás* I would that I had been before hand with thee in the verse in which thou didst praise ar Rashíd.

"Verily I used to fear thee, but what freed me
From fearing thee was thy fear of God."

Muḥammad-b-A'li al Khurásáni says that ar Rashíd was the first Caliph who played with hockey stick and ball and shot arrows at a target, and the first Caliph of the sons of al A'bbás that played at chess, and as Ṣúli states that he was the first who appointed degrees and classes for singers. Of the verses of ar Rashíd in lament over his female slave Haylánah, (Helen) as Ṣúli quotes the following:

* The ready wit and brilliant powers of extempore versification of ar Rashíd's famous poet may be sought for in D'Herbelot's meagre sketch of his life, by the reader who may be unacquainted with Arabic. The Arabic scholar needs no reference to the life of one of the best known figures of his time.

"I endured afflictions and sorrow
When death took Haylánah to itself.
I parted from my happiness when I lost her
And care not now what it may be.
She was my world: and when she sank
Into her grave, I parted from my world.
Verily people have multiplied, but I
Behold no creature after her.
By Allah, I shall not forget thee
As long as the wind shaketh the boughs on the uplands."

And quoted by as Ṣúli is this verse by him—

"O, mistress of the mansion in Firk,
And mistress of the Sulṭán and his kingdom
For God's sake, spare to slay me
For I am neither Daylam nor Turk."

Ar Rashíd died at Ṭús in Khurásán while leading a military expedition, and was buried there on the 3rd Jumáda II, 193* (23rd March 809) at the age of forty-five, and his son Ṣáliḥ read prayers over him.

As Ṣúli says that ar Rashíd left one hundred million dínárs, and furniture and jewels and bullion and beasts of kinds, to the value of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dínárs.

Another author states that Gabriel the son of Bakhtishúu' erred† in his medical treatment of ar Rashíd which was the cause of his death, and ar Rashíd purposed to have him quartered, but he said, "give me time till to-morrow and thou wilt enter upon the morning in health." But he died the same day.

It is said that ar Rashíd dreamed that he was leading the prayers as Imám at Ṭús, and he wept, and said "dig me a grave;" and one was dug for him, and he was borne in a covered litter upon a camel, and it was driven along until he beheld the grave, and he said, "O son of man, thou art about to come to this." And he gave orders to a party who set him down, and they read over him the entire Ḳurán while he was in the litter on the

* It is as Weil remarks, a strange fact that notwithstanding the full and splendid court kept by ar Rashíd and the learned doctors, authors, traditionists and poets that attended it, the date of his death, as that of his birth, is uncertain. According to Wákidi, he died on Friday night, 3rd Jumáda II, according to Hishám, Sunday night in the beginning of Jumáda II. According to others Jumáda I. The duration of his Caliphate is also a matter of dispute—Weil follows Wákidi whose narrative accords with that of as Suyúṭi.

† The MS. has غلظ (was rough or harsh) instead of غلط (erred) of the printed text.

A. H. 193. edge of the grave. When he died allegiance was sworn in the army to
A. D. 809. al Amín, he being at that time in Baghdád. When the news reached him, he prayed before the people on the Friday and preached a discourse and announced the death of ar Rashíd unto the people, and they swore allegiance to him. Rajá the eunuch took the mantle, sceptre and signet ring and rode post from Marw till he reached Baghdád in twelve days in the middle of the month of Jumáda II, and deposited them with al Amín.

The following is by Abú'sh Shíṣ* lamenting ar Rashíd—

"A sun hath set in the East
And for it my eye weepeth;
We have never before seen a sun
That set where it riseth."

Abú Nuwás has the following partly in condolence and partly in congratulation.

"The stars revolve in fortunate and sinister aspects,
And we too are in grief and joy.
The heart weeps while the eye smiles
For we are in gloom and in gladness.
The rising al Amín makes us smile
And the death yesterday of the Imám makes us weep.
They are two moons. One hath appeared at Baghdád
In al Khuld,† and a moon at Ṭús *hath sunk* in the grave."

Of the traditions recited by ar Rashíd, as Ṣúli mentions one related by him on the authority of Anas that the Apostle of God said, "fear hell-fire, though it be but for *the value of* a split date." And from A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib that the prophet said, "purify your mouths, for they are the pathways of the Ḳurán."

AL AMI'N.

Al Amín Muḥammad, Abú A'bdu'llah, son of ar Rashíd was the heir of his father and assumed the Caliphate after him. He was one of the finest of youths in appearance—fair, tall, handsome, possessed of great strength and vigour and of renowned bravery. It is said that he once

* Muḥammad-b-A'bdu'llah-b-Razín al Khuzáa'i surnamed Abú'sh Shís. He composed poems in honour of as Rashíd, al Amín and that Caliph's son and successor, and wrote elegies on the death of ar Rashíd. He died A. H. 196. Ibn Khall.

† "Paradise" the name of the palace at Baghdád, built by al Manṣúr. Yakúṭ.



killed a lion* with his own hands. He was eloquent, polished in speech, A. H. 193.
well-educated and accomplished, but defective in judgment, of great prodi- A. D. 809.
gality, weak in mind, apathetic and unfit for government.

As soon as he was acknowledged Caliph, on the following day, he ordered the construction of a level piece of ground near the palace of al Manṣúr for playing at ball. In the year 194 he removed† his brother al Ḳásim from *the government* to which ar Rashíd had appointed him, and there occurred an estrangement between him and his brother al Mámún.

It is said that Fadhl-b-Rabíi', being aware that when the Caliphate came to al Mámún, he would have no mercy on him,‡ instigated al Amín and urged him to set him aside and give the succession to his son Músa. When the disgrace of his brother al Ḳásim reached al Mámún, he cut off all communication with al Amín and omitted his name from the uniforms§ and the coinage. Shortly after al Amín sent to him desiring him to yield Músa precedence *in the succession to the Caliphate* before himself and stated that he had named him Nátiḳ-b-i'l Ḥakḳ (proclaimer of the truth). But al Mámún rejected it and refused him. The messenger‖ (of *al Amín*) joined the party of al Mámún, and did homage to him as Caliph in secret. Afterwards he used to keep him informed of news and sent him advices from I'ráḳ.

And when he returned and informed al Amín of the refusal of al Mámún, he struck out his name from the succession and sent for the deed which ar Rashíd had written and deposited in the Kaa'bah. They therefore brought it to him and he tore it in pieces and the estrangement *between the brothers* was thus increased. His counsellors urged their advice on him and Khuzaymah-b-Kházim¶ said, " O prince of the Faithful, he who lieth to thee, giveth thee no good counsel, and he who speaketh the truth to thee, doth not betray thee. Do not encourage** the officers to call

* The narrative of the feat is given by Maṣa'údi.

† That is Mesopotamia, but allowed him to retain the governorship of Kinnasrín and command of the fortresses of the marches. Weil.

‡ He was the prime minister of al Amín and altogether wedded to his interest. He had also suffered the maltreatment of one of al Mámún's messengers in his presence by one of his suite, and allowed him to speak harshly of that prince of which al Mámún was informed by the messenger himself on his return. Ibn u'l Athír.

§ So Weil translates this word طرز. The MS. has "khutbah" (خطبة) Ibn u'l Athír has طرز with the printed text.

‖ His name was A'bbás-b-Músa, one of four delegates despatched by the Caliph to al Mámún.

¶ The printed text and MS. have—Ḥázim-b-Khuzaymah, but this is an error—Masaúdi, Ibn u'l Athir Ibn Khaldún and Weil who follows them, write the name as I have given it.

** For تجرو of the printed text, read, as in Masaúdi and Ibn u'l Athir, تجرّي. The MS. has also تجري but without the Tashdíd.

A. H. 194. for deposal, for they will *some day* depose thee, and do not incite them
A. D. 810. to violate a compact, for they will violate their covenant of allegiance to thee, for verily he who deceives shall be deceived, and he who perjures himself shall be betrayed." But he would not listen to advice, and set about conciliating the officers with presents, and had the covenant of succession taken for his son Músa who was at that time a child in arms, and surnamed him Nátiḳ-b-i'l Ḥakk. One of the poets has said regarding this.*

"The Caliphate is ruined by the treachery of the vizier,
The profligacy of the prince and the folly of his counsellor;
For Fadḥl is the vizier and Bakr the councillor,
Seeking that in which lieth the perdition of the prince.
And stranger than either one or the other
Is that we should swear allegiance to a little child,
One† that is unable to blow its nose
And is never out of the lap of its nurse.
And‡ what is this, but that Fadḥl and Bakr
Seek to deface the Illustrious Book.
And were it not for the vicissitudes of Fortune, these two
Would never be among princes and leaders."

When al Mámún was assured of his having been set aside, he assumed the title of the prince of the Faithful and was thus addressed. Al Amín appointed A'li-b-I'sa-b-Máhán to the mountainous districts of Hamaḍán, Nahawand, Ḳumm and Ispahan in the year 195. A'li-b-I'sa then set forth from Baghdád in the middle of Jumáda II, at the head of an army forty thousand strong, the like of which had not been seen, to engage al Mámún, and he took with him a silver chain,§ in order as he thought to bind him with it. Al Mámún despatched against him Ṭáhir-b-u'l-Ḥusayn at the head of less than four thousand men. He was victorious and A'li was slain and his army routed. His head was taken to al Mámún and sent through Khurasán and al Mámún was saluted as Caliph. The news reached al Amín while he was engaged in fishing, and he said to him who brought the report, "Confound thee! Leave me, for Kauthar *(his eunuch)* hath taken two fish, and I have not taken anything as yet."

* This, according to Masaúdi was a blind poet of Baghdád called A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib. Some of the lines I have omitted for reasons obvious to those who can read the original.

† So this line runs in Masa'údi من ليس يحسن مسح انفه * ولم يخل متنه من حجرظئر The one in the text is probably the correct one, but it is untranslatable.

‡ Masaúdi has و ماذاک إلا بباغ و غاو He also gives a closing line which is not in the text, و لكنها قنن كالجبال ترفّع فيها بضيع الحقير But it hath summits like hills upon which worthless things are flung up.

§ This, according to Tabari, was given to Ali by al Amín, according to Ibn Khaldún by Zubaydah. Weil.

A'bdu'llah-b-Ṣáliḥ al Jarmi* says, that when A'li was slain, the people in Baghdád raised a great tumult and al Amín repented of having set aside his brother. The nobles too, sought to obtain what they could of him, and despatched their troops to demand pay of al Amín, and the contest continued between him and his brother. The affairs of al Amín daily grew worse through his abandonment to frivolity and follies, while those of al Mámún improved till the inhabitants of the Sacred Cities and the greater part of I'rák swore allegiance to him. The circumstances of al Amín at length became desperate, the discipline of the army was destroyed, and his treasures dissipated, by reason of which the condition of the people fell into a grievous state. Meanwhile violence, devastation and ruin waxed great and increased through the continuance of hostilities and the play of the engines of war and the liquid naphtha, till the splendours of Baghdád were obliterated and dirges were sung over it. And among the pieces recited regarding it, is the following— A. H. 195. A. D. 811.

"I† wept tears of blood over Baghdád when
I lost the delights of a happy life;
The eye of the envious fell upon it
And destroyed its people by the engines of war."

The siege of Baghdád continued for fifteen months, and the greater number of the Abbasides and ministers of State joined the forces of al Mámún and none remained with al Amín to defend him, but the rabble and the vagabonds‡ of Baghdád, and this lasted till the beginning of the year 198. Then Ṭáhir-b-u'l Husayn entered Baghdád at the point of the sword, and al Amín fled with his mother and family from the palace to the city of al Manṣúr,§ and all his troops and servants dispersed, and food and water became scarce among them.

Muhammad-b-Rashíd narrates, "Ibráhím-b-u'l Mahdi‖ told me that he was with al Amín in the city of al Manṣúr, and added, "he sent for me

* In the text this name is marked Jurmi, but I think this is an error. Ibn Khal in his life of Abú Omar al Jarmi (so De Slane writes the name) says that there are several tribes so called. The Muntaha'l Arab gives the name Jarm, but not Jurm, nor is there such a town in Yákút who, however, mentions Jirm as a place near Badakhshán.

† Ten more lines of this poem may be found in Mas'aúdi.

‡ Kazimirski gives two plurals to this word—*viz.*, حرافيش and حرفشه. The text and MS. have حرافشه. Lane does not give it.

§ The old city called also the city of Abú Jaa'far. Masa'údi. See M. de Meynard's translation, Tom VI., p. 471.

‖ Brother to Harún ar Rashíd. He had great talent as a singer and was an agreeable companion at parties of pleasure. He was surnamed at Tinnín or the dragon, from his large frame. He was proclaimed Caliph at Baghdád during the absence of al Mámún in Khurásán, and so continued for nearly two years. His flight and adventures have been given by Tabari and others and are well known. He died at Sarr-man-ráa A. H. 224 (839). Ibn Khall.

A. H. 198. one night, and I went to him and he said, 'dost thou not observe the beauty
A.D.813-14. of the night, the splendour of the moon and its radiance on the water? what sayest thou to a bout of wine?' I replied 'do as thou wilt.' Then we drank together and he sent for a slave girl whose name was Dhaa'f *(weakness)* and I was struck with the ill-omen of her name. He commanded her to sing and she sang a verse of an Nábighah al Jaa'di's.*

'By my life, Kulayb had more allies,
Had more numerous followers† than thou, and yet was stained with blood.'

The Caliph felt this as in ill augury and said 'sing something else.' So she sang—

'Their departure hath made mine eye to weep and hath rendered it sleepless,
For separation is a cause of weeping unto friends.
The adversity of fortune continued to attack them
Until they destroyed one another, for the adversity of fortune is inimical.
And to-day I weep for them greatly and lament them
Until I return so incessantly that no tears are left in my eyes.'

He exclamed—'may Allah curse thee! knowest thou nothing but that? She replied 'I thought that thou didst like this.' Then she sang again—

'But, by the Lord of repose and movement,
Verily death hath many snares.
Days and nights do not recur nor
Do the stars revolve in the sky and the firmament,
Save to take a king from his kingdom.
Verily his authority passeth to another monarch,
But the kingdom of the Lord is everlasting,
It decayeth not neither is it shared.'

He exclaimed—'Begone—Allah curse thee!' and she arose and stumbled over a crystal goblet of price and broke it. He said, 'alas, Ibrá-

* Hassan-b-Kays a member of the tribe of Jaa'd-b-Kaa'b known as an Nábighah al Jaa'di was one of the most celebrated of the poets contemporary with Muhammad. He was born before the promulgation of Islamism and fought on A'li's side at Siffín. He died during the reign of Abdu'llah-b-uz Zubayr. He was surnamed an Nabighah because he did not give any proofs of poetical talent till after his 30th year. De Slane. Ibn Khall.

† So I venture to translate ايسر زنبا The phrase عقيل طويلة الذنب means Okayl has numerous horsemen, مذنب a man having many dependents. Masa'údi has ايسر حزما and Ibn u'l Athír the same.

hím!—dost thou not see? by Allah. I cannot but think that my time is drawing near!' I replied 'nay—may Allah prolong thy life and render glorious thy kingdom.' Then I heard a voice from the Tigris, saying—'the case is judged regarding which ye two called for a judicial decision'—at which Muhammad al Amín sprung up in great trouble. A night or two after this, he was slain. He was taken and imprisoned in a house and a party of Persians were let in upon him, and they struck him with their swords, and cut him through the nape of his neck and went with his head to Ṭahir, who placed it upon a wall of a garden, and it was proclaimed by the crier, 'This is the head of the deposed Muhammad,' and his body was dragged by a rope." A. H. 198. A.D.813-14.

Ṭáhir then sent the head, the mantle, the sceptre and the praying carpet which was of palm branches lined, to al Mámún. The assassination of his brother weighed sorely on al Mámún for he would have preferred that he should have been sent to him alive in order that he might consider his intention regarding him. He therefore hated Ṭáhir and neglected him with total oblivion till he died in distant exile.* Thus were verified the words of al Amín, for he had written a letter with his own hand to Ṭáhir-b-u'l Husayn when he was summoned to war against him in which *he said* 'O Ṭáhir, no assertor of our rights hath ever arisen in our behalf, since we came to power, but his reward from us was the sword—therefore look to thyself or meddle not—consider Abú Muslím and such as he, who spent themselves in serving *the A'bbasides* and their end was death at their hands." Regarding the murder of al Amín, is the following by Ibráhím al Mahdi.

"Turn to the mansion on the hills, effaced by the blowing winds
At Khuld, formed of stone and tile,
And the polished marble with which it was faced
And its gate, a gate of resplendent gold.
And convey for me a message to
The prince, concerning† the ruled and him who rules.
Say to him 'O son of the prince of right guidance,
Cleanse the cities of God from *the presence* of Ṭáhir;
It was not enough for him that he should cut‡ the jugular veins of
al Amín

* His splendid banishment to the almost independent government of Khurásán may well have consoled him for the loss of the society of a capricious master from whose tardy remorse he did not feel himself safe. D'Herbelot says that al Mámún could not look upon Ṭáhir without weeping. He became the founder of the dynasty that bears his name.

† Ibn u'l Athír has علي for عن of the text.

‡ The text makes this and another verb in the next line passive without any

A. H. 198.
A.D. 813-14.

Like the slaughter of sacrificial offerings, with cutting blades,
But he must* drag his limbs
With a rope, meaning thereby to act as a merciless avenger† ;
Verily death hath settled on his eyelids
And his eye hath a troubled glance.' "

And among the verses that were composed is also—

" Why should I lament thee ? why ? for thy mirth,
O Abú Músa and thy continual frivolity ?
And for thy neglect of the five devotions at their appointed times
Through, thy passion for wine ?
For Shanif‡ I shall not mourn
Nor care I for the retribution that hath befallen Kauthar.
Thou wert incapable of rule nor
Was obedience rendered unto thee in the Arabian kingdom.
Why should we mourn for thee ? for what thou hast exposed us to
At one time to the engines of war, and at another to pillage ?"

There is a poem by Khuzaymah-b-u'l Ḥasan supposed to be recited by Zubaydah, in which he says : §

" Ṭáhir came, may the Lord not purify Ṭáhir from sin,
For Táhir was impure in the purpose for which he came.
He turned me forth with uncovered head and unveiled,
And plundered my goods and destroyed my dwellings.
What I have suffered will afflict Harún,
And what hath befallen me from the basest and most corrupt of mankind.
Remember, O prince of the faithful my kinship :
I ransom thee with my life, thou who art revered and remembered.

Ibn Jarír says that when al Amín assumed the government, he purchased eunuchs and gave excessive prices for them, and admitted them to his intimacy and abandoned the society of his wives and slave girls. Another author observes that on his accession he sent into the districts in quest of buffoons, and allowed them stipends and procured a number of

occasion. The sense is made clearer by allowing them to stand simply as transitive verbs which from Ibn u'l Athír, it is evident they are.

* حتي اتي يسحب Ibn u'l Athír.

† هذا مدي السائر Ibid.

‡ These were two of his minions.

§ This poem is omitted in the MS., but it will be found in Maṣa'údi where it is stated to be written by Zubaydah herself to al Mámún. There are several additional lines in Maṣa'údi and some variants from those in the text, the last line especially being altogether different.

wild beasts, and animals of prey and birds, and kept apart from his family and his nobles, and treated them with contempt. He wasted what was in the public treasuries and squandered jewels and objects of price in profusion and built numerous palaces in *various* places for purposes of amusement, and on one occasion he gave a boat full of gold as a present to one who sang to him the following verse— A. H. 198. A.D.813-14.

"I kept retired from thee till thou saidst, 'he knoweth not *the distress* of aversion,'
And I visited thee so often that thou saidst, 'he hath no self-restraint.'"

He also built five barques in the shape of a lion, an elephant, an eagle, a serpent and a horse, and spent great sums on their construction, regarding which Abú Nuwás said,

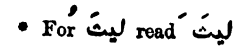
"The Lord hath subjected unto al Amín
Animals for his riding which have never been subjected to Solomon.
For whenever his riding camels go by land,
He goeth upon the water mounted on a lion* of the forest.
A lion with outstretched limbs ready to spring
With wide jaws and terrible teeth."

As Ṣúli relates on the authority of Muḥammad-b-A'mr ar Rúmi, that Kauthar the eunuch of al Amín went forth to watch the fighting and a missile struck him in the face. Al Amín set about wiping the blood from his face and said—

"They have struck the apple of my eye,
And on account of me, have they struck him.
May Allah punish for my heart's sake
Those who have set it on fire."

But he was unable to add to these *lines*, so he summoned A'bdu'llah-b-u't Taymi the poet and said to him "Cap these two." Upon which he exclaimed—

"There is no equal to him whom I love,
The whole world is dazed in him.
Union with him is sweet, but
Parting is bitter and hateful.
Those who see in him his
Superiority over them, are envious of him.
In the same manner as the monarch that reigns is envied by his brother."


* For لَيث read لَيثً

A. H. 198. Upon which al Amín gave him three mule-loads of dirhams. But when
A.D.813-14. al Amín was slain, at Taymi went to al Mámún and vaunted his praises, but he would not allow him *an audience*, whereupon he betook himself to al Fadhl-b-Sahl who introduced him into al Mámún's presence, and when he had made his salutation, the Caliph said, "Come, O Taymi, some more of—"

In the same manner as the monarch that reigns
Is envied by his brother.

At Taymi said,*

"A'bdu'llah al Mámún was succoured
When they oppressed him.
The covenant was violated
Which they had formerly made with him.
His brother did not deal with him
As his father had directed."

Upon this he pardoned him and ordered ten thousand dirhams to be given to him.

It is said that Sulayman-b-Manṣúr complained to al Amín that Abu Nuwás had satirized him and he replied, "O uncle, can I put him to death after his saying—

I offer praise unto Muhammad al Amín,
And beside it there is no commodity so desired.
Praise speaketh truly of Muḥammad al Amín,
Though of praise there is much that is false and lieth.
Verily the bright moon waneth after it hath reached its fulness,
But the splendour of the light of Muḥammad waneth not:
And if the pebbles of the sons of al Manṣúr be counted
Then Muḥammad among them is like a picked sapphire."

Ahmad-b-Ḥanbal observes "verily I trust that the Lord will be merciful unto al Amín for his repudiation of Isma'íl-b-U'layyah, who was brought unto him, and the Caliph said—son of an adulteress—it is thou that sayest that the Ḳurán is created!"

Al Masa'údi says, "no one up to my time hath ruled the Caliphate being a Háshimite and the son of a Háshimite woman, save A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib, his son al Ḥasan, and al Amín whose mother was Zubaydah daughter of Jaa'far-b-Abí Jaa'far al Manṣúr: her name was Amat u'l Azíz (handmaid of the Almighty) and Zubaydah† was a surname given to her."

* To the reader who is not acquainted with the Arabic it may be as well to mention that this is continued in the same metre and rhymes with the preceding lines to al Amín.

† Zubaydah is diminutive of "Zubdah" cream or fresh butter. See her life in Ibn Khall. And De Slane's note.

Isháḳ of Mosul states that there were qualities in al Amín to be found *united* in no other—he was one of the handsomest of men in face and one of the most generous; the noblest of the Caliphs by his father's and mother's side, skilled in letters, versed in the art of poetry, but enslaved by sensuality and frivolity, and notwithstanding his extravagance in money, a niggard in his table. A. H. 198. A.D.813-14.

Abúl Ḥasan al Aḥmar says, "I used often to forget a verse by which a point of grammar might be illustrated, and al Amín would adduce it for me, and I have never met among the sons of a monarch any quicker of apprehension than he and al Mámún. His assassination occurred on (*the 24th or 25th*) Muḥarram of the year 198, (*24th or 25th September*, 813) he being twenty-seven years of age."

Of people of note who died during his reign were: Ismaíl-b-U'layyah, Ghundur, Shaḳiḳ al Balkhi the ascetic, Abú Mu'áwiyah ad Dharír (the blind) Muwarrij* as Sadúsi, A'bdu'llah-b-Kathír the Ḳurán reader, Abu Nuwás the poet, A'bdu'llah-b-Wahb, disciple of Málik, Warsh the Ḳurán reader, Wakíi' and others.

A'li-b-Muḥammad an Naufali and others say, that neither as Saffáḥ nor al Manṣúr nor al Mahdi nor al Hádi nor ar Rashíd were prayed for in the pulpits by their surnames, nor so addressed in epistolary correspondence until al Amín reigned, and he was prayed for as al Amín in the pulpits, and correspondence was conducted in his name *thus*, "From the servant of God Muḥammad al Amín prince of the Faithful," and to the same effect al A'skari observes in his Awáil, *viz.*, that the first who was prayed for by his surname in the pulpits was al Amín.

Among the verses of al Amín addressed to his brother al Mámún, reviling him on account of *the base descent of* his mother, on hearing that al Mámún was in the habit of recounting his vices and asserting his own superiority over him, are the following quoted by as Ṣúli—

"Be not vain-glorious for thyself in the absence of the choicest *of thy race*,
For vaunting is justified alone in a perfect man.
And if thou exaltest thyself over men through their merit,
Then pause, for thou art not pre-eminent.
Thy grandsire hath bestowed upon thee what thou didst desire, yet forsooth
Thou wilt find the reverse of thy wishes with Marájil,†
Thou ascendest the pulpit each day, hoping
For that which thou shalt not obtain after me.

* The text has erroneously "Muwarrakh," but the MS. is correct. Muwarrij was a grammarian of Baṣrah. See his life in Ibn Khall.

† The name of his mother who was a slave concubine.

A. H. 198.
A.D. 813-14.

And thou reproachest one who is above thee in merit
And repeatest vain words regarding me."

I remark that this verse is of approved merit, and if it is really his, it is better than the poetry of his brother and his father. As Ṣúli says, that the following lines on his eunuch Kauthar who was serving wine to him while he was reclining on a couch of narcissus flowers, and the moon had just risen are ascribed to him, but others ascribe them to al Ḥusayn b-u'ḍ Dḥahhák* al Khalíi', a boon companion of his who was never separate from him.

"The full moon hath so pourtrayed thy beauty of thy face that
I deemed I saw thee and yet saw thee not.
Whenever the tender narcissus breathes,
I think it the sweet breath of thy brightness.
An illusion of my desires hath occupied me with thee
In the splendour of the one and the fragance of the other.
I will abide while I live, in thankfulness
Unto the one and the other while they resemble thee."

By him also are these lines on his eunuch Kauthar—

"What seek the people of a lover
Afflicted for one he loves?
Kauthar is my faith and my worldly fortune,
Both my sickness and my physician;
The most despicable of men is he who reproveth
A lover on account of his beloved."

The following was composed by him when he despaired of his kingdom, and Ṭáhir obtained the mastery over him.

"O soul! now must thou beware
For where is there a refuge from Fate?
Every man, of what he feareth
And hopeth, is in peril.
He who sippeth the sweets of life
Shall one day be choked by affliction."

As Ṣúli records with its ascription that al Amín said to his scribe, "Write *as follows:* From the servant of God, Muḥammad, prince of the Faithful, to Ṭáhir-b-u'l Ḥusayn—Greeting to thee! And now, verily, things

* Generally known by the appellation of al Khalíi' (the libertine). He was born at Baṣrah in 162 A. H., descended from a native of Khurásán. He was a writer and a poet, and was admitted to the society of the Caliphs and enjoyed their favour to an extent almost unequalled by any other save Ibráhím of Mosul. He had some amusing adventures with Abu Nuwás. He died A. H. 250 (864) having nearly attained his hundredth year. Ibn Khall. An account of him will be found in the Kitáb u'l Aghání. Fol. 6, p. 170—but the verses in the text are not cited therein.

have proceeded between me and between my brother even to the rending A. H. 198.
of veils, and the disclosure of what is inviolable, and I am not sure but A.D.813-14.
that he may covet this authority which is distant and remote *from him*, through the differences in our friendship and the opposition of our interests. Yet, verily, I am content that thou shouldst write me a safe-conduct to my brother, and if he be generous towards me, such conduct is worthy of him, but if he put me to death, then hath manliness destroyed manliness, and the sword cloven the sword, for, verily, I would rather that a lion should rend me than that a dog should bark at me," but Ṭáhir refused his request. And on the authority of Ismaíl-b-Abi Muḥammad al Yazídi, that he said, " my father used to discourse with al Amín and al Mámún on subjects in which they displayed their eloquence, and he used to say, " the children of the Caliphs of the House of Umayyah used to be sent out to the desert, that they might gain purity of speech, but ye are even more chaste in language than they." As Ṣúli says, " I know not of any relation of a tradition by al Amín save this one. Al Mughírah-b-Muḥammad al Muhallabi said to me, ' I saw a company of the Banu Háshim, among whom was one of the sons of al Mutawakkil, with al Ḥusayn-b-u'd Dḥahhák, and they asked him regarding al Amín and his acquirements. Al Ḥusayn described his accomplishments as considerable. ' And in theological law ?' asked they. He replied ' that al Mámún was more profoundly versed in it than he.' ' And in tradition ?' they said. He answered ' I never heard a tradition from him but once, when it was announced to him that a slave of his had died in Mecca, when he exclaimed—my father related to me a tradition, heard from A'bbás, who said—I heard the prophet say—he who dies engaged in the functions of the pilgrimage, shall be raised giving the salutation Labayk.' "*

At Tha'álabi in the Latáif-u'l Ma'árif observes that Abú'l A'yna† used to say, " were Zubaydah to let loose her braided locks, they would

* This Talbíyat or cry of supplication (which signifies, " here I am at thy service") is incumbent upon the pilgrim. To use it frequently is meritorious and is a sunnat or practice, a single Talbíyat is a " sharṭ " or positive condition. The refrain is

لبيك اللهم لبيك

لا شريك لك لبيك

ان الحمد و النعمة لك و الملك

لا شريك لك لبيك

See Burton's Mecca, p. 232.

† Abú Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-al Ḳasím, Maula to the Caliph al Mansúr was a blind man remarkable for his repartees, verses and literary knowledge. He was born at al Ahwáz A. H. 131 and bred at Baṣrah. He received the surname of Abu'l A'yna from

A. H. 198. fasten upon nothing but Caliphs or heirs to the Caliphate, for al Manṣúr
A.D.813-14. was her grandsire and as Saffáḥ the brother of her grandsire, and al Mahdi her paternal uncle, and ar Rashíd her husband, and al Amín her son, and al Mámún and al Mua'tasim the sons of her husband, and al Wáthiḳ and al Mutawakkil her husband's grandsons, and as for the heirs-apparent, they are numerous. Like her, *in this respect,* of the House of Umayyah was A'átikah, daughter of Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah. Yazíd was her father, Mu'áwiyah her grandfather, Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd her brother, Marwan-b-u'l Ḥakam her father-in-law, Abdu'l Malik her husband, Yazíd her son, al Walíd her son's son, al Walíd, Hishám and Sulaymán the sons of her husband, and Yazíd and Ibráhim the two sons of al Walíd, grandsons of her husband.

AL MÁMÚN.

Al Mámún A'bdu'llah Abú'l A'bbás the son of ar Rashíd was born in the year 170 on Thursday night* in the middle of Rabíi' I, the same night on which al Hádi died, and on which his father ar Rashíd, succeeded him. His mother was a slave concubine named Marájil who died in giving birth to him. In his childhood he applied himself to learning. He heard traditions from his father and Hushaym and A'bbád-b-u'l A'wám, Yusuf-b-A'tiyah, Abú Mu'áwiyah ad Ḍharír, Ishma'íl-b-U'layyah, Ḥajjáj al Aa'war (the one-eyed) and men of their class.†

Al Yazídi instructed him in polite accomplishments and he assembled the jurisconsults from all quarters, and became a proficient in jurisprudence and the Arabic language, and *the history of* the encounters of the desert Arabs. When he grew up he applied himself to philosophy and the sciences of the ancients and became profoundly versed in them, and it was that which seduced him into asserting the creation of the Ḳurán.‡ Jaa'far-b-

his having asked Abu Zayd al Anṣári, the diminutive of A'yná (a large-eyed female) to which he received the answer 'U'yayna O Abu'l A'yná, which nickname clung to him ever after. He died, according to some in 283, according to others 282 A. H. Some of his witty replies are given by Ibn Khall from whom the above extract is taken.

* In the life of ar Rashíd, this event is given as having occurred on Friday night. See page 290.

† For طبقهم read as in the MS. طبقتهم.

‡ The orthodox Muslims maintain, if I may venture upon a definition of their belief, that the Ḳurán, the uncreated Logos, was from the beginning,—co-eternal with the Deity, not of His essence in hypostatic union, but an inseparable inherent quality of it, like His Unity. Al Mámún adopted the opinions of the Mua'tazalites (whom Weil terms the Protestants and Rationalists of Islám) who asserted the necessity of its creation by the Deity. They believed the word of God to have been

Abí Othmán at Ṭayálisi and others have related traditions on his authority. A. H. 198.
He was the most distinguished of the House of A'bbás for his prudence, A.D.813-14.
his determination, his clemency and judgment, his sagacity and awe-inspiring aspect, his intrepidity, majesty and liberality. He had many emiment qualities, and a long series of memorable actions *are recorded of him* were it not *that he marred them by* what he did in forcing men to an interrogation regarding the creation of the Ḳurán. Of the House of A'bbás none wiser than he ever ruled the Caliphate. He was eloquent and fluent of speech, and he used to say, "Mu'áwiyah ruled through his A'mar, and A'bdu'l Malik through his Ḥajjáj, but I by myself." It used to be said that the Banú A'bbás were distinguished by a beginning, a middle and an end, for the beginning was as Saffáḥ, the middle al Mámún, and and the end al Mu'taḍhid.

It is related that in one of the fasts of the Ramadḥán, he read the Ḳurán through thirty-three times. He was notorious for his attachment to the Shiite doctrines which indeed led him to exclude his brother al Mútamin and confer the succession upon A'li ar Ridḥá* as we shall shortly mention. Abú Maa'shar,† the astrologer, says that al Mámún was wont to govern with justice, possessed a natural turn for jurisprudence, and deserved to be accounted among the greatest doctors. Of ar Rashíd, it is reported that he said, "verily I recognise in A'bdu'llah (*al Mámún*) the prudence of al Manṣúr, the piety of al Mahdi, and the majesty of al Hádi, and if I chose to mention him in connection with a fourth (meaning himself), I might do so, and yet I gave precedence to Muḥammad (*al Amín*) before him, although I knew him to be a slave to his passions, lavishly profuse of what he possessed, and calling into counsel with him his concubines and wives, and had it not been for Umm Jaa'far (*Zubaydah*) and the affection of the Banú Háshim for him, I would have placed A'bdu'llah before him.'

Al Mámún assumed the supreme power after the assassination of his brother in the year 198, while he was in Khurásán and he took the surname of Abú Jaa'far. As Ṣúli says that the A'bbassides preferred this surname, because it was the surname of al Manṣúr, and it possessed in their minds

created *in subjecto*, and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books to express the original. They also went further and affirmed, that whatever was created *in subjecto* was an accident and liable to perish. See their doctrines in Sale. The arguments of al Mámún in defence of his opinions will afterwards appear in a letter to his Prefect at Baghdád.

* The son of Músa, the sixth in descent from A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib.

† Abú Maa'shar Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad, al Balkhi the celebrated astrologer was the great master of his age in that art. He composed a number of works on the science of the stars, such as the Mudkhil (*Introduction*) the Zíj (*astronomical* tables). He was very successful in his divinations. He died A. H. 272 (885-6). Ibn Khall.

A. H. 198. a majesty and an auspiciousness on account of the longevity of those who
A.D.813-14. were so named, such as al Manṣúr and ar Rashíd.

In the 201 he excluded his brother al Mútamin from the succession and appointed as heir after him A'li ar Ridhá the son of Músa al Kádhim (*the meek*) the son of Jaa'far as Sádiḳ (*the upright*). His extravagant attachment to the Shiite doctrines induced him to this, so that it was even said, that he himself purposed abdicating and resigning the government to him. It was he who named him ar Ridhá (the accepted *of God and men*), and he coined money in his name, gave him his daughter in marriage and promulgated this in the various quarters of his empire. He likewise commanded the abandonment of black garments* and the adoption of green. This was highly displeasing to the Banú'l A'bbás, and they rose up against him and swore allegiance to Ibráhím the son of al Mahdi who was surnamed al Mubárak (*blessed*). Al Mámún prepared to oppose him and various affrays and engagements took place and al Mámún set out for Iráḳ. Now it came to pass that A'li ar Ridhá died† in the year 203, whereupon al Mámún wrote to the people of Baghdád telling them as they were angered against him on account of his having taken the covenant of allegiance for A'li, that he was now dead, but they returned him a rough answer, so al Mámún began his advance. Now Ibráhím the son of al Mahdi heard that the people had withdrawn from their engagement to him, wherefore he hid himself in the month of Ḍu'l Hijjah. Thus his reign lasted two years all but a few days, and he remained in concealment for the space of eight years. Al Mámún arrived at Baghdád in Ṣafar 204, and the Abbasides and others entreated him to return to the wearing of black and the abandonment of green; he at first hesitated but afterwards consented.

As Ṣúli records with its ascription that one of the women of his family said to al Mámún, "verily thou art generous to the descendants of A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib, but the government in thy hands is more powerfully employed against thy interests for their benefit than it would be in their hands *for thine*," but he replied, "verily I have done what I have done,

* According to Ibn Khaldún, the A'bbasides adopted black as mourning for the slaughter of so many of the Háshimites under the Umayyad dynasty. The followers of A'li who rose against the Abbasides took the opposite colour, white. The adoption of green by al Mámún, Weil supposes to have been suggested by an idea of a mixture of the two colours, as significant of an alliance between the two—the word خضر meaning grey as well as green. The rebel Aliites in the reign of al Manṣúr wore yellow according to Tabari. Al Mámún, however, soon recalled the order, and the cherished black was again resumed. See Weil. Tom II, p. 216.

† It was strongly suspected that he died of poison administered at the instigation of al Mámún; Masa'údi attributes his death to indigestion from eating grapes, but alludes to the rumour that he was poisoned.

because Abú Bakr when he ruled, did not appoint any of the Banú Háshim to office, and so with Omar and Othmán; then A'li succeeded to the government and he appointed A'bdu'llah-b-A'bbás to Baṣrah, Ubayd-u'llah to Yaman, Maa'bad to Mecca and Kutham to Baḥrayn, and he left none of them without naming them to some post. This therefore was upon our shoulders, until I recompensed him in his posterity by what I have done." A. H. 204. A. D. 819.

In the year 210, al Mámún married Burán daughter of al Ḥasan-b-Sahl* and her outfit amounted to many thousand *dínárs*. Her father presented the chief officers of State with robes of honour and entertained them for the space of nineteen† days, and wrote on slips of paper the names of estates belonging to him, and scattered them among the generals and the A'bbassides, and into the hand of whomsoever a slip fell with the name of an estate in it, he received it, and he showered before al Mámún a tray full of pearls when the bride was conducted to him.

In the year 211 al Mámún commanded it to be proclaimed that whosoever should speak well of Mu'áwiyah should be outlawed and that A'li-b-Abí Ṭálib was *to be considered* the best of men after the Apostle of God. In the year 212 al Mámún made public his doctrine on the creation of the Ḳurán conjoined with *the declaration of* the superiority of A'li over Abú Bakr and Omar, but the people shrunk from it with aversion and the country was near being involved in rebellion, but he did not obtain by this what he desired, wherefore he desisted from it until the year 218. In the year 215 al Mámún undertook an expedition against the Byzantines and captured by force of arms the fortress of Ḳurrah, and the fortress of Májidah,‡ and then returned to Damascus. In the year 216 he again advanced into the Roman territory and took a number of fortresses and again retired to Damascus. Afterwards he proceeded to Egypt and entered it, and was the first who entered it of the A'bbaside Caliphs. In the year 217 he returned to Damascus and *repeated his invasion of* the Roman territory.§

* His prime minister. The cost of the nuptials is stated by Ibn Khall to have been 50 million dirhams (about £1,200,000). Burán's grandmother presented the Caliph with 1000 pearls—and on the marriage night a candle of ambergris weighing 80lb was placed in a candlestick of gold. The Caliph himself protested against this wild extravagance. In compensation for his expenses he gave al Ḥasan one year's revenue of Fars and al Ahwaz. Ibn Khall.

† For سبعة in the text which is a misprint, read تسعة

‡ So Ibn al Athir and Weil: the text has Májid. Both these places are in the neighbourhood of Tarsus.

§ As Suyuṭi omits to mention the conquest of Crete and Sicily. "Under the reign of al Mámún, at Baghdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the

A. H. 218. A. D. 833. In the year 218 he submitted the people to an inquisition regarding the doctrine of the creation of the Ḳurán, and he wrote to his prefect in Baghdád, Isháḳ-b-Ibráhím al Khuzáa'í cousin of Ṭáhir-b-u'l Ḥusayn regarding the interrogation of the learned, a letter in which he says *as follows:*

"Verily the prince of the Faithful is aware that the public at large, and the general herd of the rabble and vulgar mob who have no insight nor knowledge, nor seek illumination from the light of wisdom and its demonstration, are a people ignorant of God and blind in regard to Him, and in error as to the truth of His doctrine, and fail to estimate Him according to the reality of His transcendence, and to arrive at a true knowledge of Him and to distinguish between Him and His creature, and that inasmuch as they have formed an ill opinion of the difference between Him and His creation and what He hath revealed in the Ḳurán, for they are agreed upon its being from the beginning, not created by God nor produced by Him; yet, verily, the Most High hath said, 'verily we have made the same an Arabic Ḳurán' (Ḳur. XLIII). Now, indeed whatever He hath made, He hath created, as the Most High hath said, 'and hath created the darkness and the light,' (Ḳur. VI) and, 'do we relate unto thee of the histories *of the Apostles,*' (Ḳur. XI)—*viz.*, of what had previously occurred—wherefore He announceth that He relateth events subsequent to which He produced the Ḳurán. Again He says, '*this book,* the verses of which are guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly explained,'* (Ḳur. XI). Therefore is God the guardian of His book and its expounder, He is therefore its maker and its originator. Further, they pretend to adhere to the prophetical traditions and that they are the people of orthodoxy and of the church, and all besides them are in error and infidelity, and they pride themselves on this and seduce the ignorant by it, so that a number of persons following a false course and yielding submission to other than God, have inclined to agreement with them. Thus they wrest the truth to the side of their vain words and make of other than God a channel to their own error." He goes on to say, "the prince of the Faithful therefore considereth these to be mischievous people who would hinder a portion of the divine unity, and vessels of ignorance and beacons of falsehood and the tongue of Satan speaking among his

islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disdained by their own writers who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians." Decline and Fall, (C. lii). The history of Sicily under the Muslims may be read with interest in the pages of Amari-Storia dei Musulmáni di Sicilia.

* So distinctly explained that this single passage alone has received many different interpretations on account of the ambiguity of the words أُحكمت and فصّلت. The difficulties of private judgment are not confined to the churches of the West.

accomplices and terrifying his enemies—the people of God's word. It is right, therefore, that the sincerity of such a one should be suspected and his testimony rejected, for he is not to be trusted who is ignorant as to his true course and his portion in the divine unity, and hath been moreover in exceeding error and hath wandered astray from the right path. And by the life of the prince of the Faithful, the greatest liar among men is he who speaketh falsely of God and of His revelation, and who inventeth untruths and doth not comprehend God with a real comprehension of Him. Assemble, therefore, the Ḳádhis that are with thee and read to them my letter and question them as to what they maintain, and discover from them what they believe in regard to the creation of the Ḳurán and its being called into existence, and inform them that I seek no assistance in my service, nor do I put my confidence* in one who is untrustworthy in his faith. And if they allow it and are of accord, then command them to interrogate those witnesses that come before them and to question them as to their belief† in the matter of the Ḳurán, and to reject the testimony of those who do not allow it to be created, and write to me regarding what cometh to thee concerning the Ḳádhis of the people under thy jurisdiction in their interrogations, and orders about them will be issued accordingly." Al Mámún likewise wrote to him to send seven individuals to him, and they were, Muḥammad-b-Saa'd Kátib u'l Wáḳidi, Yahya-b-Ma'ín, Abu Khaythamah, Abu Muslim disciple‡ of Yazíd-b-Hárún, Isma'íl-b-Dauúd, Isma'íl-b-Abí Masa'úd, and Aḥmad-b-Ibráhím ad Dauraḳi. They were accordingly sent to him and he questioned them on the creation of the Ḳurán and they admitted it, wherefore he sent them back from Raḳkah to Baghdad. The reason of their having been summoned was, that they at first hesitated, but afterwards admitted it through fear. He wrote again to Isháḳ-b-Ibráhím to summon the jurisconsults, the Shaykhs and the traditionists and to inform them of what the seven had admitted. He did so, and some joined in agreement, while others were recusant and Yahya-b-Ma'ín said, "we consented through fear of the sword." Afterwards he wrote another letter to Isháḳ, after the manner of the first, and

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* The MS. has لا واثق in place of the لا أوثّق of the text.

† The MS. has عن the text مِن.

‡ Lit. one who writes at the dictation of another. It was the custom for the disciples of a master of any science to sit round him and write down the information he gave them: these manuscript records were termed Amáli or dictations. Yazíd-b-Harún was a famous traditionist of Baghdád. It was through dread of his opposition that al Mámún hesitated for some time to assert publicly his doctrine on the creation of the Ḳurán, a doctrine which Yazíd strenuously opposed. He was born A. H. 118, died 206. See De Slane I. K. regarding further particulars of his life. The lives of the others mentioned (except the last) will be found in Ibn Khall.

A. H. 218. commanded him to summon those who were recusant. He therefore
A. D. 833. summoned a number among whom were Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Bishar-b-u'l Walíd al Kindi, Abú Ḥassán az Ziyádi, A'li-b-Abí Muḳátil, al Fadhl-b-Ghánim, U'baydu'llah-b-Omar al Ḳawaríri (the flask-seller), A'li-b-u'l Jaa'd, Sajjádah, ad Ḍayyál-b-u'l Haytham, Ḳutaybah-b-Sa'íd, Saa'dawayh al Wásiṭi, Isḥáḳ-b-Abí Israíl, Ibn u'l Haras,* Ibn U'layyah the elder, Muḥammad-b-Núḥ al I'jli, Yahya-b-A'bdu'r Raḥmán al Omari, Abú Naṣr at Tammár (the date-seller) Abú Ma'mar al Ḳaṭía'í, Muḥammad-b-Ḥátim-b-Maymún and others, and he showed them the letter of al Mámún, but they hung back and dissembled, neither admitting nor denying. Then he said to Bishar-b-u'l Walíd "what dost thou say?" he answered "verily I have informed the prince of the Faithful more than once." The other continued, "and *what is thy opinion* now? for verily a letter has newly arrived from the prince of the Faithful." He answered, "I say, it is the word of God." He rejoined, "I do not ask thee that—is it created?" Bishar replied, "there is nothing better to say than what I have told thee, besides I have a stipulation with the prince of the Faithful that I need not discuss it." Then Isḥáḳ addressed A'li-b-Muḳátil, "what dost thou say?" He replied, "the Ḳurán is the word of God, but if the prince of the Faithful lay on us a command, we hear and obey." Abú Ḥassán az Ziyádi replied to the same effect. Next he questioned Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal "what dost thou say?" He answered "it is the word of God." He asked, "is it created?" he replied, "it is the word of God, I shall not say more than this." Then he interrogated the rest and recorded their answers. Ibn u'l Baká said, "I declare that the Ḳurán was made and brought into existence on the authority of the revealed text to that effect." Isḥáḳ said to him "and what is made is created." He replied "yes." "Therefore," said Isḥáḳ, "the Ḳurán is created." He answered, "I do not say it is created." Then Isḥáḳ sent their answers to al Mámún, and a letter from al Mámún reached him, *saying*, "what the pretenders to orthodoxy and the seekers after an authority for which they are unfitted have replied, hath reached me. Now whoso doth not admit that the Ḳurán is created, suspend his exercise of judicial powers and authority to relate tradition." He goes on in his letter. "As to what Bishar sayeth, verily he lieth, for there passed no stipulation between the prince of the Faithful and him,† more than the accounts which the prince of the Faithful has of his belief and sincere profession and assertion that the Ḳurán is created. Summon him before thee therefore, and if he recanteth, publish his case abroad, but if he persisteth in his infidelity and denieth, in his impiety and heresy, that the Ḳurán is created, smite him on the neck and send his head to me. The same with

* MS. and Ibn u'l Athír. Harash هرش

† MS. في ذلك "in this matter."

Ibráhím-b-u'l Mahdi: question him, and if he assents, *it is well*, if not cut off his head. As for A'li-b-Abí Muḳátil, say to him, 'art thou not he who said to the prince of the Faithful that thou verily canst absolve and bind?' As to ad Ḍayyal, inform him that the grain which he stole from the granaries is what distracts him *from other affairs*. With regard to Aḥmad-b-Yazíd-b-i'l A'wám and his saying that he cannot give a better answer concerning the Ḳurán, tell him that he is a child in mind though not in years—he is ignorant—he will find an answer to his liking when he is better taught; if he doth not do so, the sword is behind it. As to Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, inform him that the prince of the Faithful is aware of the matter of his argument and draws an inference from it, of his ignorance and falsehood. As to Fadḥl-b-Ghánim, tell him that it is not unknown to the prince of the Faithful what he was about in Egypt and what wealth he acquired in less than a year—to wit in his office of Ḳádḥi. As for az Ziyádi tell him that he used falsely to claim clientship with a spurious son."* (But Abú Hassan az Ziyádi denied that he was client *by descent* of Ziyád "the son of his father," but that he was called az Ziyádi for other reasons.) As to Abú Naṣr the date-seller, verily the prince of the Faithful likeneth the meanness of his intellect to the baseness of his trade. With regard to Ibn Núḥ and Ibn Ḥátim inform them that they employ themselves in taking usury, to the hindrance of their knowledge of the divine unity, and if nothing justified the prince of the Faithful in hostility to them in the cause of God, but their usury and what hath been revealed regarding such as they, that alone would justify it, but how much the more when they have added infidelity to usury and have become like the Nazarenes. As to Ibn Shujáa' inform him that the prince of the Faithful was with him but a short time since, and took from him what he took of the property which he authorized unto Ibn Hishám from the substance of the prince *of the Faithful*. As for Saa'dawayh of Wásiṭ, say to him—"may the Lord bring to shame that man whose pretentiousness in tradition and the craving for authority therein have led him to lie at the time of interrogation. With regard to him known as Sajjádah and his denial that he had heard from those who had conversed with the learned, of the doctrine that the Ḳurán is created, tell him that his occupation, and the counting of beads (*date stones*) and his directions for the adjustment of his prayer-carpet and the deposits made with him by A'li-b-Yahya and others, are what cause him to forget the divine unity. As to the flask-seller, what is

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* See note §, page 198. It will be remembered that Mu'áwiyah attempted to procure the recognition of Ziyád as the son of Abú Sufyán by Summayya the wife of a Greek slave whom he met in a tavern and in a fit of drunkenness seduced. The truth of the affiliation, however, was doubtful and Ziyád was known or unknown as the "son of his father."

A. H. 218. manifest of his circumstances and taking of bribes and presents, sufficiently
A. D. 833. reveals his religious profession, his evil course of life and the weakness of his understanding and of his faith. As to Yahya al Omarí, if he be a descendant of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭab, the answer to him is apparent. With regard to Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥasan-b-A'li-b-A'á'sim, if he followeth his ancestors who have passed away, he cannot have professed adherence to the doctrinal school which is mentioned in connection with him, besides, he is but a lad in need of being instructed. And verily the prince of the Faithful sent to you one known as Abú Mushir, after the prince of the Faithful had subjected him to inquisition on the subject of the Ḳurán; —he faltered and hesitated about it, until the prince of the Faithful called for the sword for him when he abjectly yielded. Now interrogate him in the matter of his assent, and if he standeth by it, publish it abroad and proclaim it, and such as do not draw back from their heresy of those thou hast named after Bishar and Ibn u'l Mahdi, send them bound to the camp of the prince of the Faithful, that he may question them, and if they recant not, he will put them to the sword." The narrator says—" but all of them yielded upon this, save Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Sajjádah, Muḥammad-b-Núḥ and the flask-seller, whereupon Isháḳ gave orders regarding them and they were put in fetters. Then he questioned them the following day, they being in fetters, and Sajjádah yielded. Again he interrogated them a third time, and the flask-seller submitted, and he sent Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal and Muḥammad-b-Núḥ to the Roman territories.* Afterwards it came to al Mámún's ear that these had really yielded under compulsion, wherefore he was enraged and summoned them to him, and they were being taken to him when the news of the death of al Mámún reached them before their arrival in his presence. Thus the Lord was merciful to them and banished their fear."

Now al Mámún fell sick in the Roman territories, and when his illness became serious, he sent for his son A'bbás to be brought to him, and he feared that he would not reach him *in time*, but he arrived when al Mámún was in the last distress. And, verily, letters had been already despatched to the provinces containing *the following*, "From A'bdu'llah al Mámún, and his brother Isháḳ the Caliph after him, under authority of these presents." Some say that this occurred by order of al Mámún, while others assert that they wrote this at a time when a swooning fit was on him.

Al Mámún died on Thursday the 18th Rajab, 218 (9*th August* 883) at Baḍandún in the Roman territories and was carried to Tarsus and there buried.† Al Masa'údi relates that he encamped on the stream of Baḍan-

* Where the Caliph with his army was at the time.

† Known to the Byzantines under the name of ποδανδον or ποδαντος. Yaḳút, places it at a day's march from Tarsus. Within the fortifications of which is the

dún and its coldness and limpidity, the beauty of the place and its abundant verdure pleased him. He saw in the stream a fish *glittering* like silver which struck him with admiration, but no one could swim in the stream on account of the intensity of its coldness. He therefore offered a sword* to any one who would bring it out An attendant went in and caught it and came out, but it struggled and got away into the water, and the chest and throat of al Mámún were splashed and his garments drenched. The attendant went in a second time and caught it. And al Mámún said "let it be fried at once." Shortly after an ague seized him and he was covered up with blankets while he was shivering and crying out.† Then they lighted a fire round him and the fish was brought, but he could not touch it in his distraction regarding his own condition. After a little he rallied from his suffering and asked the interpretation *of the name* of the place in Arabic. They said, "stretch out thy feet,"‡ and he regarding it as an evil omen. Then he asked the name of the country and they said "Rakḳah." Now according to the horoscope drawn at his birth, it was foretold that he would die at Rakḳah, wherefore he always avoided making a stay at Rakḳah, but when he heard this *reply* from the Romans he knew *his fate* and despaired and said "O Thou whose kingdom never endeth, have mercy on one whose kingdom hath passed away." When the news of his death reached Baghdád, Abu Sa'íd al Makhzúmi said—

A. H. 218.
A. D. 833.

"Hast thou seen the stars protect
Mámún and his kingdom firmly established?
They have abandoned him between the two valleys of Tarsus
As they abandoned his father at Ṭús."

At Tha'álabi observes, "there are not known of any father and son among the Caliphs any more distant graves than those of ar Rashíd and al Mámún." He adds, "similarly the sepulchres of five of the sons of al A'bbás are separated by a wide interval of space, the like of which men have not seen, for the tomb of A'bdu'llah is in Ṭáif, that of U'baydu'llah at Medina, that of al Fadhl in Syria, of Kutham in Samarḳand, and of Maa'bad in Africa."

tomb of al Mámún. According to him one of the gates of the town is called the gate of Baḍandún.

* Masa'údi, has سبقا "a prize."

† "The cold! the cold!" البرد البرد Masa'údi.

‡ Podendon—from ποδα and τεινω.

A. H. 218.
A. D. 833.

On some accounts of al Mámún.

Nifṭawayh* says that Ḥámid-b-u'l A'bbás-b-i'l Wazír related to me *as follows*: "We were in the presence of al Mámún when he sneezed, but we did not pray for a blessing upon him, whereupon he said, 'why do ye not pray for a blessing upon me?' we replied, 'we held thee too exalted, O prince of the Faithful.' He answered, 'I am not one of those monarchs who thinketh himself above prayer.'" Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Muḥammad al Yazídi that he said, "I used to instruct al Mámún, and one day I went to him but he was in privacy, wherefore I sent to him one of the attendants to inform him of my arrival, but he delayed, and I sent again to him and still he tarried, so I said 'this youth often diverts himself with idle trifling.' They replied, 'yes, and withal when he leaves thee, he is ill-tempered with his attendants and they meet with great annoyance from him, therefore set him right with correction.' And when he came out, I ordered him to be brought up and I struck him seven blows with a scourge, and he was rubbing his eyes which were in tears when they called out, 'Jaa'far-b-Yahya* is coming.' So he took a kerchief and wiped the tears from his eyes and gathered up his garments and went to his carpet, sat down cross-legged and after a little, said, 'let him come in.' He then entered and I withdrew from the assembly, fearing that he would complain to him of me. Jaa'far then advanced in front of him and conversed with him and made him laugh and went out again. Then I came up and said, 'verily I feared that thou wouldst complain of me to Jaa'far.' He replied, 'O Abú Muḥammad, I would not have told ar Rashíd of this, how then Jaa'far! indeed I am much in need of correction.'"

And from A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad at Taymi that he relates—"Ar Rashíd designed to make a journey, wherefore he commanded the people to prepare for it and informed them that he would set out at the end of the week, but the week passed and he did not go, so they gathered round al Mámún and asked him to obtain information concerning it, wherefore al Mámún wrote to ar Rashíd, who did not know that he could versify, the following lines ;—

"O best of those whom a beast of burden conveyeth,
And of those whom a saddled charger followeth,
Is there an appointed time for the march that we may know it,
Or is our order for the march to remain obscure?

* This famous grammarian was a native of Wásiṭ where he was born in A. H. 244, he resided at Baghdád and died there A. H. 323. Ibn Khall.

† For the life and unhappy end of this famous minister of ar Rashíd consult Ibn Khall, and D'Herbelot.

There is no knowledge of this save with the king, A. H. 218.
From his lustre we borrow light in the darkness. A. D. 833.
If thou go forth, good guidance will set out following thee
And if thou remain, good guidance will be detained *with thee*."

Ar Rashíd read them and was pleased with them, and wrote upon them, "O my little son! what hast thou to do with verse-making,* which is the highest qualification of the base, but the last of the accomplishments of the noble." He also records on the authority of al Asma'í that the impression on the signet ring of al Mámún was, "the servant of God son of the servant of God." And on that of Muḥammad-b-A'bbád, that none of the Caliphs knew the Ḳurán by heart except Othmán-b-A'ffán and al Mámún. I observe, that I have already refuted this limitation in the remarks that have preceded. He records likewise on the authority of Ibn U'aynah,† that al Mámún assembled the learned and held a public audience, when there came forward a woman and said, "O prince of the Faithful, my brother died and left six hundred dínárs—they have given me but one dínár, saying, "this is thy share." Al Mámún computed and made the fractional division of the inheritance and said to her, "this is thy portion." The learned said to him, "how dost thou know, O prince of the Faithful?" He said to her, "this man left two daughters." She answered, "yes." He proceeded, "then they have two-thirds, *viz.*, four hundred, and he left a mother, and she has one-sixth, *viz.*, one hundred, and he left a wife and her share is an eighth, *viz.*, seventy-five—and, by Allah, hast thou twelve brothers?" She said, "yes." He went on—"they get two dínárs a piece and one dínár comes to thee." And from Muḥammad-b-Ḥafṣ al Anmáṭi *(the carpet merchant)*, that he narrates, "we were breakfasting with al Mámún on a festival day and there were placed upon the table more than three hundred dishes, and every time a dish was served, al Mámún looked upon it and observed, "this is good for such a thing and hurtful for such another. Now if there be among you one who is phlegmatic, let him avoid this, and he among you, who has the yellow bile‡ let him eat of this, and he who is subject to atrabiliousness, let him not partake of this, and he who desires to eat but little, let him restrict himself to this." Upon this Yahya-b-Aktham§ said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, if we were to

* الشعرا MS.

† In the printed text for. عينيه read عيينة. The MS. is here correct.

‡ According to early notions on this subject the four constituent humours of the body were: بلغم phlegm, الصضرا yellow bile, السوداء black bile, and الدم the blood. See Lane, Art. سود.

§ Yahya-b-Aktham was appointed Ḳáḍhi of Baṣrah by al Mámún in A. H. 202. See I. K. Life of Ibn Abi Duwád.

A. H. 218. enter upon *the discussion of* medicine thou wouldst be a Galen in the
A. D. 833. knowledge of it, or of the stars, a Hermes in their computation, or of jurisprudence an A'li-b-Abí Ṭalib in its comprehension, or should liberality be spoken of, thou wouldst be a Ḥátim Ṭai in its description, or the truth of tradition, an Abu Ḍarr in its proof, or generosity a Kaa'b-b-Mámah* in his deeds, or good faith, a Samuel b-A'ádiya in fidelity."† Al Mámún was pleased at this speech and said, "verily, man is distinguished by his intellect, and were it not for that, no flesh would be better than other flesh, nor blood than other blood."

And from Yahya-b-u'l Aktham—"I never saw a more perfect man than al Mámún—I once passed a night with him and he awoke and said, 'O Yahya, see what there is near my foot.' I looked but saw nothing. He then called for a candle and the attendants hastened up, and he said, 'search' and they searched and lo! beneath his quilt was a snake as long as his body, and they killed it, and I said 'verily the knowledge of the unseen is a further addition to the accomplishments of the prince of the Faithful!' He replied—'God preserve me! no—but a secret monitor called to me but now when I was sleeping and said—

"O, thou who sleepest at night—awake!
For calamities travel by night.
The reliance of a youth on his fortune
Is like trusting to loosened fastenings."

And I awoke and knew that something had happened either near or at a distance, and I reflected on what might be near and it was what thou hast seen.'" And from U'márah-b-U'ḳayl, "Ibn Abí Ḥafṣah‡ the poet said

* One of the principal chiefs of the tribe of Iyáḍh, noted for his liberality. De Slane, I. K. under Yáḳút al Ḥamawi.

† Samuel the son of A'ádiya, proverbial among the Arabs for his good faith. His name is introduced in the 23rd Assembly of al Harírí. The story of his fidelity is briefly as follows: Imr'u'l Ḳays having fled from the pursuit of the king of Híra took refuge with Samuel in his castle of al Ablak in Tayma. Thence he proceeded to the court of the emperor Justinian to implore aid against his enemies, leaving with Samuel his daughter and several suits of mail. After various adventures at the Greek court, he died at Ancyra. On his death the prince of Ghassán determined to seize the armour of the warrior poet and besieged Samuel in his castle. Samuel's infant son was by some accident, captured outside the gate and Samuel was offered the choice of surrendering the armour or seeing his child slain. On his refusal to betray his trust the alternative was carried out before his father's eyes. The siege was raised and Samuel had the satisfaction of delivering the armour to the heirs of Imr' u'l Ḳays at the fair of U'káḍh. See Chenery's Harírí. Abu'l Feda. Anteislam Hist. p. 133.

‡ Marwan-b-Abi Ḥafṣah a native of al Yamáma and grandson of Abu Ḥafṣah the Mawla of Marwan-b-u'l Ḥakam, born, A. H. 105, died at Baghdád A. H. 182. He

to me, "dost thou know that al Mámún doth not understand poetry?" I A. H. 218.
replied "who is there that hath a quicker perception of it than he? by A. D. 833.
Allah, verily did we recite the first line of a verse he would anticipate the end of it without ever having heard it." Ibn Abí Ḥafṣah replied, "verily I recited to him a line which I had well expressed, but I did not see him moved by it—and it was this—

The Imám of right guidance, al Mámún, is employed
In the concerns of religion, while men are busy about the world."

I said to him, "thou hast done no more than make of him an old woman in her closet with beads in her hand, for who can rise to the transaction of worldly affairs, when he is diverted from them by other things and trammelled by them? Thou hast not spoken as thy uncle spoke of al Walíd—

He doth not lose his portion in the world
Nor do the things of the world distract him from religion."

Ibn A'sákir states that he had heard that an Nadhr-b-Shumayl* related *as follows:* I went to al Mámún when he was at Marv, wearing worn out garments and he said to me, "O Nadhr, dost thou come into the presence of the prince of the Faithful in such garments?" I replied, "O prince of the Faithful verily the heat of Marv cannot be kept out except by wearing old garments like these." He said, "nay, but thou livest in a miserable way." We then spoke on tradition. At length al Mámún said, "I heard a tradition from Hushaym-b-Bushayr† on the authority of Ibn A'bbas who related that the apostle of God said, 'when a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, it is a preventive (sadád) against want.'" I replied "the words‡ of the prince of the Faithful have reported truly *the tradi-*

ranked as a poet with the first of his age and his best piece is considered his Kasída rhyming in-l-(al Lármiyh) composed in honor of Maa'n-b-Záida as Shaybání. Ibn Khall.

* Abú'l Ḥasan, at Nadhr-b-Shumayl-b-Kharashah-b-Yazíd, at Tamími was a native of Baṣrah and celebrated as a grammarian. He was skilled as a jurisconsult and traditionist and well acquainted with poetry and the battles of the desert Arabs. He left Baṣrah, where he found no means of support and settled al Marv and acquired great wealth. The story in the text is given in Ibn Khall, with some variation. An Nadhr died A. H. 204 (A. D. 820).

† Hushaym-b-Bushayr a native of Wásiṭ acquired a high reputation as a traditionist at Baghdád. He knew by-heart twenty thousand of them. Died A. H. 183 (799) at the age of 79. De Slane; Ibn Khall.

‡ Ibn Khall's version has here صدق يا امير المؤمنين هشيم and the Kitáb u'l Agháni, (in the life of Ḥamzah-b-Baiḍh) صدقوك يا امير المؤمنين without the mention of Hushaym.

A. H. 218. *tion* from Hushaym. It was related to me by A'uf al A'arábi* on the
A. D. 833. authority of al Ḥasan that the prophet said, 'when a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, it is a preventive (sidád) against want.' Al Mámún was at the time lecturing, but sat up then and exclaimed, 'is sadád a mispronunciation, O Nadhr?' I said, 'yes here, but undoubtedly a mispronunciation of Hushaym's, for he was an incorrect speaker.' He asked, 'what is the difference between the two?' I answered, 'Sadád means, following a right course of action, and sidád, what is necessary to support life and whatever thou mayest stop up a thing with.' He said, 'do the Arabs *(of the desert)* know this *distinction?*' I replied 'yes, al A'rjí,† a descendant of Othmán-b-A'ffán, says as follows—

They have left me to perish and what a youth have they left to perish
One who could have helped them in an evil day or in the defence (sidád) of a breach.' "

Al Mámún looked down for a little and then said, "the Lord confound those who have no education." After a little he said, "recite to me, O Nadhr the most captivating verse composed by the Arabs." I replied the lines of Ibn Baidh‡ on al Ḥakam-b-Marwán :

" She says to me with sleepy eyes
Stay with us; but I did not stay,
'Which of the chiefs hast thou visited?' I said to her
'What chief but al Ḥakam!'
Whenever the two chamberlains§ of his tent, say
'This is Ibn Baidh at the door,' he smiles:
Verily I paid in advance in regard to thee, as a pledge—
Come,‖ let him enter and give me my earnest money."

He continued—" recite to me the verse expressive of the greatest

* A'uf-b-Abi Jamíla surnamed al Aa'rabi (the desert Arab) bore a fair reputation as a traditionist.

† Abdu'llah-b-A'mr al A'rji, a grandson of the Caliph Othmán: his life extracted from as Suyuti's Sharḥ Shawáhidu'l Mughni, is given by De Sacy in his Anthologie Grammaticale, p. 453. De Slane; Ibn Khall. A notice of him will also be found in the Kitáb u'l Aghání.

‡ Ḥamzah-b-Baidh al Ḥanafí was one of the best poets of the Umayyad dynasty as well as one of the most licentious. He was a native of Kúfah and eulogised al Muhallab and his son, also Abán-b-u'l Walíd and the Ḳádhi Bilál-b-Abí Burdah. He received large rewards from them. A long notice of him will be found in the Kitáb u'l Agháni, where the verses in the text are also given. He did not live till the accession to power of the Abbaside dynasty.

§ For حاجباً read حاجبا

‖ The text and MS. are here in error. It should be as in the Kitáb u'l Aghání—
هات ادخلن ذا و اعطني سلمي

justice of conduct, which the Arabs have spoken." I repeated the lines of Ibn A'rúbah* of Medína— A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

" Verily, though the son of my uncle were to chide,
I would thrust away such as came behind and after him.
And my wealth† should aid him, even were he a man
Far remote in his land and sky.
And I should be the lord of his secret and preserve it
Until there seized me a yearning‡ for the time of its fulfilment.
And if misfortunes injured his camels at pasture
My healthy camels should join his afflicted with mange.
And were he to call me by name to ride a steed
That was refractory, I would sit on his back for him.
And were he to come on his way and on his own affairs
I would not look into what was behind his tent.
And were he to wear a handsome garment, I should not say
Would that upon me were the beauty of his mantle."

He said, " now recite to me a verse of the Arabs, most expressive of content." Upon which I quoted the lines of Ibn A'bdal *al Asadi*—

" Verily I am a man who continues (and that
By the favour of God) being well instructed, to teach polite learning.
I remain at home while home is free from disquiet to me,
And if I am far away, I am cheerful.
I grasp not at the friendship of a friend nor
Make my mind desire a thing after it hath passed away.
I seek myself what a generous man seeketh
Of the means of subsistence and am moderate in my desire *thereof*.
Verily I behold a generous man when
I seek a benefit of him, eager to grant it.
But the slave pursueth not what is lofty nor
Giveth ought to thee save in fear.
Like an ass, galled in the back§ and vicious,
Which is good for nothing until it is beaten.

* For المديني read المدني as in the K. A. De Slane states that he was a traditionist of Başrah. Died A. H. 156.

† For بصري read (as in the MS. and Kitáb u'l Aghání) نضري

‡ حتى يجي علي Kitáb u'l Aghání.

§ The MS. and Kitáb u'l Aghání have in the first hemistich مثل الحمار الموقّع السؤ لا. The text is here in error. In the second hemistich the K. A. has يحمل for يحسن.

A. H. 218.
A. D. 833.

And I have found no firm stay* save
Religion, from what I have experienced, and nobility of race.
Verily he who stays tranquilly at home is nourished, who never
Hath bound pack or saddle on his camel,
While support of existence is withheld from the owner of the camel and pack
And one who never ceases to travel."

Al Mámún exclaimed, "thou hast said well, O Nadhr!" He then took a piece of paper and wrote something I know not what: then he observed, "How do you form the imperative from *turáb?*" (earth or dust). I said "*atrib,*"† *(cover him with earth or dust).* "And of *tín?*" *(clay).* I said, "*tin*" *(plaster or seal up).* He went on, "what then would a writing be?" I said "*mutrab,* (sprinkled with dust) or *matín,*" (plastered or sealed with clay). He exclaimed, "better and better," and he wrote for me an order for fifty thousand dirhams. Then he commanded an attendant to take me to al Fadhl-b-Sahl, and I went with him and when al Fadhl read the writing, he exclaimed, "O Nadhr, didst thou charge the prince of the Faithful with a mispronunciation?" I said, "by no means, but Hushaym spoke very incorrectly and the prince of the Faithful did but follow his words." Then he ordered me on his own account thirty thousand dirhams, thus I set forth for my house with eighty thousand."

Al Khaṭíb records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ziyád the desert Arab, that he relates as follows: "Al Mámún sent for me and I went to him, and he was in the garden walking with Yahya-b-Aktham, and I saw the two moving with their faces turned from me, so I sat down, and when they came forward, I arose and saluted him as Caliph and I heard him say to Yahya, 'O Abu Muḥammad how good are his manners! He saw us turned from him and sat down, and then seeing us advance, he arose and returned me my salutation.' Then he said 'tell me regarding the verse of Hind the daughter of U'tbah‡—

We are the daughters of Ṭárik
Moving upon cushions with the walk of the desert grouse.'

* عروة is the loop-shaped handle of the water skin and علاقة its suspensory thong.

† The text points the word "itrab," but the simple triliteral form ترب is intransitive and the transitive derived conjugation (IV.) is here meant (افعال) as is clear from Ibn Khallikán's narrative where, after the words 'better and better,' al Mámún says boy, earth, him, and plaster him يا غلام اتربه و طنه The text has likewise erroneously "muṭayyan for maṭín.

‡ Wife of Abu Sufyán and mother of Mu'áwiyah. The words were used by her on the day of Ohud, quoting proverbially the saying of az Zarká al Iyádhiyah when Kisrah warred with Iyádh. Lane gives the following version; نحن بنات طارق لانثني لواعق نمشي علي النمارق We are the daughters of the morning star, we bend not to a

'Who is this Ṭárik? for I have looked in her pedigree and found him not.' I replied, 'O prince of the Faithful I do not know of him in her pedigree.' He answered 'assuredly she meant by it the star, claiming descent from it on account of her beauty—according to the words of the Most High. "By the heavens and the nocturnal star.'" (Ḳur. LXXXVI.) I said, 'corroborate that *by proof*, O prince of the Faithful.' He rejoined, 'I know it perfectly well.' Then he threw to me a piece of amber which he was turning about in his hands and I sold it for five thousand dirhams." A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

And from Abu U'bádah* who says, that al Mámún was one of the *greatest* sovereigns of the earth and that this title was justly due to him.

And from Ibn Abí Dauúd that one of the schismatics came before al Mámún, and he said to him, "what induced thee to oppose us?" He answered, "a verse of the Book of God." Al Mámún said "and which is that?" He replied, "the words of the Most High, 'and who so judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are infidels' (Kur. V)." The Caliph asked "hast thou any certain knowledge that this was revealed?" He replied "Yes." "And what is thy proof?" "The consensus of the people." Al Mámún replied "then as thou art content with their agreement concerning the revelation, be content with their unanimity in the interpretation thereof." The other said, "thou hast spoken truly, peace be to thee. O prince of the Faithful."

Ibn A'sakír records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Manṣúr that al Mámún said, "one of the signs of a man of distinction is that he will ill-treat one who is above him, and will suffer one who is beneath him to ill-treat him." And from Sa'íd-b-Muslim that al Mámún said, "I would that those who commit crimes were aware of my conception of pardon, that fear might leave them and joy be unmixed in their hearts." And from Ibrahim-b-Sa'íd al Jauhari, that a man stood before al Mámún who had committed a crime, and he said to him, "by Allah, I will slay thee!" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful act gently in regard to me for compassion is the half of mercy." He replied, "how can I? now that I have sworn to slay thee." He answered, "it is better to meet God as a perjurer than to meet Him as a slayer,"—upon which al Mámún let him go his way.

Al Khaṭíb records from Abú's Ṣalt A'bdu's Salám-b-i's Ṣáliḥ that he narrates as follows, "I passed the night with al Mámún and the attendant

lover &c. Two other lines with variations of the others will be found in Ibn Hishám used by Hind as an encouragement to the youths going to battle at Ohud. إن تقبلوا نعانق ان تدبروا نفارق If ye advance we shall embrace ye. If ye fly, we shall abandon ye.

* Probably Abú U'bádah al Buḥturi the poet, the friend and contemporary of Abu Tammám the author of the Hamásah: his life will be found in Ibn Khall.

A. H. 218. who used to trim the lamp went to sleep, and al Mámún arose and trimmed
A. D. 833. it and I heard him say, 'I am sometimes in the bath-room when the servants are reviling and traducing me, not knowing that I hear them but I forgive them.'" As Ṣúli records on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Bawwáb that he said, "al Mámún was so forbearing that he used to enrage us. On one occasion he sat cleaning his teeth behind a curtain on the banks of the Tigris and we were standing before him, when a boatman passed and said—'do ye imagine that this al Mámún hath any worth in my eyes, when verily he hath put to death his own brother?'—and, by Allah, he did nothing more than smile and say to us, 'what contrivance have ye, that I may have merit in the eyes of this excellent man?'"

Al Khaṭíb records on the authority of Yahya-b-Akhtham that he narrates as follows, "I never knew a man more noble than al Mámún. I passed a night with him and he was seized with coughing and I saw him close his mouth with his sleeve, so that I might not awake, and he used to say that the beginning of equitable dealing is that a man should be just to his intimate friends, then to those who are nearest to them in succession, until he reaches the lowest grade."

Ibn A'sákir records from Yahya-b-Khálid al Barmaki that he relates, "al Mámún said to me, O Yahya take every opportunity of satisfying the needs of men, for the heavens are too inconstant and fortune too unjust, to leave a man in one condition and continue unto him his enjoyments."

And from A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad az Zuhri,—"al Mámún said, 'superiority in argument is more pleasing to me than superiority of force, for superiority of force vanishes by its decay, while superiority in argument nothing can destroy.'" And from U'tbi, "I heard al Mámún say, 'he who praiseth thee not for goodness of intention will not thank thee for excellence of deed.'" And from Abú'l A'áliyah, "I heard al Mámún say, 'how odious is contentiousness in monarchs, and more odious than that, is vexation in judges, before comprehension *of what is before them*, and more odious than it, is the shallowness of jurisconsults in religion, and more odious still is avarice in the rich, jesting in old men, idleness in youths and cowardice in soldiers.'"

And from A'li-b-Abdi'r Raḥím al Marwazi, that al Mámún said, "he, of all men is most unjust to himself, who draweth near to one who keeps him at a distance, and abaseth himself before one who honoureth him not and receiveth the praise of one whom he doth not know." And from al Mukhárik,* "I recited to al Mámún the words of Abú'l A'táhíyah."

* He was one of the first singers of his time. He once sung in the presence of the Caliph ar Rashid who was so delighted, that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered him to draw near and sit on the throne by his side. He was afterwards attached to the service of al Mámún

"I am in need of the protection of a master, A. H. 218.
Who is compassionate and who is unruffled though I trouble him." A. D. 833.

He said to me, "repeat it," and I repeated it seven times, whereupon he exclaimed, "O Mukhárik, take the Caliphate from me and give me such a master."

And from Hudbah-b-Khálid, "I was at breakfast with al Mámún, and when the table was taken away, I began to gather up what was on the ground, and al Mámún looked at me and said, 'hast thou not had enough?' I replied, 'yes, but Ḥammád-b-Salamah told me on the authority of Anas that he had heard the apostle of God say,—whoso eateth what is under the table is secure from poverty: whereupon he ordered me a thousand dínárs.'" And from al Ḥasan-b-A'bdús as Ṣaffár *(the brazier)*, that when al Mámún married Burán, the daughter of al Ḥasan-b-Sahl, the people sent presents to al Ḥasan, and a poor man sent him two wallets in one of which was salt and in the other glasswort and wrote to him at the same time, *saying*, "May I be sacrificed for thee—these goods of little worth fall short of the extent of my desire, but I was unwilling that the scroll of the beneficent should be folded up and no mention of my name within it, therefore have I sent unto thee what is commenced with,* on account of the auspiciousness and blessing of it, and what is concluded with, by reason of its goodness and cleansing properties." Al Ḥasan took the two wallets and went with them to al Mámún, who was pleased thereat and ordered them to be emptied and filled with dínárs. As Ṣuli records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḳaṣim that he had heard al Mámún say, "by Allah, I delight in pardon to such an extent, that I fear I may not be rewarded on account of it, and if men knew the extent of my love of pardoning, they would come to me guilty of crimes."

Al Khaṭib records on the authority of al Mánṣúr al Barmaki, that ar Rashíd possessed a slave girl whom al Mámún loved, and once while she was pouring out water for ar Rashíd from a vessel she held, al Mámún who was behind him, made a sign of a kiss to her, and she reproved him with her eyebrows and delayed in pouring out the water. Harún looked at her and said, "what is this?" and she faltered in her answer to ar Rashíd. Whereupon he said—"if thou dost not tell me, I will certainly put thee to death." She replied, "A'bdu'llah made a sign to me of a kiss." Harún looked towards him, and lo! shame and fear so fell upon him that it made Harún take pity on him, and he embraced him and said, "dost thou love her?" He said, "yes." He answered, "rise and take her into that room."

and accompanied him to Damascus. He died A. H. 230 (844-5). He was surnamed Abú'l Hina. De Slane, I. K.

* The Arabs beginning their meals by tasting salt and using glasswort to wash their hands with.

A. H. 218. And, he arose and as he went, ar Rashíd said to him, 'say a verse on
A. D. 833. this' and he recited—

" A gazelle, I hinted with my glance
As to my feelings to her.*
I kissed her from afar,
But she made excuses with her lips,
And returned the best of answers
By the contraction of her eye-brows.
But I did not quit my place
Before I obtained possession of her."

Ibn 'Asákir records on the authority of Abu Khalífah al Fadhl-b-Habáb, that he narrates, " I heard a slave-dealer say as follows : ' I showed a slave girl to al Mámún, skilled in versifying, eloquent, well-bred and a good chess-player, and I asked of him a thousand dínárs as her price, and he said, " if she can cap a verse I will recite to her by a verse of her own, I will purchase her for what thou askest, and will give thee over and above the bargain," and al Mámún recited—

' What wilt thou say regarding one whom sleeplessness hath emaciated
Through the strength of his love for thee, so that he became distracted.'

And she capped it thus—

' When I find a lover whom hath smitten
The sickness of love, I will show him kindness.' "

As Súli from al Husayn al Khalíi' that he narrates as follows, " when al Mámún was angered with me and stopped my stipend, I composed a poem wherein I praised him and gave it to one who conveyed it to him." The beginning of it is—

" Reward me, for I thirst for the promise :
When wilt thou fulfil the promise confirmed by vow ?
I fly to thee for protection from the breach of faith of princes, and verily thou seest
That I die for love of thee.
Will he who is incomparable in goodness, grudge me
A slender gift? and verily I alone have given him an incomparable love."

&c., until he says—

" The Lord found A'bdu'llah the best of His servants,
And he gave him sovereignty and God knoweth His servants best.
Now surely al Mámún is a defence unto his people
Distinguishing between error and right guidance."

* The pronoun is here in the masculine, the reason of which has been before explained.

"Al Mámún observed 'verily he hath done well, save that he is the author of the following: A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

'O mine eyes! rain abundantly and weep over Muḥammad *(al-Amín)*
And spare not thy tears over him and give your aid.
May public affairs fail of success after Muḥammad
And the unity of the kingdom not cease to be divided.
May al Mámún not enjoy the kingdom after him.
And not cease to be an exile in the world and a fugitive.'

This then is against the other and I have nothing for him." The chamberlain said, "where, then, is the prince of the Faithful's practice of pardon?" He replied, "well as to that, why, yes," and he ordered him a present and restored to him his stipend.

And from 'Ulayyah Ḥammád-b-Isháḳ, that when al Mámún went to Baghdad, he held inquiry into wrongful exactions every day until noon. And from Muḥammad-b-u'l 'Abbás, that al Mámún was very fond of chess and used to say, "this sharpens the intellect," and he originated some moves in it. He used to say, "I will never hear any one say, 'come let us play,'—but, 'let us fall on, let us press one another.'" However he did not excel in it, and he would exclaim, "I have the administration of the world and am equal to it, whereas I am straitened in the ordering of a space two spans by two spans."

And from Ibn Abí Ṣ'aíd, that Di'bil* satirized al Mámún saying:

"I belong to the same tribe as those whose swords
Slew thy brother and raised thee to the throne.
They exalted thy fame after its long abasement
And drew thee forth from the depth of thy degradation."

When al Mámún heard it, he did no more than say "what little shame hath Di'bil! when was I obscure who indeed have been reared in the lap of Caliphs?" and he did not punish him. As Ṣúli states also from various sources that al Mámún used to drink date-wine. And on the authority of Jáḥidh, that the associates of al Mámún used to assert that the colour of his face and of his body was the same except his legs which were yellow as if anointed with saffron.

And from Isháḳ of Mosul, that al Mámún said, "the sweetest of songs

* Abú A'li D'ibíl-b-Ali'l Khuzáa'í, was a good poet, but addicted to satire and scurrility, always ready to slander men of merit, not sparing even the Caliphs. Ibráhim-b-u'l Mahdi was so irritated at one of his cutting verses, that he complained to al Mámún who counselled him to put up with it in silence as he himself had done in regard to the lines quoted in the text which are given by Ibn Khall. D'ibíl was born A. H. 148, and died at Tíb near Wásiṭ A. H. 246. Ibn Khall. His life will also be found in the Kitáb u'l Aghání.

A. H. 218. is that which, the hearer, whether it be well or ill sung, rejoiceth over.
A. D. 833. And from 'Ali-b-i'l Ḥusayn that Muhammad-b-Ḥámid* was standing over al Mámún while he was drinking, when Gharíb broke forth and sang a verse of an Nábighah al Jaa'di's.—

"Like the hem of the striped garment of Yaman." Whereupon al Mámún suspected that she did not begin without a reason and the company were silent. He therefore said, "may I be repudiated by ar Rashid! but if I am not told truly regarding this, I will cause *the culprit* to confess with grievous blows and will punish him heavily, but if I am told the truth, I will forward the true speaker's desire." Whereupon Muḥammad-b-Ḥámid replied, "my lord, I made signs of a kiss to her." He rejoined, "now comes the truth, thou hast spoken truly, dost thou wish that I should marry thee to her?" He answered, "yes." Then al Mámún said, "praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, and may God bless our chief Muḥammad and his offspring—verily I give in marriage unto Muḥammad the son of Ḥámid, my freedwoman Gharíb and I assign her as a dowry from him four hundred dirhams with the blessing of God and by the ordinance of the prophet. Take her hand," and she arose with him. Then al Mu'ataṣim went to the threshold and said to Ibn Ḥámid, "the brokerage!" He replied, "it is thine"—The other said—"my brokerage is that she must sing to me during the night." And she continued to sing to him till the morning and Ibn Ḥámid at the door. Then she arose, took his hand and departed with him. And from Ibn A'bi Dauúd, that the Roman Emperor sent a present to al Mámún of two hundred pounds of musk and two hundred skins of sable, and al Mámún said, "double the gift for him that he may know the splendour of Islám." And from Ibráhím-b-u'l Ḥasan that al Madáiní told al Mámún that Mu'áwiyah said, "the Banú Hashim are lions and swift to wrath, but we are more numerous in chiefs." Al Mámún replied, "verily he hath made an admission and adduced a claim; he is therefore, in his claim, a plaintiff, and in his admission a defendant."

As Ṣúli likewise records on the authority of Abu† Usámah that he narrates as follows,—"one of my companions told me that Aḥmad-b-Abí Khálid‡ was once reading stories to al Mámún and said, "a certain at

* De Slane in a note to the life of Abú Tammám mentions a Muḥammad-b-Ḥamíd at Túsi, a son of one of al Mámún's principal generals who fell in battle against Bábak al Khurrami in Aḍarbiján A. H. 214. He is mentioned as renowned for his liberality and that his death gave great pain to al Mámún. It is probably the same person, the accent on the name being misplaced in one or other version.

† The MS. has Ibn Abi Usámah, of which name there are two, at Tamimí, a traditionist and al Ḥalabi, a disciple of the poet an Námi. Abú Usámah Junádah was a philologer of distinction who died A. H. 399.

‡ Aḥmad-b-Abí Khálid al Ahwal was vizier to al Mámún and al Mua'tasim, succeeding al Faḍhl-b-Saḥl in that post. He was a man of great intelligence and

Tharídí"* (it being al Yazídí) and al Mámún laughed and called out 'ho! page, bring some food to Abu al A'bbás for verily he is hungry'—and he was ashamed and said, 'I am not hungry but the author of the story is a dunce, for he has pointed the *ya* (ي) with the points of the *th* (ث).' Al Mámún exclaimed, 'never mind.' And they brought food and he eat until he had done. Then he went on and came to the story of a certain al Ḥamṣi, instead of which he said, al Khabíṣí,† whereupon al Mámún laughed and called out, 'ho! boy, a dish of Khabíṣ.' Ahmad said, 'verily the author of the story was a fool, for he hath made an open mím (م) and it is as, if there were two dots.' Al Mámún laughed and said, 'were it not for the incorrectness of those two words, thou would'st have remained hungry.'" A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

And from Abu A'bbád that he said, "I do not think that God ever created a disposition more excellent than that of al Mámún nor one more generous, and in truth he was aware of the gluttony of Aḥmad-b-Abi Khálid, so that whenever he sent him on any business, he gave him his breakfast before he sent him. It was represented to him in a case that if he, the prince of the Faithful, saw fit to settle some provision upon Ibn Abu Khálid, *it would be well*, as he was in the habit of favouring the more powerful party for the sake of his entertainment, wherefore al Mámún settled upon him a thousand dirhams a day for his table, yet notwithstanding, he would desire greedily to eat at the expense of others. 'Di'bil the poet has said regarding this—

"We thank the Caliph for the settlement
Of a maintenance upon the son of Abu Khálid.
Thus he hath restrained his tyranny over the Muslims
And given him his occupation at home."

And from Ibn Abí Dáuúd,‡ "I heard al Mámún say to a man 'whether thy conduct be marked with perfidy or with token of good, I will not hold thee responsible for either; thou wilt not cease to do evil, and I to do good, and thou to be in fault and I to forgive until it shall be pardon itself that shall amend thee.'" And from al Jáḥidh that Thumámah-b-u'l Ashras§

foresight and expressed himself elegantly in speech. He died A. H. 240. See De Slane's correction of D. Herbelot's error regarding this Wazír. Vol. I, p. 20.

* Tharíd signifies sliced bread in milk or broth with meat.

† Khabíṣ is a kind of sweetmeat.

‡ I am of opinion that this name should be Ibn Abi Duád, the Ḳadhi who died in 240 A. H. Ibn Abi Dáuúd the Ḥáfidh died in 316. It is scarcely probable that he could have heard and remembered speeches of al Mámún's in 218.

§ Abú Maa'n Thumámah-b-u'l Ashras surnamed al Májin or the licentious for his disorderly life. Al Mámún met him once in the street in a state of intoxication and said to him, "is it you Thumámah?" "Yes?" "Are you drunk?" No. "Do you know me?" "Yes." "Who am I?" "I don't know." This threw the Caliph into such a fit of laughter that he nearly fell off his horse. He died A. H. 213. De Slane, I. K.

A. H. 218. said, "I have never seen any one more eloquent than Jaa'far-b-Yahya al
A. D. 833. Barmaki and al Mámún."

As Silafi records in the Ṭuyyúriyát on the authority of Hafṣ al Madiání, that a negro who pretended to the gift of prephecy was brought before al Mámún and said, "I am Moses the son of Imrán," and al Mámún said to him, "verily Moses the son of Imrán drew forth his hand from his bosom white, therefore draw forth thy hand white, that I may believe in thee." The negro replied, "surely that was done by Moses when Pharaoh said to him, 'I am thy most High God.' Therefore say as Pharaoh said, that I may draw out my hand white, otherwise it will not become white." Also that al Mámún said, "a revolt has never broken out against me, but I found the cause of it in the tyranny of the prefects." Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Yahya-b-A'ktham, that al Mámún used to preside at a disputation on questions of jurisprudence every Tuesday, and there came a man wearing a garment which he had tucked up, and holding his shoes in his hand and he stopped on the border of the carpet and said, "peace be to you." Al Mámún returned his salutation and the other said, "tell me regarding this seat which thou occupiest—dost thou sit there* with the unanimous consent of the people or by violence and force?" He replied, "neither the one nor the other, but one who governed the affairs of the Muslims bequeathed it to me and to my brother, and when the authority devolved upon me, I felt that I needed the unanimous consent of the Muslims in the east and the west in accepting me, but I saw that if I abandoned the government, the security of Islám would be disturbed, and their affairs fall into confusion, and that they would contend in strife one with another, so that holy wars and pilgrimages would be neglected, and the highways infested with robbers, wherefore I arose in defence of the Muslims, until they should be of accord upon one man whom they should approve, and I would then resign the government to him: now when they agree upon a man, I will abdicate in his favour." The man replied, "peace be to you and the mercy of God and his blessing," and he departed. And from Muḥammad-b-u'l Munḍir al Kindi, that ar Rashíd, being upon the pilgrimage entered Kúfah and summoned the Traditionists, and none stayed away but A'bdu'llah-b-Idrís, and Isá-b-Yunas. He sent al Amín and al Mámún to them, and Ibn Idrís related to them one hundred traditions, and al Mámún said, "O uncle! Suffer me to repeat them by heart." He answered, "do so," and he repeated them and Ibn Idrís marvelled at his memory. Some author states that al Mámún took away books of philosophy and works of Grecian writers from the islands of Cyprus. This much ad Ḍahabi briefly narrates. Al Fákahi says that the first who covered the Kaa'bah with white brocade was al Mámún, and this continued to be the custom

* I prefer to read, جلسته as in the MS. for جلسة

after him till the time of the Caliph an Náṣir, save when Mahmúd the son of Sabaktagín during the interval, covered it with yellow brocade. A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

The following are among the sayings of al Mámún. "There is no pleasure greater than that of observing the intellects of men. Stratagem is of no avail to turn back an affair when it advances, or to advance it where it is retrogressing. The best of conferences is where one gets an insight into men. Men are of three classes. Those who are as nourishment, necessary under all circumstances; those who are like medicine, necessary on occasion of sickness, and those who are like diseases, hateful under every condition. The answer of none has ever embarrassed me, as the answer of a man of the people of Kúfah embarrassed me, whom its inhabitants sent to me and he complained against their governor. I replied, "thou liest, for he is a just man." He said, "the prince of the Faithful hath spoken truly and I have lied: verily thou hast specially chosen him for us in this city, to the exclusion of other cities, now appoint him to another city that he may encompass them with his equity and justice as he hath encompassed us." I said, "rise, and be off, verily I shall remove him from over you."

The following are among the lines of al Mámún:

"My tongue concealeth your secrets
And my tell-tale tear is an informer of my secret.
Were it not for my tears, I should conceal my love,
Yet were it not for love, I should have no tears."

And on chess—

"A square field of red-dressed leather
Between too friends known for generosity;
They call war to mind and invent stratagems therein,
Without being guilty of shedding blood there.
This one attacks that, and that
Falls upon this, and the eye of caution sleepeth not.
See then the ingenious *foes* moving with skill
Among two armies without drum or banner."

As Ṣúli records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-A'mr, that Asram-b-Ḥumayd* presented himself before al Mámún with whom was al Mua'tasim, and the Caliph said "describe me and my brother and give no preference to either over his fellow;" whereupon he versified after a little:

"I saw a ship sailing upon a sea,
Towards two seas, beyond which are other seas,

* This individual is mentioned in Ibn Khall's life of A'bdu'llah-b-Táhir, as the author of some verses quoted, but no other information is given of him.

A. H. 218.
A. D. 833.

Towards two princes whose splendours both,
Are equal, at whom the beholder is confounded.
They are two Princes; this resembles that,
And that this, and that and this are chiefs;
If this were that and that this
In this and that together would be my delight.
A canopy of glory is extended over the one
And the face of the other is a shining moon."

Traditions related on the authority of al Mámún.

Al Bayhaḳi mentions on the authority of Jaa'far-b-Abí Othmán at Ṭayálisí that he relates as follows, "I was praying the afternoon prayer at ar Ruṣáfah behind al Mámún in the enclosed space of the mosque on the day of A'rafah, and when he pronounced the salutation the people responded with the Takbír, and I saw al Mámún behind the railing exclaiming, "no, O people! no O people! to-morrow is the day prescribed by Abu'l Kásim (*Muḥammad*)." And when the day of Adḥa (10*th Ḍúl Ḥijjah*) arrived, I went forth to prayers and he ascended the tribune and praised God and glorified Him and said, "God is exceeding great, and frequent be the praise of Gòd, and I extol the perfections of God morning and evening!" Hushaym-b-Bushayr related to me on the authority of Abu Burdah-b-Dínár that the apostle of God said, "he who performeth sacrifice before he prayeth, assuredly it is a flesh offering which he hath anticipated before its time, but who so performeth sacrifice after he hath prayed, verily he fulfilleth the ordinance. God is exceeding great, and frequent be the praise of God and I extol the perfections of God morning and evening. O Lord, amend me and seek to render me virtuous, and amend others through me." Al Ḥákim says, "I have copied this tradition only from Abu Aḥmad who is in my opinion a trustworthy authority, and it continued to occupy my thoughts until I mentioned it to Abú'l Ḥasan ad Darakuṭni who observed, 'this relation is, in my opinion, soundly transmitted from Jaa'far.' I said, 'does any corroborative authority follow our Shaykh Abu Aḥmad in this?' He said, 'yes' and recited a tradition from the Wazír Abu'l Fadhl Jaa'far-b-u'l Furát through Jaa'far at Ṭayálisi to Yahya-b-M'aín* who said that he had heard al Mámún and mentioned the discourse and the tradition."

* Abú Zakariya Yahya-b-M'aín was a native of Baghdad, a celebrated Ḥáfidh and noted for the exactitude of his traditional information. On his death, he left one hundred and thirty cases and four water-jar stands filled with books. Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal used to declare that any tradition unknown to Ibn Ma'ín was not a true tradition,

As Ṣúli states that Yahya-b-Ma'ín says as follows: "Al Mámún preached to us at Ḅaghdad on a Friday which happened to coincide with the day of A'rafah, and when he came to the salutation, the people shouted the Takbír, but he disapproved of the Takbír and he leaped up and seized the wooden rail of the enclosure and said, 'O people, this Takbír should not be said out of its place. I have heard from Hushaym on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás that the apostle of God used to continue the Talbíyat until he had thrown stones at the Jamrat* u'l 'Aḳabah, and the Takbír was pronounced on the morrow at midday at the close of the Talbíyat, if God so willeth." A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

And that Ibráhím al Mosuli says, "we were with al Mámún when a man stood before him and said, 'O prince of the Faithful, the apostle of God said—creatures are the household of God, and the most pleasing of the servants of God unto God (may He be honored and glorified) is he who most profiteth His household.' Al Mámún cried out and said, 'be silent, I am more learned in tradition than thou art: Yusuf-b-A'ṭíah, the brazier told me on the authority of Thábit-b-Anas that the prophet said—creatures are the household of God, and the most pleasing of the servants of God unto God, is he who most profiteth His household.' "† Ibn 'Asa'kir records this by the same ascription.

As Ṣúli also mentions that he had heard a tradition on the authority of 'Abdu'l Jabbár-b-'Abdu'llah who relates—"I heard al Mámún preaching and he spoke in his discourse of modesty and he described and praised it and said, 'Hushaym told me on the authority of Abú Bakrah‡ and Imrán-b-Ḥusayn that the apostle of God said—modesty is a part of faith and faith hath its portion in Paradise, while obscenity is brutishness, and

and that he was created for the express purpose of exposing false ones. He said of himself that he had written quantities of traditions under the dictation of liars and made use of the paper for heating his oven. I thus obtained, he added, one advantage that of having bread well-baked. He died A. D. 233.

* Vulgarly called the Shaytan u'l Kabír or Great Devil. Another pillar is the Wusta or central place of stoning built in the middle of Muna and there is a third at the eastern end called al Ula. These mark the successive spots where the devil in the shape of an old Shaykh appeared to Adam, Abraham and Ishmael and was driven back by the throwing of stones, the size of a bean, as enjoined by Gabriel. This Jamrat u'l Aḳabah is a dwarf buttress of masonry about 8 feet high by 2½ placed against a rough wall of stones at the Meccan entrance to Muna. Burton's Mecca, p. 282.

† The parenthetical sentence of the first speaker was apparently an incorrect transmission.

‡ Abú Bakrah Nufai-b-u'l Ḥárith was a companion of Muḥammad's, who named him Abú Bakrah or the father of the pulley, because he let himself down by a pulley from the castle of Ṭaif when it was attacked by the Muslims in A. H. 8. I'mrán-b-Ḥusayn al Khuzáa'í was also a Companion, became Ḳádhi of Baṣrah and died there A. H. 53. De Slane; I. K.

A. H. 218. brutishness hath its portion in hell fire.' " Al Ḥákim mentions on the
A. D. 833. authority of Yahya-b-Aktham the Ḳádhi, that he says as follows—" Al Mámún said to me one day, 'O Yahya, I wish to relate traditions.' I replied, 'and who is fitter for this than the prince of the Faithful?' He said, 'let them place a tribune for me,' and he ascended it and the first tradition he gave us was through Hushaym from Abu Hurayrah that the prophet said—'Imr u'l Ḳays is the leader of the poets in hell:' then he related about thirty traditions and afterwards descended and said, 'O Yahya what dost thou think of our lecture?' I replied, 'a most excellent lecture, O prince of the Faithful thou hast instructed high and low.' He answered, 'no! by thy life!' I observed no pleasure that you took in it: a lecture is for men with thread-bare garments and ink-horns."

Al Khaṭíb says that he was told on the authority of Ibráhím-b-Sa'íd al Jauhari that when al Mámún conquered Egypt, a person said to him, "praise be to God, O prince of the Faithful who hath sufficed thee against thy enemies, and subjugated to thee the two I'ráḳs and the Syrian provinces and Egypt and withal thou art the descendant of the uncle of the apostle of God." Al Mámún replied,* "well said, now there is one condition still wanting to me, and that is, that I should sit in an assembly and below me a disciple who should say 'whom didst thou mention, may the Lord be well pleased with thee?' and I should reply—the two Ḥammáds, Ḥammád-b-Salamah and Ḥammád-b-Zayd† narrated to me on the authority of Anas-b-Málik that the prophet said, 'he who supporteth two daughters or three or two sisters, until they die, or he is taken from them by death, shall be with me in Paradise like these two,' and he pointed to his fore and middle fingers. Al Kháṭib remarks that there is a glaring error in this story and he supposes it probable that al Mámún related this on the authority of some person who had it from the two Ḥammáds, and that, because the birth of al Mámún occurred in the year 170, and Ḥammád the son of Salamah died in the year 167, three years before al Mámún was born, and Ḥammad-b-Zayd died in the year 179."

Al Ḥákim mentions that he was told on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sahl-b-A'skar that he narrates as follows: "Al Mámún one day stood waiting for the call to prayers and we were standing before him, when there came up to him a stranger with an ink-horn in his hand, who said, 'O prince of the Faithful, I am a master of tradition, devoted to it.' Al Mámún said, 'what dost thou remember on such and such an article?' and he could

* For فقالت read فقال.

† Abu Ismail Ḥammád-b-Zayd surnamed al Azraḳ (blue-eyed) a native of Baṣrah who receive his knowledge from the first doctors of his age under some of whom his namesake b-Salamah studied. He held a high repute as a jurist, traditionist and Ḥáfidh died A. H. 179. D. Slane I. K.

not mention a word about it, while al Mámún continued, 'Hushaym told me who had it from Ḥajjáj, who had it from such and such a one' &c., until he mentioned the article, then he questioned him on a second article, and he could not say a word about it, and al Mámún gave it and then turning to his companions said, 'one of these searches for traditions for three days and then says—I am a traditionist. Give him three dirhams." A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

Ibn A'sákir quotes from Yahya-b-Aktham as follows: "I passed a night with al Mámún and I awoke in the middle of the night, being thirsty and I tossed about and al Mámún said, 'Yahya, what is the matter with thee?' I replied, 'I am thirsty.' He leaped up from his couch and brought me a goglet of water. I said, 'O prince of the Faithful, wilt thou not call a servant? wilt thou not summon a page? He replied, 'no my father told me on the authority of U'kbah-b-A'ámir that the apostle of God said, 'the chief of the people is their servant.*' Al Khaṭíb mentions a similar tradition from Yahya-b-Aktham save that he traces it up to Jarír-b-A'bdu'llah who heard the apostle of God say, "the chief of the people is their servant." Ibn A'sákir gives the ascription of a tradítion through Abú Huḍayfah of Bukhára and al Mámún to Ibn A'bbás that the prophet said, "the prince of a people is of them."

Muḥammad-b-Ḳudámah states that it reached al Mámún that Abu Huḍayfah related this tradition on his authority, whereupon he ordered ten thousand dirhams to be given to him. During the reign of al Mámún the descendants of al A'bbás were numbered and they were thirty-three thousand males and females and that in the year 200 A. H.

Of people of note who died in his time were, Sufyán-b-U'aynah, the Imám as Sháfi'í, A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mahdi, Yahya-b-Sa'íd al Ḳaṭṭán (*the cotton-spinner*), Yunas-b-Bukayr the historian of the wars, Abu Maṭíi' al Balkhí the disciple of Abu Ḥanífah, Ma'rúf al Karkhi the devotee, Isháḳ-b-Bashr, author of the Kitáb u'l Mubtadá, Isháḳ-b-u'l Furát Ḳádhi of old Cairo one of the most eminent of the disciples of Málik, Abu A'mr as Shaybáni, the philologer, Ashhab the disciple of Málik, al Ḥasan-b-Ziyád al Lúlúi disciple of Abu Ḥanífah, Ḥammád-b-Usámáh the Ḥáfidh, Rúḥ-b-U'bádah, az Zayd-b-u'l Ḥabáb, Abu Dauúd at Ṭayálisí, al Ghází-b-Ḳays one of Malik's disciples, Abú Sulaymán ad Dáráni, the famous devotee, A'li ar Ridḥa-b-Músa al Kádhim, al Fárá the great master of the Arabic language, Kutaybah-b-Mihrán author of the Imálah, Ḳuṭrub the grammarian, al Wáḳidi, Abú U'baydah, Maa'mar-b-u'l Muthanna, an Nadḥr-b-Shumayl, as Sayyidat Nafísah, Hishám, one of the grammarians of Kúfah, al Yazídí, Yazíd-b-Hárún, Yaḳúb-b-Isháḳ al Hadḥrami the Ḳurán reader of Baṣrah, Abdúr Razzáḳ, Abú'l A'táhiyah the poet, Asad u's Sun-

* Compare Matt. xx 27; Luke xxii 26.

A. H. 218. nat, Abu A'ásim an Nabíl, al Faryábi* Abdu'l Malik-b-u'l Májishún, A'b-
A. D. 833. du'llah-b-u'l Ḥakam, Abú Zayd al Anṣári the professor of Arabic philology, Al Asma'í and others.

AL MUA'TASIM BI'LLÁH.

Al Mua'tasim Billáh, Abú Isháḳ Muḥammad the son of ar Rashíd was born in the year 180, so says ad Ḍahabi, but according to as Ṣúli, in the year 178. His mother was a slave concubine of Kufah of foreign extraction: her name was Máridah,† and she was held in the highest favour by ar Rashíd. He related traditions on the authority of his father and his brother al Mámún, and Isháḳ of Mosul and Ḥamdún-b-Isma'íl and others related them on his. He was a brave man, of great personal strength and of high spirit, but destitute of education. As Ṣúli relates on the authority of Ibráhím-b-Muḥammad al Háshimi that there was a page studying at the *same* school with al Mua'tasim. The page died, and al Mua'tasim's father, ar Rashíd, said to him, " Muhammad, thy page is dead." He replied, " yes, my lord, and is at rest from school." Ar Rashíd exclaimed, " is this what school gets from thee? *(turning to his attendants)* let him alone, do not teach him." " Ibráhím," he adds " therefore, used to write and to read but indifferently."

Ad Ḍahabi says that al Mua'tasim would have been one of the greatest and most awe-inspiring of the Caliphs were it not for the inquisition of the learned regarding the creation of the Ḳurán which has left a stain upon his glory. Nifṭawayh and as Ṣúli say that al Mua'tasim had many good qualities, and he was called the Octonary because he was the eighth Caliph of the house of 'Abbás, and the eighth in descent from 'Abbás, the eighth of the children of ar Rashíd, succeeded to the government in the year 218, reigned eight years and eight months and eight days, his birth occurred in 178, he lived forty-eight years, his horoscope was the Scorpion which is the eighth sign of the Zodiac, he was victorious in eight expeditions, slew eight of his enemies, left eight male and the same number of female children, and he died in the month of Rajab I, eight nights thereof still remaining unelapsed.‡ Many laudable actions are ascribed to him, and

* The text has incorrectly Faryani. His name was Muḥammad-b-Yusuf-b-Wákid-b-A'bdi'llah ad Dhabbi, and he was one of the Traditionists of Bukhára. " Ibn u'l Athír."

† According to Masa'údi, she was the daughter of Shabíb: no other particular is given.

‡ In another account he had also 8,000 slaves and 8 millions of gold.

some eloquent sayings and tolerable verses, but when he was enraged, he was reckless in the destruction of life. A. H. 218. A. D. 833.

Ibn Abi Duád *says, "al Mua'tasim would put out his arm to me and say, 'Abdullah! bite my arm with all your force;' I would decline and he would say, 'it will not hurt me,' and I would try it, but, lo the points of spears would make no impression upon it much less teeth." Nifṭawayh observes that he was one of the most powerful of men in bodily strength and would take a man's elbow between his fingers and break it. Others remark that he was the first of the Caliphs to introduce Turks into offices of state. He affected to imitate the Persian monarchs and to adopt their manners; his Turkish slaves amounted to over ten thousand.

Ibn Yunas says that D'ibil satirized al Mua'tasim; subsequently fearing its consequences he became terrified and fled until he reached Egypt. Afterwards he proceeded to Mauritania. The verses in which he satirized him were these:

"The kings of the sons of 'Abbás in history are seven,
And history doth not show us an eighth among them.
So the people of the cave† in the cave were seven,
On the morn they took up their abode therein and the eighth was a dog.
And verily I hold their dog in greater esteem than thee,
For thou art a man of sin, and it was sinless.‡
For verily the affairs of the people have been ruined since there ruled over them
Wasíf and Ashnás, and afflictions have increased.
And verily I hope that there will be seen after their setting
The risings of a sun through which thou mayst be straitened.
And thy heart's desire is a despicable§ Turk
To whom thou art a father and a mother."

He was acknowledged as Caliph in succession to al Mámún in the month of Rajab in the year 218. He followed the course adopted by al Mámún in regard to questioning the people on the creation of the Ḳurán and continued in it to the end of his life. He wrote to the provinces on that subject, and commanded the teachers to instruct the children accordingly, and the people suffered much tribulation on that account, and he

* Not Dauúd as in the text.

† The seven sleepers.

‡ Or tailless, a pun intended. In the first half of this line the Kitab u'l Aghâni (art. Di'bil, fol. 18), has و اني لا علي كلبهم عنك رفعة. The last two lines are not in the K. A.

§ For صرابة read مهانة as in the MS.

A. H. 218. put to death many of the learned therefor, and he scourged the Imam
A. D. 833. Ahmad-b-Ḥanbal whose scourging took place in the year 220.

During the same, al Mua'tasim removed from Baghdad and founded Surra man raa, and this because he was solicitous to enlist Turks *in his service.* Wherefore he sent into Samarḳand, Farghánah and the adjacent countries to purchase them and lavished wealth upon them and clothed them in various kinds of brocade and belts of gold. And they used to gallop their horses through Baghdad and harrass the people, and the city was reduced to extremities through them. Then the people of Baghdad assembled round al Mua'tasim and said, "if thou goest not forth from among us with thy troops, we will attack thee," and he said "how will ye attack me?" They replied "with the arrow of enchantments." He replied, "I have no power against that." And this was the cause of his founding Surra man raa and his removal to it.

In the year 223 al Mua'tasim led an expedition against the Byzantines and slaughtered* them with a great slaughter, the like of which hath not been heard of under any other Caliph. He dispersed their collected troops and ravaged their country and carried Amorium† by the sword, massacreing therein thirty thousand and taking a like number captive. When he was engaged in the preparations for its attack, the astrologers pronounced that the aspect of the stars was sinister, and that he would be defeated, but it proved amongst his most conspicuous victories and successes. It was upon this subject that Abú Tammam‡ wrote his well known poem which runs thus:

"The sword is more truthful in prophecy than documents,
In its edge, a sharpness between earnest and jest.
And divination lies in the flaming fires of glittering lances
Between the set battalions, not in the seven planets.
Where now is their fabling—and where *the predictions* of the stars and all
The fictions and falsehood they fabricated!
Delusion and lying asseverations
That come not to fulfilment§ when computed, nor is it strange."

Al Mua'tasim died on Thursday the 19th of Rabíi' I, 227. (*5th January* 842). He had in truth humbled his enemies round about, and it

* The MS. has فانكا فيهم, the text فانكاهم, but this verb does not possess the 4th conjugation. I would therefore emend as follow فنكا هم.

† For the name and site of Amorium. See Gibbon, Cap. LII.

‡ Abú Tammám Ḥabíb the celebrated poet and author of the Ḥamásah. His life will be found in Ibn Khall. He died at Mosal about A. H. 231 (845-6). Consult also Kitáb al Agháni, Fol. 15, p. 99.

§ The MS. has نبغ for ينع

is said that he exclaimed in his last sickness—"Until while they were rejoicing for that which had been given to them, we suddenly laid hold on them." (Kur. VI.) And when death was nigh at hand he began to say, "artifice is exhausted and there is no evading *(death)*." It is related also that he began to say, "I have been taken from among this people" and it is also said that he exclaimed, "O God, verily thou knowest that I fear Thee on my own account and I do not fear Thee in respect of Thyself, and I hope in Thee in respect of Thee, and I do not hope in Thee from my deserts." A. H. 227. A. D. 842.

Among his verses are the following—

"Bring my steed and be quick, page,
And place the saddle and bridle upon him.
Tell the Turks that I am about to plunge into
The sea of death, then let who will, arise."

He had purposed marching to the uttermost parts of the west to conquer the provinces which had not come under the authority of the House of 'Abbás on account of the occupation of them by the Umayyads, for as Ṣúli narrates that al Mua'tasim said, "the sons of Umayyah ruled and none of us had any territory. and now we have authority and yet this Umayyad holds Andalusia, for them." He therefore appointed what was necessary for the expedition, and made due arrangements, but his sickness increased and he died. As Ṣúli states that he had heard al Mughírah-b-Muḥammad observe that it was stated that kings were never gathered together at the court of any one in such numbers as in the court of al Mua'tasim, and that no monarch had ever made conquests like his, for he took prisoner the king of Adarbíján, the king of Ṭabaristán, the king of Astísán, the king of Ashyásih,* the king of Farghánah, the king of Takháristan, the king of Suffah and the king of Kábul." As Ṣúli also states that the impression on his signet ring was—"Praise be to God who hath no like."

Regarding personal accounts of al Mua'tasim, as Ṣúli records on the authority of Aḥmad al Yazídi that when al Mua'tasim had finished the building of his palace in the plain and held audience within it, the people came to him and Isḥáḳ of Mosul wrote a poem on it, the like of which in beauty no one had heard, save that he began it with these words—

"O mansion! misfortune hath altered and defaced thee:
Would that I knew what† hath afflicted thee!"

* The MS. has "Ashyáh," which is mentioned by Yaḳút as the name of a lofty and impregnable fort in the mountains of Yaman. Astisán and Suffah are unnoticed by him, and I have not found them in Ibn ul Athir. The text has Tukháristan but Yaḳút's authority points the word Takháristan or Takhíristan.

† The MS. has ما الذي for بالذي

A. H. 227. A. D. 842.

And al Mua'tasim and the people took an ill omen at this and they looked at each other and wondered, *saying*, "how hath this happened with Isháḳ with his penetration and intelligence and long attendance upon kings." After this al Mua'tasim destroyed the palace. He also records on the authority of Ibráhím-b-u'l A'bbás that when al Mua'tasim discoursed, he attained whatever he desired to effect and even went beyond it. He was the first who was bountiful in his table and increased *its expenses* till they reached the sum of one thousand dinárs a day. And from Abu U'aynah, "I heard al Mua'tasim say 'when passion is in the ascendant, reason is dulled.' And from Isháḳ, that al Mua'tasim used to say, 'he who seeketh the truth with all its duties and responsibilities, is sure to attain to it.' And from Muḥammad-b-Omar ar Rúmi, "al Mua'tasim had a page called A'jíb, the like of whom men had never seen, and to whom he was attached, and he composed some verses on him and then summoned me, and said, 'thou knowest that I am inferior to my brothers in polite learning on account of the affection of the prince of the Faithful *(my father)* for me, and my inclination to amusements, and I am but a youth and cannot reach to what they have attained, yet verily I have composed some verses on A'jíb and if they are good, *tis well*, otherwise tell me truly that I may suppress them,' then he recited—

'Verily I behold A'jíb
Resembling a reared gazelle:
His face is like a moon,
And his stature like a wand,
And when he snatches a sword,
I behold a lion robbed *of his prey*.
And when he shoots arrows,
He does it excellently and hits the mark.
He is a physician for all that I suffer in love.
May I never be without such a physician,
Verily I love A'jíb
With a love which I find wonderful.'

Thereupon I swore to him by the oath of allegiance that *it might be accounted* a graceful composition among the verses of such of the Caliphs who were not poets, at which he was pleased and ordered me 5,000 dirhams."

As Ṣúli records on the authority of A'bdu'l Wáhid-b-u'l A'bbás ar Riyáshi, that the Roman Emperor wrote to al Mua'tasim a letter threatening him, and when it was read to him, he said to the secretary, "write—In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. Now, I have read thy letter, and heard thy address, and the answer is what thou shalt see; not hear, 'and the infidels shall surely know whose will be the reward of paradise.'" (Kur. XIII.) And from Fadḥl al Yazídi, that al

Mua'tasim sent to the poets in attendance, *saying*, 'who among you is capable of versifying on me as well as did Manṣur an Namari on ar Rashíd as follows: A. H. 227. A. D. 842.

"Noble qualities and munificence are valleys,
God hath caused thee to dwell in them where they meet.
He who relieth not upon the trusted of God,
Obtaineth no profit from his five daily prayers.
If rain withholds itself, His bounties are not corrupted,
And if an affair is straitened to us, if we remember Him, it is unloosed."

Upon which Abu Wuhayb said, "there is one among us who can do better than that, " and he continued."

"Three things there are by the beauty of which the world is resplendent.
The noonday sun, Abu Isháḳ and the moon.
In every calamity, his actions resemble
A lion, rain, and a sharp sword."

When he died, his Wazír Muḥammad-b-Abdi'l Malik mourned him in verse partly elegiac, partly congratulatory, and said,

"I exclaimed when they buried thee, and there were tossing
Above thee hands full of earth and clay.
Go, for thou wert an excellent protector in things temporal,
And an excellent defender of the faith.
May the Lord make not amends to the people who have lost
The like of thee, save by the like of such as Harún (*al Wáthik*)."

Traditions related by al Mua'tasim.

As Ṣúli narrates a tradition through al Mua'tasim from Ibn 'Abbás that the prophet observed a body of men of a certain tribe moving proudly in their gait, and a flush of anger rose to his face, and he recited, "and the tree cursed in the Ḳurán" (Kur. XVII). It was said to him, "what tree is that, O apostle of God, that we may avoid it?" He said, "it is not a tree of vegetable growth, but the children of Umayyah, who when they rule, will be tyrannous, and when trusted in, will betray;" and he slapped his hand upon the shoulder of his uncle al 'Abbás and said, "the Lord will bring forth from thy loins, O uncle, one whose hand shall accomplish their destruction." I am of opinion that this tradition is not genuine but fabricated by al 'Alái. Ibn 'Asákir records a tradition from Isháḳ-b-

A. H. 227. Yahya-b-Ma'áḍ that he said, "I was once visiting al Mua'tasim when he
A. D. 842. was sick and I said to him 'art thou better?' he replied, 'how can that be, when verily I have heard ar Rashíd relate a tradition from the prophet—whoso is cupped on a Thursday and sickens on that day, dies in it." Ibn 'Asákir observes that the names of two authorities between ad Dhabíi'i and Isháḳ have been omitted from this ascription.

Of people of note who died during the reign of al Mua'tasim were al Ḥumaydi, Shaykh al Bukhári, Abu Nuaym al Fadhl-b-Dukayn, Abu Ghassán an Nahdi, Ḳalún and Khallád the Ḳurán readers, A'dam-b-Abí Ayás, A'ffán, al Ḳa'nabi, A'bdán al Marwazi, A'bdu'llah-b-Ṣáliḥ, the secretary of al Layth, Ibráhím-b-u'l Mahdi, Sulaymán-b-Ḥarb, A'li-b-Muḥammad al Madáini, Abú U'bayd al Ḳásim-b-Sallám, Ḳurrah-b-Ḥabíb, A'árim, Muḥammad-b-I'sa, the sword cutler and Ḥáfidh, Asbagh-b-u'l Faraj, the jurisconsult, Saa'dawayh of Wásiṭ, Abú Omar al Jirmi, the grammarian, Muḥammad-b-Sallám of Baykand, Sunayd, Sa'íd-b-Kathír, U'fayr, Yahya-b-Yahya at Tamími and others."

AL WATHIḲ BILLAH.

Al Wáthiḳ bi'llah, Abú Jaa'far (and it is also said, Abu'l Ḳasim) the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashid whose mother was a Greek slave concubine named Ḳaraṭís, was born on the 20th Shaa'bán in the year 196 and assumed the Caliphate according to the testament of his father. Allegiance was sworn to him on the 19th of Rabíi' I in the year 227. In the year 228 he appointed Ashnás the Turk, regent (Sultán) of the kingdom and decorated him with a jewelled double girdle, and a jewelled crown, and I believe him to have been the first Caliph who appointed a Sultán* for verily the Turks became numerous only in the time of his father.

In the year 231 his instructions reached the governor of Baṣrah commanding him to question the Imáms and callers to prayer regarding the creation of the Ḳurán, and he followed his father in this, but retracted towards the close of his reign. In this year he put to death Ahmad-b-Naṣr† al Khuzáa'í. He was one of the traditionists and assumed authority‡

* So Freitag in the notes to Halebi, p. 84.

Anno 228 Watsikus Aschnasum turcam in imperio vicarium sibi creavit quem primum chalifarum vicarium sibi constituerit fuisse puto." Weil, Note 2, p. 344. Al Wáthiḳ billáh.

† D'Herbelot. Ibn ul Athír, Weil, and the Murúj ud Ḍahab all have Nasr and not Nadhr as in the text.

‡ That this is the meaning here, appears to be evident from Weil's statement

to enjoin to good and to prohibit from evil. He sent for him from Baghdad to Sámarra in fetters and questioned him regarding the Ḳurán, but he said "it is not created," and in regard to the vision of God at the Day of Judgment, he said, "thus goes the narration and he related the tradition."* Al Wáthiḳ said to him "thou liest," but he replied to al Wáthiḳ, "nay, it is thou that dost lie." The Caliph said, "what! will He be seen, as is seen a circumscribed and corporeal form which space can contain and the eye grasp! verily I deny a God with such attributes—what say ye?" And some of the Mua'tazalite doctors who were about him, said, "it is lawful to put him to death." Wherefore he ordered the sword to be brought and said "when I rise against him, let no one rise with me, for verily I throw the burden of my sins† upon this infidel who worshippeth a God I do not worship, and whom I do not recognize with those attributes with which he investeth Him." He then commanded the executioner's carpet to be brought, and *the prisoner* was placed upon it while still fettered, and he walked towards him and smote off his head, and ordered the head to be taken to Baghdad where it was impaled, and his body was impaled at Surra man raa. It remained in that state for six years until the reign of al Mutawakkil, who caused it to be taken down and buried. When he was impaled, an inscription was written and attached to his ear, which ran thus: "This is the head of Aḥmad the son of Naṣr, the son of Málik. The servant of God, the Imám Harún invited him to affirm the creation of the Ḳúran and to deny the similitude of God to human form, but he refused except to continue in his obstinacy, therefore may God hasten his descent into hell fire." A man was placed on guard over the head, to turn it *from looking* towards the ḳiblah, with a spear, but the guard who was over it narrated that he saw it one night, turn its face towards the ḳiblah

A. H. 231.
A. D. 845.

that Ahmad-b-Naṣr in his conspiracy to dethrone the Caliph meant either to usurp the government himself or place therein a Caliph of his own choice. This is confirmed by the words of the Kámil &c. فبايعوه علي امر بالمعروف used by D'Herbelot.

* ترون ربكم يوم القيامه كماترون القمر "Ye shall see your Lord at the Day of Judgment as ye see the moon." The Mua'tazalites hold this to attribute a corporeal from to the Godhead, but they assert that men after death will see God with their spiritual eyes that is with their reason. Another tradition runs قلب ابن آدم المؤمن بين اصبعين من اصابع الرحمان يقلبه "God will turn about between two of his fingers the heart of a son of Adam a true believer." The orthodox believe that the Essence of God's corporeal form is different from that of man's; but the Mua'tazalites, of whom the Caliph was one, allowed not the existence of matter, and gave this an allegorical interpretation. See the Kámil and Weil's note. If the latter copies the Kámil, I think he is in error in putting the last tradition and speech into the mouth of Aḥmad.

† Meaning that he hoped for the forgiveness of God for his offences, through the merit of slaying such an infidel.

A. H. 231. and recite the Surah Y. S. (XXXVI) with a fluent tongue. This narration
A. D. 845. is given in other ways.

During this year al Wáthiḳ engaged for the ransom of sixteen hundred* Muslim prisoners from the Romans, but Ibn Abí Duád† (may the Lord reprobate him) said, "such of the prisoners as acknowledge the creation of the Ḳurán, let us release and bestow upon them two dinárs, but whoso refuseth let us leave him in captivity." Al Khaṭíb says that Aḥmad-b-Abí Duád influenced al Wáthiḳ and urged him to severity in the inquisition, and summoned the people to confess that the Ḳurán is created. It is said that al Wáthiḳ retraced his steps before his death. One author relates that one of those who were brought in fetters from the provinces, was taken before the Caliph, and when he entered, Ibn Abí Duád being present, the prisoner said; "Inform me regarding this belief which you summon the people to accept—did the apostle of God hold it and yet not call the people to believe in it, or was it a thing which he held not?" Ibn Abí Duád replied "yes he did hold it." The other said "then he was at liberty not to call the people to believe in it, and you are not so!" The narrator says, that *those* present were confounded and al Wáthiḳ laughed, and arose holding his mouth and entered a chamber and threw himself down at length, exclaining, "the prophet was at liberty to be silent about it and we are not!" He then ordered that the man should be given three hundred dínárs, and should be sent back to his city, and he did not question any one after this, but held Ibn Abí Duád in aversion from that day. The man alluded to was Abu A'bdúr Raḥmán A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad al Azadi, the Shaykh of Abú Dauúd and an Nasái.

Ibn Abí'd Dunya says that al Wáthiḳ was of fair complexion in which sallowness prevailed, with a handsome beard, and a spot in his eyes.‡ Yahya-b-Aktham states that no one was as generous to the posterity of Abu Ṭálib as was al Wáthiḳ. There was not one among them in distress, when he died. Another author observes that al Wáthiḳ was well versed in polite literature and was a graceful poet. He was much attached to a slave who had been sent to him as a present from Egypt, and one day al Wáthiḳ annoyed him, and afterwards, he heard him say to another slave, "by

* According to Ibn Ath. 4,400 men, 800 women and children, and 100 of the non-Muslims (Ahl ud Dimmah) living under a Muslim government.

† Not Dauúd as in the text. Ibn A'bi Dauúd was the well known Ḥafidh of Baghdad who died in A. H. 316, "Ibn Abí Duád was made chief Ḳádḥi by al Mua'tasim and continued in high favor with that Caliph and his successor. In the reign of al Mutawakkil he was struck with paralysis and his office conferred on his son and he died in A. H. 240 (854). See his life in Ibn Khall. The mistake in the name is made in the Kámil, doubtless by a copyist and passed unnoticed by Weil who has followed it."

‡ The terrible eyes of al Wáthiḳ are noticed by D'Herbelot and figure in Beckford's famous romance.

Allah, al Wáthiḳ has been wishing since yesterday that I would speak to him but I will not,"—and al Wáthiḳ said— A. H. 231. A. D. 845.

"O thou who dost glory in punishing me
Thou art but a tyrant, tyrannous when in power.
Were it not for my infatuation, we would meet according to our respective positions.
And if I recover from this some day, thou shalt see!"

Among the verses of al Wáthiḳ are the following :—

"A heart that ruleth hearts*
With the repose of a languishing dark eye,
Beautiful of form, ravishing,
Full of coquettishness, and arch glances:
It is not possible for an eye when
She glanceth, to turn away from her."

As Ṣúli says that al Wáthiḳ was called al Mámún the Younger on account of his polite learning and accomplishments, and al Mámún used to honour him and give him precedence before his son. Al Wáthiḳ was one of the most proficient of men in every thing; for he was a poet and the most versed in music among the Caliphs, there being about a hundred melodies and airs composed by him. He was also skilled in the lyre and in reciting poetry and narratives.

Al Fadhl al Yazídi observes that there was none of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás that could recite more poetry than al Wáthiḳ and having been asked whether al Wáthiḳ could recite more than al Mámún, he replied, "yes, for al Mámún mixed up with Arabian learning, the learning of the ancients in astrology, medicine and logic, and al Wáthiḳ adulterated Arabian science with nothing." Yazíd al Muhallabí says that al Wáthiḳ was a very great eater, and Ibn Fahm,† that al Wáthiḳ had a table of gold made up of four-pieces, each piece requiring twenty men to carry it, and everything upon the table, dishes, plates and saucers were of gold. Ibn Abí Duád begged of him not to eat from it on account of the *prophetical* prohibition against it, whereupon he ordered it to be broken up, coined and taken to the treasury.

Al Ḥusayn-b-Yahya narrates that al Wáthiḳ dreamed that he asked for paradise of God, and a speaker said, "no one shall perish before God, save he whose heart is 'mart' (مرت). In the morning he asked his companions regarding that, and they knew not the meaning of it. Then he

* Read مَلُح for مُلُح

† Abu 'Ali al Ḥusayn-b-Muḥammad-b-Fahm, a learned traditionist and a native of Baghdad, died A. H. 289 (902), aged 78. De Slane; I. K.

A. H. 231. sent for Abú Muhallim* and caused him to be brought into his presence
A. D. 845. and enquired of him regarding the dream and *the word* 'mart.' Abu Muhallim replied, 'mart' is a desert which produces no herbage, and the meaning of it is, that no one will perish before God except he whose heart is barren of faith, like the barrenness of a desert of herbage." Then al Wáthik said to him, "I should like a proof from poetry of this 'mart;'" whereupon one who was present hastily interposed and recited a line from the Banu Asad.

"She passed deserts which the sand-grouse avoids
Did a wise man enter into daybreak in them, he would lose his senses."

Abu Muhallim laughed and said "I shall not depart until I have recited to thee;" and he recited from the desert Arabs a hundred well-known verses from a hundred distinguished poets in every verse of these being the mention of the word 'mart,' and al Wáthik ordered him one hundred thousand dinárs. Hamdún-b-Isma'íl says that there was none among the Caliphs more forbearing than al Wáthik nor more patient under annoyance and opposition than he. And Ahmad-b-Hamdún narrates that his tutor, Harún-b-Ziyád went to him and he received him with the greatest deference, and it was said to him, "who is this, O prince of the Faithful to whom thou dost this thing?" He replied, "he is the first who unloosed my tongue to recite the praises of God and brought me within the compass of His mercy."

The following eulogy on him is by A'li-b-Jahm :—

"The minds of men confide
In the monarch Wáthik bi'lláh.
A monarch through whom wealth suffers,
But his companions suffer not.
A lion at whose fierceness smiles
Stern war.
The sword is friendly with him
But the dainty gazelle is in fear.
O sons of A'bbás, the lord hath forbidden
But that ye only should rule."

Al Wáthik died at Surra man raa on Wednesday the 24th of Du'l Hijjah in the year 232, (*11th August* 847). When he was on the point of death, he began repeating these two lines :

"Death is common to all mankind
Neither prince nor subject is spared.

* The MS. has Abu Mujlim, but I can find no celebrity bearing either of these names.

Their poverty* hurteth not the poor
And princes are not† profited against God by what they possess." A. H. 232. A. D. 847.

It is related that after he was dead, he was left abandoned and the people set about swearing allegiance to al Mutawakhil and a lizard came and pulled out his eyes and eat them.

Among distinguished persons who died during his reign were Musaddad, Khalaf-b-Hishám, the cloth merchant and Ḳurán reader, Isma'íl-b-Sa'íd as Shálakhi the Shaykh of the people of Tabaristan, Muḥammad-b-Saa'd Kátib u'l Wáḳidi, Abú Tammám at Ṭái the poet, Muḥammad-b-Ziyád-b-i'l Aa'rabi the grammarian, al Buwayṭí the disciple of as Sháfi'i in prison and in manacles on account of the inquisition on the Ḳurán, A'li-b-u'l Mughírah al Athram (*broken tooth*) the grammarian and others.

Regarding personal accounts of al Wáthiḳ, as Ṣúli records that Jaa'far-b-A'li-b-i'r Rashíd narrates as follows:

"We were in presence of al Wáthiḳ who had just taken his morning draught, when his eunuch Mabaj brought him a rose and a narcissus. The next day he recited the following regarding this:

"God preserve thee with thy narcissus and rose,
Thou shapely of figure and form.
His eyes have inflamed love
And increased desire and passion.
I sought by my sovereignty proximity to him,
But my sovereignty is the cause of my remoteness.
The intoxication of love hath dazed him,
And in union he turneth to repulsion.
If a favour is asked of him he turneth aside
And the tears pour down his cheeks.
He glories over the injuries his glances have done,
And he knoweth not the fulfilling of promises.
The master complains of the tyranny of the slave
Wherefore do justice to the master against his slave."

He adds "and they were agreed that by no other Caliph were there verses equal to these." As Ṣuli also records that A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Mua'tazz said, "one of my companions recited to me the following verse by al Wáthiḳ who was attached to two slaves, one of whom served him one day and the other the next."

"My heart is divided between two persons:
Who has ever before seen one soul in two bodies?

* For تفارقهم read as in Ibn u'l Athír تفاقرهم,

† Compare Ḳur. III, 8 and LVIII 18 لن تغني عنهم اموالهم. "Their possession will not suffice them in lieu of (or defend them) against God."



A. H. 232. This one is angry if the other is kind
A. D. 847. Thus my heart is occupied by a double grief "

And from Khirbíl, that a verse of al Akhtal was sung in presence of al Wáthiḳ as follows :—

" A jovial singer joined me in my cups
Neither abstemious nor yet quarrelsome (sawwár) over his wine."

Some said it was "sawwár" and others "saár," Whereupon he sent to Ibn ul Aa'rábi questioning him on the point. He replied, "Sawwár means assaulting": one says, "he does not assault his boon companions" and saár is one who leaves a residue (súran) in the cup, and verily both readings are given." Upon this al Wáthiḳ ordered Ibn u'l Aa'rábi twenty thousand dirhams. He records likewise from Aḥmad-b-u'l Ḥusayn-b-Hishám that he says, "al Ḥusayn-b-u'd Dahḥáḳ and Mukháriḳ were disputing one day at an assembly in presence of al Wáthiḳ regarding Abú Nuwás and Abú'l A'tahíyah as to which was the better poet, and al Wáthiḳ said, 'lay a wager between ye,' and they staked between them two hundred dínárs and al Wáthiḳ said, 'who among the learned is here?' They replied, 'Abu Muhallim;' whereupon he summoned him and he was questioned on the subject. He said, 'Abu Nuwás is the better poet and the most profoundly versed in Arabian science and the most copious of us in his variety of the kinds of verse.' Upon this al Wáthiḳ commanded that the stakes be paid to al Ḥusayn.' "

AL MUTAWAKKIL ALA'L'LÁH.

Al Mutawakkil ala'l'láh Jaa'far Abu'l Fadhl the son of al Mua'tasim the son of ar Rashíd, whose mother was a slave concubine named Shujáa', was born iu the year 205 and according to some, 207. He was acknowledged Caliph, in succession to al Wáthiḳ in Ḍu'l Hijjah 232. He evinced his partiality for the Sunnite doctrines and favoured its professors and abolished the inquisition and wrote to the provinces to that effect, and that, in the year 234.

He summoned the Traditionists to Sámarra and loaded them with presents and honoured them and commanded them to bring forward traditions on the attributes* of God and His personal vision at the day of judgment. Abu Bakr-b-Abi Shaybah taught in the mosque of Rusáfah,

* Which were rejected by the Muatazalites, the true doctrine of Wásil-b-A'ta their founder being that whoever asserted an eternal attribute, asserted that there were two gods. See Sale, p. 113, on their tenets.

there gathering round him about thirty thousand people, and his brother A. H. 234.
O'thmán lectured in the mosque of al Manṣúr, about thirty thousand A. D. 848-9.
also being collected under him. The prayers of the people for al Mutawakkil were frequent and they were vehement in his praise and honor to such an extent that one of them said, "the Caliphs are but three—Abu Bakr for his waging war on the apostates, Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz for his removal of abuses, and al Mutawakkil for his revival of traditional doctrine and abolition of severe measures. Regarding this, Abu Bakr-b-u'l Khabbázah says—

"And now to-day orthodoxy has become
Honoured, as if it never had been in reproach.
It overpowers and subdues since its pinnacle has been set up,
While the pinnacle of falsehood and lying is overthrown from its height.
And the innovators in religion have fled
Into hell fire disgraced and unaccepted of God.
The Lord hath made amends for them by his Caliph Jaa'far
His Vicegerent, the holder of orthodoxy and trusting in Him.
The Vicegerent of my Lord and the descendants of His prophet's uncle,
The best of those of the sons of 'Abbás who have borne rule.
The gatherer of the scattered portions of the faith after their dispersion,
And the cleaver of the heads of apostates with the sword.
May the Lord of mankind preserve him long
Safe from dangers and unreplaced.
And grant him, for his protection to religion, an abode in paradise
In the familar society, among its gardens, of the best of the Apostles."

In this year Ibn Abí Duád was seized with paralysis which made him like a fallen stone; may God not reward him! Among the wondrous events of this year, was a wind that blew in I'ráḳ, an intensely hot wind, the like of which had not been known. It burnt up the sown fields of Kúfah, Baṣrah and Baghdad, and destroyed travellers, continuing for fifty days. It reached Ḥamadán and burnt up the fields and cattle and came upon Sinjár and Mosal, preventing the people from frequenting the market places and walking in the streets, and killed a large number. In the previous year a tremendous earthquake occurred in Damascus, the houses of which fell and killed the people within them, and it extended to Antioch and destroyed it, and to Mesopotamia and laid it waste and even to Mosal, and it is said that fifty thousand persons were killed.

A. H. 234. In the year 235 al Mutawakkil ordered the Christians* to wear collars
A. D. 848-9. round their necks.

In the year 236 he ordered the tomb of al Ḥusayn to be destroyed, and the destruction likewise of the houses round about it, and that it should be turned into cultivation, and he forbade the people to make pilgrimages to it; it was therefore destroyed and it remained a waste.

Al Mutawakkil was notorious for his Naṣabi† tenets, and the Muslims were grieved on this account, and the people of Baghdad wrote upon the walls and mosques reviling him and the poets satirized him. Among what has been said on the subject is the following—

"By Allah, if the Umayyads
Went to slay the son of the Prophet's daughter unjustly put to death,
Verily the sons of his ancestor have come against him likewise.
See, by my life, his tomb destroyed!
They grieve that they did not share
In his assassination wherefore they pursue his mouldered bones."

In the year 237 he sent to the prefect of Egypt to shave the beard of Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-Abi'l Layth, the chief judge of Egypt and to scourge him and to have him carried round the city on an ass. This was done, and indeed done well for Abí Bakr was an oppressor, and one of the leaders of the Jahmite‡ following. He appointed to the judicial office in his stead al Ḥárith-b-Miskín one of the disciples of Málik notwithstanding his declining it, and he disgraced the deposed Ḳádhi by scourging him with twenty stripes every day in order to return their oppressions upon the doers thereof. In this year a conflagration broke out in Ascalon and burnt down houses and granaries, and it continued burning for a third of the night, when it ceased. During the same he invited Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal to come to see him, and he went, but he had no interview with him, obtaining audience only of his son al Mua'tazz.

In the year 238 the Romans attacked Damietta and plundered and burnt it, and took thence six hundred women prisoners, and made good a

✓ * Ibn u'l Athír makes no mention of this word "ghul" which means a collar of iron, wood or leather worn round the neck, but he says that the non-Muslim population were compelled to wear yellow head coverings and girdles, to use stirrups of wood, and among other things to have the figures of devils put in front of their dwelling-houses; the women and slaves had also distinct dresses assigned to them. See also Weil, p. 351, Vol. II.

† اهل المنصب was the name given to the adversaries of the Caliph A'li.

‡ Ibn u'l Athír mentions four persons who encouraged al Mutawakkil in his persecution of the followers of A'li, *viz.*, A'li-b-u'l Jahm the poet, of the Banu Shámah, Omar-b-Farakh, Abús Samṭ and A'bdu'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-Dauúd al Háshimi.

hasty retreat by sea. In the year 240, the people of Khiláṭ* heard a loud shriek from the vault of heaven, and a large number of people died therefrom, and hail fell in I'rák, like hen's eggs, and thirteen villages were swallowed up in the earth in Mauritania. A. H. 240. A. D. 854.

In the year 241, there was a commotion of the stars in the heavens, and the heavenly bodies were falling the greater part of the night like locusts ; a disturbing occurrence such as had not been known.

In the year 242 there was a great earthquake at Tunis and its dependencies, and at Rai, Khurásán, Naysabur, Ṭabaristan and Ispahan, the hills were rent asunder, and the earth opened to an extent that would have admitted a man into the cleft. The village of Suwayda on the confines of Egypt was stoned from heaven, and one of the stones was weighed and it came to ten ratis *(pounds)*. A mountain too in Yaman on which were the tilled fields of its owners, moved until it came to the tilled lands of others, and in Aleppo there came down a white bird somewhat smaller than the white vulture, in the month of Ramadhán, and it screamed out, "O ye people, fear the Lord, the Lord, the Lord," and it called out thus forty times, and then flew away but returned on the morrow and did the same again : the post brought word to this effect and five hundred men who had heard it, testified to it.

During the same year Ibráhím-b-Muṭahhar the secretary made the pilgrimage from Baṣrah in a carriage drawn by camels at which the people wondered. In the year 243 al Mutawakkil went to Damascus which greatly pleased him and he built himself a palace at Dárayya and resolved to dwell there, upon which Yazid-b-Muḥammad al Muhallabí said—

"I think that Syria will rejoice over the sorrow of I'rák
Since the Imám hath resolved to quit it.
For if thou quittest (*O prince*) I'rák and its inhabitants
Verily thou wilt afflict the fair one with divorce."

Upon which he changed his mind and returned after two or three months. In the year 244 al Mutawakkil put to death Yakúb-b-u's Sikkít† the great master of the Arabic language whom he had invited to teach his sons, and one day looking upon his two sons al Mu'atazz and al Muayyad, he said to Ibn u's Sikkít, "which are the more endeared to you, these two or al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn ?" He answered "Kanbar," (meaning the freedman of A'li) is better than these two." Upon this he gave orders to the Turks who trampled upon his belly till he died. It is also said that he commanded his tongue to be torn out, after which he expired, and he sent his blood-money to his son. Al Mutawakkil was a Naṣabi.

In the year 245 earthquakes occurred over the world universally and

* In Central Armenia.

† He was the author of the work Isláḥ u'l Mantiḳ. Muntaha'l Arab.

A. H. 245. cities and forts and bridges were destroyed, and a mountain at Antioch fell
A. D. 859. into the sea. In the heavens there were heard dreadful sounds: Egypt was convulsed by an earthquake and the inhabitants of Bilbís* heard a terrible shriek from the direction of Cairo† from which many of them died. The springs at Mecca dried up and al Mutawakkil sent one hundred thousand dinárs to have water conveyed to it from A'rafah. Al Mutawakkil was very liberal and much eulogised. It is said that no Caliph gave in bounty to a poet as much as was given by al Mutawakkil and regarding this Marwán-b-Abi Janúb said‡—

"Stay the munificence of thy hands from me and add not more
For verily I fear lest I become haughty and insolent."

He replied, "no, I shall not refrain till my bounty overwhelmeth thee." He bestowed on him for one poem, a hundred and twenty thousand dirhams and fifty robes. One day A'li-b-u'l Jahm visited al Mutawakkil who held in his hand two pearls which he was turning about, and A'li recited to him a poem, upon which he threw him a pearl. A'li turned it about and al Mutawakkil said, "dost thou think little of it, while, by Allah, it is worth more than a hundred thousand dirhams?" He answered, "no, but I was thinking over some verses that I am composing in order that I may have the other too." The Caliph exclaimed, "say them." He recited—

"At Surra man raa is the Imám of justice,
From whose ocean the seas lap their waters.
May the kingdom be with him and with his children,
As long as night succeedeth day.
In every contingency he is hoped in and feared
As if he were heaven and hell.
His two hands in bounty are as rival wives,
For both of them are jealous of him.
His right hand giveth nought
But the left giveth the like to it."

Upon this, he threw him the other pearl.

One author observes that eight persons the father of each of whom was a Caliph acknowledged al Mutawakkil as Caliph, namely, Manṣúr, the son of al Mahdi, A'bbás the son of al Hádi, Abu Aḥmad the son of ar Rashíd, A'bdu'llah the son of al Amín, Músa the son of al Mámún, Aḥmad the son of al Mua'tasim, Muhammad the son of al Wáthiḳ, and his son al Muntaṣir.

* Not Bulbays as in the text, though Yakút says it is vulgarly called Bilbays.

† The phrase من ناحية مصر may be also taken to mean that Bilbis was in the district of old Cairo, but I do not think that is here intended.

‡ The text has يقول which must here be taken to imply a past sense. Ibn Khall has no notice of this poet beyond mentioning one of his verses in praise of Ibn Abí Duád.

Al Masa'údi remarks that no one was known to be distinguished for any A. H. 245.
accomplishment, whether grave or gay, but had a share in al Mutawakkil's A. D. 859.
favour, and received considerable sums of money, and further that he was addicted to sensual pleasures and wine and had four thousand concubines.

A'li-b-u'l Jahm relates that al Mutawakkil was much attached to Ḳabiḥah* the mother of his son al Mua'tazz, and was constantly in her society. She stood before him one day having written upon her cheek in musk and ambergris the word "Jaa'far," whereupon he looked at her meditatingly and versified as follows :—

"She hath written Jaa'far upon her cheek with musk,
I would give my life for the spot where it has left a trace.
If she hath engraved lines of musk upon her cheek
Verily she hath inscribed lines of love upon my heart."

In the work on Inquisitions by as Salami, it is stated that Du'n Nún† was the first who discoursed in old Cairo on the methods of ecstatic communion with the Deity and the degrees of the contemplative life among the mystics. A'bdullah-b-u'l Ḥakam, who was one of the principal men of old Cairo and among the most eminent of the disciples of Málik, opposed him on the ground of his introducing a doctrine which none before him had advanced, and accused him of impiety. The governor of Egypt then sent for him and questioned him as to his belief which he explained. The governor approved his conduct and wrote regarding him to al Mutawakkil who commanded him to be summoned. He was accordingly sent, travelling post, and when the Caliph heard his discourse, he was enraptured with him and held him in high favour and honoured him, so that he used to say, "talking of pious men, give me Ḍu'n Nún !"

Al Mutawakkil covenanted for the succession, first for his son al Muntaṣir, then for al Mua'tazz, and next for al Muayyad. He subsequently sought to give al Mua'tazz the precedence out of his love for his mother, and he asked al Muntaṣir to renounce the succession, who refused. Al Mutawakkil thereupon summoned him to a public audience, degraded him from his position, and threatened, reviled and menaced him. It happened that the Turks had withdrawn their countenance from al Mutawakkil on account of certain affairs, wherefore they conspired with al Muntaṣir to

* The text "Fatíhah" is wrong, all authorities together with the MS. have قبيحه, Maṣaúdi has قينه (a slave) in one copy and قبيخه in another, and the story is told differently, the verses being ascribed to Maḥbúbah another slave girl of the Caliph's and two other lines are added.

† Abu'l Faydh Thaubán-b-Ibráhím surnamed Du'n Nún (or he of the Fish, an epithet of the prophet Jonas) the well-known Muslim saint and ascetic ; his life will be found in I. K. He died A. H. 245 or 246 in Old Cairo, buried in the lesser Karáfa one of its cemeteries.



A. H. 245. slay his father, and five men went in to him at dead of night when he was
A. D. 859. at a festive meeting and they slew him and his minister Fatḥ-b-Khákán on the 5th of Shawwál in the year 247 (10*th Dec.* 861).

Some one saw him in a dream and said to him, "what hath God done to thee?" He replied, "He hath pardoned me for the sake of the few orthodox traditionary doctrines that I have revived." When he was slain the poets mourned him, and among these are the following verses of Yazíd al Muhallabi.

"His death came while his eye was sleeping,
Why came not death to him where lances are in splinters?*
A Caliph who obtained what none hath received:
Never were there created a body and a soul like his."

Among his concubines was a girl called Maḥbúbah, a poetess, and possessing many accomplishments, and very skilful with the lute. When he was slain, she came into the possession of Bughá the elder, and he summoned her one day to a carousal. She sat down sorrowfully and he asked her to sing. She excused herself, but he adjured her and sent for the lute and she placed it on her lap and sang extempore.

"How can life delight me
When I see Jaa'far no more?
This monarch whom I have seen
Covered with blood and dust.
All who are sick with love†
Or disease may be indeed cured,
Save Maḥbúbah who
If she knew that Death were to be purchased,
Would purchase it with all
That her hands possessed, that she might be borne to the grave.
For a melancholy death
Is preferable to life prolonged."

Bughá was angry with her at this and ordered that she should be imprisoned, and this is the last that was heard of her.

Among curious coincidences it is stated that al Mutawakkil said to al Buhturi,‡ "speak a verse regarding me and Fatḥ-b-Khákán for I desire that he should continue in life with me, and that I should not lose

* This word should be printed قِصَدُ plur. of قِصْدَةٌ a fragment.

† Masa'údi has خبال for هيام

‡ Abu U'bádah al Walíd-b-U'bayd of the tribe of Ṭái, al Buhturi was born at Manbij about A. H. 206 (821-2). He was accounted a poet of the first rank and was considered by some superior to Abú Tammám and al Mutanabbi. He returned to Manbij after the death of al Mutawakkil and died there in A. H. 284 (897-8). Consult Ibn Khall.

him for my joy would then depart, nor he lose me. Say therefore something to this effect,"—and al Buhturi said, A. H. 247. A. D. 861.

"O my prince, how hast thou broken thy promise to me
And abstained from the fulfilment of thy engagements with me.
May the days not show me thy loss O Fatḥ,
Nor announce my loss unto thee while thou livest:
The greatest of calamities would be that thou should'st precede me,
And yet a calamity, should'st thou remain after I am gone.
Beware of taking another friend than myself
Since I have made thee alone the object of my love."

They were both slain together as hath gone before.

Regarding personal accounts of al Mutawakkil, Ibn A'sakir records that al Mutawakkil saw in a dream a piece of sugar of the kind called Sulaymáni falling upon him from heaven upon which was written; Jaa'far al Mutawakkil ala'li'láh (*who confideth in God*). When he was saluted Caliph, the people deliberated about giving him a name, and some said "let us call him al Muntaṣir." Then al Mutawakkil related to Aḥmad-b-Abi Duád what he had seen in his dream, who found it a suitable name. He therefore adopted it and wrote to that effect to the provinces.

He records also from Hishám-b-A'mmár that he narrates, "I heard al Mutawakkil exclaim, 'alas! for Muḥammad-b-Idrís as Sháfi'í! how glad should I have been had I lived in his days; I would then have beheld him, and witnessed his life and received instruction from him, for I saw the apostle of God in a dream, and he was saying—O people! Muḥammad the son of Idrís, the descendant of al Muttalib hath departed to the mercy of God and hath left behind with ye an excellent doctrine, wherefore follow it and ye shall be rightly guided.' Then al Mutawakkil continued, 'O God! vouchsafe unto Muḥammad, the son of Idrís a large share of Thy mercy and render easy unto me the remembrance of his doctrines, and profit me thereby.' I remark that from this we may infer that al Mutawakkil was attached to the Sháfi'í school. He was the first of the Caliphs who followed its teaching."

He also records on the testimony of Aḥmad-b-A'li al Baṣri that al Mutawakkil sent to Aḥmad-b-u'l Ma'dil and others of the learned and assembled them in his palace; he then went out to them and all the company arose before him except Aḥmad-b-u'l Ma'dil, and al Mutawakkil said to U'baydu'llah,* "does not this man consent to our covenant of allegiance?" He said, "yes, O prince of the Faithful, but there is a defect in his eyesight." But Aḥmad exclaimed, "prince of the Faithful, there is no defect in my eyesight, but I have preserved thee from the wrath of God,

* U'baydu'llah-b-Yahya-b-Kháḳán who succeeded Muḥammad-b-Fadhl as Wazír in that post till the Caliph's death. Mur. Ḍahab, Vol. VII, p. 197.

A. H. 247. for the prophet hath said, 'whoso desireth that men should stand up
A. D. 861. before him, let him take up his abode in hell-fire;'" thereupon al Mutawakkil went and sat down by his side.

And from Yazíd al Muhallabí, "al Mutawakkil said to me, 'O Muhallabi, the Caliphs oppressed their subjects to compel their obedience, but I have been gentle with them that they might submit to and obey me.'" And from A'bdullah-b-Ḥammád at Tarmusi that he relates as follows: "I went to al Mutawakkil and he said—'O Abu Yahya, what hath kept thee from me, I have not seen thee for three days! I purposed to give thee something but have transferred it to some one else.' I replied, 'O prince of the Faithful! may the Lord requite thee with good for this intention. Shall I give thee a couple of verses on this subject?' He replied 'yes,' so I versified—

'I thank thee indeed for the favour that thou didst intend,
For thy solicitude in granting favours is well known.
And I shall not reprove thee since destiny hath not brought it about.
For one's lot is apportioned according to fixed decree.'

Upon this he ordered me one thousand dínárs."

He records also from Jaa'far-b-Abdu'l Wáḥid the Háshimite as follows: "I visited al Mutawakkil when his mother died, and he said, 'O Jaa'far, I often repeat this single verse, and when I wish to go on to the next, I get confused—and this is what I say.'

'When the world parts us, I call to mind
And console myself with the *memory of the* prophet Muḥammad.'

One of the company present capped it with—

'And I say to it—verily death is our road
And he who dieth not to-day, dieth to-morrow.'"

And from Fatḥ-b-Kháḳán that he says, "I went in one day to al Mutawakkil and I saw him looking down and abstracted in thought and I said,—'Prince of the Faithful! why this thoughtfulness! for by Allah, there is not upon the face of the earth any one possessing greater happiness nor one more fortunate than thou art.' He answered, 'O Fatḥ—he enjoyeth greater happiness who hath a spacious house, a virtuous wife, and a present sufficiency, one who knoweth us not lest we injure him and hath no need of us, lest we disdain him.'" And from Abú'l U'ayna that a slave girl who was a poetess and named Fadḥl was given as a present to al Mutawakkil who said to her, "art thou a poetess?" she replied, "so think they who sold and bought me!" He continued—"recite me some of thy verses," she versified—

"The Imám of right guidance assumed the sovereignty
In the year thirty and three.

The Caliphate passed to Jaa'far
When he was seven and twenty.
I hope, indeed, O Imám of right guidance
That thou mayest rule the kingdom for eighty years.
May God not bless the man who sayeth not
At the time of my prayer for thee—Amen."

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Ibn A'sákir further records that A'li-b-u'l Jahm narrates as follows: "There was given to al Mutawakkil a slave girl called Maḥbúbah. She had been brought up in Ṭáif, instructed in polite learning and could compose verses. Al Mutawakkil was much enamoured of her, but she fell subsequently under his displeasure, and he forbade the slave girls of the palace to speak to her. I visited him one day and he said to me, 'verily I had a dream of Maḥbúbah that I had become reconciled with her and she with me.' I answered, 'a happy omen, O prince of the Faithful.' He rejoined, 'come with us and let us see what she is about.' We proceeded until we reached her chamber, when lo! she was touching her lute and saying,

'I wander round the palace and behold none
To whom I can complain or who will respond to me.
So that I am as if I had committed a sin
For which there is no repentance which will release me.
Then* who will be my intercessor with a monarch
Who visited me in his slumber and made peace with me.
But when the morning dawned upon us
He reverted to his disdain and forsook me.'"

Then al Mutawakkil called and she came forth, and she fell at his feet, and kissed them, and murmured, "O my Lord, I dreamt of thee this night that thou wert reconciled with me." He replied, "and I too, by Allah, dreamt of thee." He then restored her to her former place in his favour. When al Mutawakkil was assassinated, she fell to the lot of Bughá, and the preceding† verses have already been recorded in their place.

Ibn A'sákir mentions on the authority of A'li-b-u'l Jahm that al Buhturi praises al Mutawakkil for having abolished the Inquisition and satirizes Ibn Abí Duád in the following lines:

"Prince of the Faithful verily we thank
Thy ancestors the illustrious and noble.
Thou hast restored to the faith its unity, after
I had seen it in two hostile factions.
Thou hast overthrown oppressors over the whole earth
And the place of tyranny is known no more.

* The Murúj-u'd Ḍahab has من for هل .

† Page 366.

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And in the space of a year which hath smitten their proud ones
According to their deserts by a sudden descending calamity.
And it hath left nothing of Ibn Abí Duád
Save a punishment which speaks with signification.
Sabúr-b-Sahl* was confounded at it
And granted him respite and afforded him protection.
When his companions carouse at night
They prolong vain discourse on the creation of the Ḳurán."

And from Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, that he says, "I was wakeful one night but afterwards fell into a slumber and in my dream I saw, as it were, a man ascending to heaven, and a speaker, saying,

'A king who is led to a just king
Eminent in mercy and not an oppressor.'

Afterwards when I awoke at dawn, there arrived at Baghdad from Surra man ráa a messenger announcing the death of al Mutawakkil."

And from A'mr†-b-Shaybán al Jubni "I saw in the night in which al Mutawakkil was slain, in my dream a speaker, saying,

'O thou whose eye sleepeth in regard to the things of the body,
Shed‡ thy tears, O A'mr, son of Shaybán.
Seest thou not the youths guilty of shameful deeds, what they have done
Unto the Háshimite and Fatḥ-b-Ḳháḳán.
He hath departed to God unjustly dealt with, and there call out to him
The dwellers in the heavens by twos and ones.
And there shall come unto ye others distinguished§
Whom ye may expect possessing dignity upon dignity.
Then weep for Jaa'far and mourn for your Caliph
For verily men and jinns weep for him.'

Again I dreamt of al Mutawakkil after some months, and I said, 'what hath the Lord done unto thee?' He answered, 'He hath pardoned me for the sake of the few traditionary doctrines I have revived.' I continued, 'what then dost thou do here?' He replied, 'I wait for Muḥammad, my son, that I may plead for him to God.'"

* I can find no mention of this name in any work I have consulted and cannot explain the allusion.

† Probably the son of the grammarian and philologer Abu A'mr Isháḳ. Súḳ u'l Jubn is the name of a street in Damascus, which has given its name to several individuals.

‡ These verses are different in Ibn u'l Athír and only two couplets are given.

§ Compare الخيل المسومة Kur. III, 9. And read يا تيكم for تا تيكم. The line is obscure.

Traditions related through al Mutawakkil. A. H. 247. A. D. 861.

Al Khaṭíb narrates a tradition through al Mutawakkil from the prophet that he said, "whoso refuses to be compassionate, declines a good action." Ibn A'sákir records in a tradition from A'li-b-u'l Jahm that he relates as follows: "I was with al Mutawakkil when they were discoursing with him on the subject of beauty, and he said, 'fine hair is undoubtedly a beauty;' then he recited a tradition from Ibn A'bbás, who said,—'the apostle of God had tresses of hair that fell to the lobes of his ears like strings of pearls. He was one of the most comely of men, and was of a delicate tawny colour, erring neither on the side of excess nor of deficiency. A'bdu'l Muttalib also had locks falling to the lobes of his ears and Háshim likewise.' A'li goes on to say that al Mutawakkil had the same, and adds, 'al Mutawakkil told me that al Mua'tasim likewise wore long locks, and so too al Mámún, ar Rashíd, al Mahdi and al Manṣúr and his father Muḥammad, his grandfather A'li and his great-grandfather A'bdu'llah-b-'Abbás.'"

I remark that this tradition is continuous in three ways—by the mention of the hair, by the mention of the genealogical tree of descent, and the enumeration of the Caliphs—and in the ascription six Caliphs occur.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Mutawakkil were: Abú Thaur, Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Ibráhím-b-u'l Munḍir al Hizámi, Isháḳ-b-Rahwayh, Isháḳ the Caliph's boon Companion, Rúḥ the Ḳurán reader, Zuhayr-b-Ḥarb, Saḥnún, Sulaymán as Sháḍkúni, Abu Mas'aúd al-A'skari, Abu Jaa'far an Nufaylí, Abu Bakr-b-Abí Shaybah and his brother, Dík u'l Jinn the poet, A'bdu'l Malik-b-Ḥabíb the Imám of the Máliki school, A'bdu'l A'zíz-b-Yahya al Ghúl, one of the disciples of as Sháfi'í, U'baydu'llah-b-Omar al Ḳawarírí, A'li-b-u'l Madíni, Muḥammad-b-A'bdu'l-lah-b-Numayr, Yaḥya-b-Ma'ín, Yaḥya-b-Bukayr, Yaḥya-b-Yaḥya, Yusuf al Azraḳ the Ḳurán reader, Bishr-b-u'l Walíd al Kindí al Málikí, Ibn Abi Duád that dog, may God not have mercy on him, Abu Bakr al Haḍallí al A'lláf Shaykh of the Mua'tazalite school and head of those who err from the true faith, Jaa'far-b-Ḥarb one of the heads of the Mua'tazalites, Ibn Kiláb the orator, the Kádhi Yahya-b-Aktham, al Ḥárith al Muḥasibi,* Harmalah a disciple of as Sháfi'í, Ibn u's Sikkít, Aḥmad-b-Manii', Ḍu'n nún al Miṣri the ascetic, Abú Turáb an Nakhshabi, Abu Omar ad Dúri the Ḳurán reader, the poet Di'bil, Abú O'thmán al Mázini the grammarian and others.

* See his life in Ibn Khall. He was an ascetic and called al Muḥásibí, because he frequently called himself to account (yuhásib) for his actions.



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AL MUNTAṢIR BI'LLÁH.

Al Muntaṣir bi'lláh Muḥammad Abú Jaa'far, called also Abu A'bdu'l-lah was the son of al Mutawakkil the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd. His mother was a Greek slave named Ḥabshíyah. He was of comely countenance, of a tawny colour, large-eyed, with an aquiline nose, of middling stature, robust of body, corpulent, and of engaging and yet awe-inspiring exterior. He was a man of great capacity, well-inclined, with little of the tyrant in him, a benefactor to the followers of A'li, and generous to them. He removed from the posterity of Abu Ṭálib the threats and persecutions which they suffered by being forbidden to visit the shrine of al Ḥusayn, and restored to the posterity of al Ḥasayn, the domain of Fadak.* Yazíd al Muhallabi says, regarding this,

" Thou hast been generous to the descendants of Abú Ṭálib after they
Had suffered reproach age after age.
And thou hast restored concord in the house of Háshim
I behold them as brothers after hostility had divided them."†

He was acknowledged Caliph after the assassination of his brother in Shawwál 247. He set aside his brothers al Mua'tazz and al Muayyad from the succession after him, covenanted for them by al Mutawakkil. He displayed justice and equity towards his subjects, wherefore all hearts were inclined towards him notwithstanding the great awe in which they held him, and he was moreover munificent and forbearing. Among his sayings are the following: "The pleasure of pardoning is sweeter than the delight of gratifying anger, and the worst of deeds in the powerful is revenge." When he assumed the government, he began to reproach the Turks, saying, "these are the assassins of the Caliphs." Therefore they conspired against him and sought to do away with him, but they failed in their purpose, because he was formidable, brave, sagacious and circumspect. Then they went cunningly to work until they sent secretly thirty thousand dínárs to his physician Ibn Ṭayfúr‡ to cause a malady. He therefore proposed to bleed him and he bled him with a poisoned lancet of which he died. It is also said that Ibn Ṭayfúr forgetting this and falling ill himself, ordered his slave *to bleed him*, who bled him with the same lancet and he died also. It is likewise stated that he was poisoned by a pear, and according to another account, that he died of the quinsy. When he was on the point of death, *he exclaimed*, "O mother, this world and the next have gone from me: I shortened the days of my father, and my own end is now hastened."

* See life of Omar-b-A'bd'il A'ziz, p. 236.
† Two more couplets are given by Masa'údi.
‡ Masa'údi and the Kámil have at Ṭayfúrií.

Al Muntaṣir died on the 5th of Rabií II, 248, (*7th June* 862) at the age of 26 or less, having enjoyed the Caliphate for a term computed at somewhat under six months. It is said that one day he sat down to a convivial meeting, and some carpets having been brought out from his father's treasuries, he ordered them to be spread at the banquet and he beheld on one of the carpets a circle in which was *figured* a Persian, and on his head a crown, and round it a Persian inscription. He sent for some one who could read it, and a man was brought, who looked at it and frowned, and the Caliph said, "what is this?" He replied, "it has no meaning," but the Caliph insisted, whereupon the man read. "I am Shírúyah the son of Khusrau the son of Hurmuz, I slew my father, but I did not enjoy the sovereignty for more than six months." The face of al Muntaṣir changed colour and he ordered the carpet which was woven with gold, to be burnt. A. H. 248. A. D. 862.

In the Laṭáif u'l Ma'árif (*Curiosities of Knowledge*) of at Tha'álabi, it is stated that the most nobly born of the Caliphs who governed the Caliphate was al Muntaṣir, for he and his five immediate ancestors were Caliphs, as well as his brothers Mua'tazz and al Mua'tamid. I remark that even more nobly born than he was al Mua'tasim, whom the Tartars slew, eight of whose immediate ancestors were Caliphs. At Tha'álabi further observes that the noblest by birth of the Persian monarchs that reigned was Shírúyah who slew his father and survived him only six months and the noblest of the Vicegerents that ruled the Caliphate was al Muntaṣir who likewise slew his father and enjoyed the succession but six months.

AL MUSTA'I'N BI'LLA'H.

Al Musta'ín bi'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Aḥmad the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd and the brother of al Mutawakkil was born in the year 221. His mother was a slave concubine named Mukhárik. He was comely, fair, pock-marked in the face, and had a defective pronunciation. When al Munṭasir died, the generals assembled and took counsel together and said, "if you should appoint to the government any of the sons of al Mutawakkil, there will remain none of us alive." Wherefore they said, "there is nothing for it but Aḥmad the son of our master al Mua'tasim." They therefore swore him allegiance, and he continued in power till the beginning of the year 251. The Turks became alienated from his cause when Waṣíf and Bughá put to death* Bághir the Turk, he who murdered al Mutawakkil.

* The text is here incorrect, the words و نفي (not in the MS.) should be omitted: the words of Masa'údi are identical with tho MS. لما قتل و صيف وبغا باغر التركي the names Waṣif and Bugha should therefore stand in the nominative case.

A. H. 248. A. D. 862. Al Musta'ín in the hands of Waṣíf and Bughá lost all authority, so that it was said on this subject—

"A Caliph in a cage
Between Waṣíf and Bughá
Says what they tell him
As speaks a parrot."

And when the Turks became estranged from him, he feared and fled from Sámarra to Baghdad, and they sent to him pleading excuses and tendering submission, begging of him to return, but he refused, whereupon they went to the prison and released al Muatazz bi'lláh and swore him allegiance and deposed al Musta'ín. Al Mua'tazz then fitted out a large force to attack al Musta'ín, but the people of Baghdad espoused the cause of al Musta'ín and many engagements took place between the two factions. The war lasted for some months and the slaughter was great. Prices also rose and disorders increased, and the cause of al Musta'ín began to decline. They endeavoured to bring about a peace founded on the deposal of al Musta'ín, and Isma'íl the Ḳádhi and others proposed with this object definite conditions. Al Musta'ín therefore abdicated in the beginning* of the year 252 and the Ḳádhi and others testified to it. He was removed to Wásiṭ and remained there nine months imprisoned under the charge of a nobleman,† but was subsequently brought back to Sámarra. Al Mua'tazz then sent to Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlún to overtake al Musta'ín and slay him, but he said, "by Alláh, I will not slay the sons of the Caliphs." He next incited to it Sa'íd (*b-Sálih*) his chamberlain who slew him on the 3rd of Shawwál of the same year, he being 31‡ years of age.

He was virtuous, of distinguished merit, accomplished and eloquent, and he was the first who set the fashion of wearing loose sleeves, for he made their breadth about three spans, and he diminished the height of the caps which were excessively tall before his time.

Among persons of note who died during his reign were: A'bd-b-Ḥamíd, Abú't Ṭáhir-b-Sarḥ, al Ḥárith-b-Miskín, al Bazzi the Ḳurán reader, Abu Ḥátim al Sijistani, al Jáhidh and others.

AL MUA'TAZZ BI'LLÁH.

Al Mua'tazz bi'lláh Muḥammad called also az Zubayr, Abu A'bdu'llah the son of al Mutawkkil, the son of al Mua'tasim the son of ar Rashíd,

* 11th Ḍu'l Hijjah, 4th January 866.
† Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlún afterwards governor of Egypt. Masa'údi.
‡ Masa'údi says 35.

was born in the year 232. His mother was a Greek slave called Ḳabíḥah.* He was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of al Musta'ín in the year 252, at the age of nineteen, none ever having ruled the Caliphate before him at an earlier age than his. He was exceedingly beautiful. A'li-b-Ḥarb one of the teachers of tradition to the son of al Mua'tazz says, "I never saw a Caliph more comely than he." He was the first Caliph who set the fashion of appearing on horseback with ornaments of gold, for the Caliphs before him used to ride with but trifling ornaments of silver. In the first year of his reign died Ashnás he whom al Wáthiḳ had appointed Regent of the kingdom, leaving 500,000 dínárs. Al Mua'tazz took possession of them, and he invested with the robes of office Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Ṭáhir and girded him with two swords. Subsequently he deposed him and bestowed the viceregal robes upon his brother, that is the brother of al Mua'tazz, Abu Aḥmad, and crowned him with a diadem of gold and a jewelled cap and *gave him* two jewelled girdles and belted him with two swords. He deposed him, however, the same year and banished him to Wásiṭ and invested Bughá† the cup-bearer and placed upon him the viceregal crown; but he rebelled against al Mua'tazz the following year and was slain and his head brought to the Caliph. A. H. 252. A. D. 866.

In the month of Rajab of this year, al Mua'tazz set aside his brother al Muayyad from the succession, and scourged him and put him in prison where he died after a few days. Al Mua'tazz fearing, however, lest it should be said of him that he had put him to death or had artfully contrived it, summoned the Ḳádhis in order that they might behold him, and there was no mark of violence‡ found on him.

Al Mua'tazz was impotent in the hands of the Turks. It happened that a number of the chiefs went to him and said, "O prince of the Faithful give us our pay and we will slay Ṣáliḥ the son of Waṣíf."§ Now al Mua'tazz feared him, wherefore he sent to his mother for money to distribute among them, but she being extremely covetous, refused him and there was nothing left in the public treasuries. Then the Turks straightway agreed to depose him, and Ṣáliḥ-b-Waṣíf and Muḥammad-b-Bughá joined with them, and they armed themselves and went to the palace and sent to al Mua'tazz, *saying*, "come out to us." He returned as answer,

* See page 365.

† This was Bughá the younger.

‡ Masa'údi says he had been enveloped in a fur robe, the sides of which were fastened, so that he was smothered within it.

§ This promise was only a blind to induce the Caliph to give them money, for Ṣáliḥ was one of the three principal promoters of this insurrectionary demand. Together with the other two, *viz.*, Babkial and Muḥammad the son of Bughá, he subsequently took the Caliph prisoner and forced him to abdicate.

A. H. 252. saying, "verily I have taken medicine and am weak." Then a number of
A. D. 866. them set upon him and dragged him by the foot, and beat him with clubs and made him stand in the sun in the fierce heat of the day and smote him on the face, saying, "abdicate." Then they summoned the Ḳádhi Ibn Abi Shawárib and witnesses and deposed him. Next they sent for Muḥammad the son of al Wáthiḳ *(al Muhtadi)* from Baghdad to the capital which was then at Sámarra, for al Mua'tazz had removed him to Baghdad, and al Mua'tazz resigned the Caliphate to him and swore him allegiance. Then the mob seized al Mua'tazz five nights after his abdication and put him into a hammám and when he had bathed he became thirsty, but they forbad him water. Then he was taken out* and they gave him snow water which he drank and dropped dead. This occurred in the month of Shaa'bán the honoured, in the year 255 (*July* 869). His mother Ḳabíḥah concealed herself, but subsequently appeared in public in Ramaḍhán and gave up immense treasures to Ṣáliḥ the son of Waṣíf. Among these were 1,300,000 dínárs,† and a casket in which was eleven and a quarter pounds weight of emeralds, and a casket in which was a similar measure of pearls of large size, and a measure of three pounds and three quarters of rubies, besides other things. The caskets were valued at two thousand dínárs. When Sálih-b-Waṣíf beheld all this, he exclaimed, "may God bring evil upon her. She exposed her son to be murdered for the want of 50,000 dínárs, while she had this in her possession." He appropriated the whole and banished her to Mecca where she remained until the reign of al Mua'tamid who brought her back to Sámarra where she died in the year 264.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of al Mua'tazz were, Sarri as Saḳṭi, Hárún-b-Sa'íd al Ayli, ad Darimi author of the Musnad, al U'tbi author of the Masáil u'l U'tbíyah on the doctrine of Málik, and others.

AL MUHTADI BI'LLA'H.

Al Muhtadi bi'lláh, the good Caliph, Muḥammad Abú Isháḳ, called also Abu A'bdu'llah, the son of al Wáthiḳ, the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd whose mother was a slave concubine named Wardah‡ was

* The MS. has not the word اول which here has no meaning and should be omitted from the text. Ibn u'l Athír relates the manner of his death altogether differently.

† The dínár of that period, according to De Slane, had an intrinsic value of about ten shillings British.

‡ According to Ibn u'l Athír, her name was Karab or Kurb.

born during the Caliphate of his grandfather about the year 210 and odd,* and was acknowledged Caliph on the 29th Rajah 255 (13*th July* 869). A. H. 255. A. D. 869.

He would not accept the oath of allegiance† from any one until they had brought al Mua'tazz, whereupon al Muhtadi rose and saluted him as Caliph and seated himself before him. Witnesses were then brought who testified against al Mua'tazz that he was unequal to the Caliphate, and he himself acknowledged it and stretched out his hand and tendered allegiance to al Muhtadi. From that day al Muhtadi was raised to the throne.

Al Muhtadi was of a light tawny complexion, comely of countenance, chaste, pious, just, firm in carrying out the commands of God, intrepid, and brave, but he found none as an ally or a helper. Al Khaṭíb says that he did not cease to fast from the time he began his reign till he was assassinated.

Háshim-b-u'l Ḳásím relates as follows : I was once in presence of al Muhtádi one evening in the Ramaḍhán, when I started up to depart, but he said "sit down," and I sat down, and he advanced and prayed before us. Then he called for food, and an earthen‡ vessel was brought in which were round flat cakes of white bread, and on it were vessels in which were salt, vinegar and olive-oil, and he invited me to eat. I began to eat, thinking that they would presently bring the viands, but he looked at me and said, "dost thou not fast?" I replied, "Yes." He continued, "hast thou not the intention§ of fasting?" I answered, "how not! since it is Ramaḍhán!" He said, "eat and satisfy thyself, for there is no other food than what thou seest here." I was astonished, and after a little I exclaimed, "and why, O prince of the Faithful? for the Lord hath given thee amply of his benefits!" He replied, "verily the thing is as thou sayest, but I considered that there was indeed among the Banú Umayya, Omar-b-A'bdil A'zíz, and he lived on scanty food and poorly as thou hast heard, therefore I was jealous for the Banú Háshim, and I adopted the life thou dost witness."

Jaa'far-b-A'bdi'l Wáḥid‖ says, "I was conferring with al Muhtadi regarding a certain point, and I said to him, 'Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal used to maintain, it,' but he was averse to my alluding to any of his departed ancestors, and he said, 'may God have mercy upon the son of

* "Or it may be translated, between the years 213 and 219." See the discussion on this point in Lane, art. بضع.

† For بيعته read بيعة as in the MS., it would read therefore بعية احد

‡ For حلاف read جلاف : the Kámil has خلاف (a kind of willow the *Salix Egyptia*) and جلاب in another reading.

§ See note page 55.

‖ A member of the Abbaside family whom al Mutawakkil appointed to succeed Yahya-b-Aktham, as Ḳádhi. He died in 258 (871-2) some say 268. Ibn Khall, life of Yahya-b-Aktham.

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A. H. 255. A. D. 869. Ḥanbal, if it were permitted to me to hold myself clear of my father, I would have no part with him.'* Then he said, 'assert the truth and maintain it, for the man who asserts the truth is noble in my eyes.' "

Nifṭawayh relates as follows: "One of the Háshimites told me that he found in al Muhtadi's possession a coffer containing a woollen tunic and a coarse garment which he used to wear at night and pray in. He put down all wanton pastimes and forbade singing, and checked the oppression of the Regent's myrmidons. He was particularly zealous in the administration of the public registers, himself sitting down and making the secretaries sit down in front of him, and they would work at the accounts. He also never failed to hold audience on Mondays and Thursdays. He scourged a number of the principal men and banished Jaa'far-b-Maḥmúd to Baghdad abhorring his presence, because he considered him attached to the Ráfiḍhite tenets."

In his time Músa the son of Bughá set out with his followers from Rai for Sámarra to put to death Ṣáliḥ-b-Waṣíf in revenge for the murder of al Mua'tázz and the spoliation of his mother's treasures, and the populace called out against Ibn Waṣíf, *saying*, "O tyrant, verily Musá hath come against thee." Then Musa-b-Bughá sought admission to the presence of al Muhtadi, but he would not grant it, upon which he forced an entrance with his followers while the Caliph was seated in the Hall of Justice and took him away upon a sorry mare and they sacked the palace and lodged al Muhtadi in the palace of Nájúd† who kept saying, "O Musa, fear God. Alas for thee! what dost thou want?" He replied, "by Allah, we seek nothing but what is *for thy* good,—now swear to us that thou wilt not follow the guidance of Ṣáliḥ-b-Waṣíf." He took this oath to them and they renewed the oath of allegiance to him at the same time. They next sought Ṣáliḥ to bring him to account for his deeds, but he hid himself and al Muhtadi invited them to a mutual reconciliation. They then suspected that he knew his place of concealment and a discussion arose about this. Subsequently they talked of deposing al Muhtadi, but the next day al Muhtadi came out to them girt with his sword, and said, "verily, your intentions have come to my knowledge, but I am not like those who have preceded me, such as al Musta'ín and al Mua'tazz. By Allah, I have not come forth to you save well considering what I do.† I have made my last testament and this is my sword. By Allah, I will wield it as long as I can grasp its hilt in my hand. Have ye no religion, no shame, no

* On account of his persecution of Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal and others on the question of the creation of the Ḳurán.

† Ibn u'l Athir has ياجور Yájúr. Nájúr and Bajúr are also variants. Ibn Khaldún, likewise according to Weil gives the name of this Turk as Yájúr.

‡ In Ibn u'l Athir, the word is متحنطا "prepared for death."

gentleness left? How long* will there continue this opposition to the A. H. 255.
vicegerents and this audacity against God?" Then he continued, "I have A. D. 869.
no knowledge of Ṣáliḥ." On this they were appeased and dispersed and Músa-b-Bughá issued a proclamation that whoever should bring Ṣáliḥ should receive ten thousand dínárs, but no one was able to lay hold of him. It happened, however, that a certain boy entered a lane at noontide and he saw a door ajar. He entered and crossed the vestibule which was dark and beheld Ṣáliḥ asleep. He recognized him and there being no one with him he went to Músa and informed him, and he sent a party who seized him and cut off his head which was carried round the city and al Muhtadi was inwardly grieved at this.

Subsequently Músa accompanied by Bákyál† set out for Sinn against Musáwir.‡ Al Muhtadi hereupon wrote to Bákyál to put to death Músa as well as Mufliḥ one of the Turkish chiefs or to arrest them, and himself assume the leadership of all the Turks. Bákyál acquainted Músa with the purport of his letter and said, "I am not pleased with this, for indeed it toucheth us all." They then agreed to put al Muhtadi to death, and set out against him. On the side of al Muhtadi fought the men of the west and of Farghánah and of Ushrúsanah,§ and there were slain of the Turks in one day, four thousand, and the fighting continued until the troops of the Caliph were put to flight. He was taken prisoner, put to the torture and died. This occurred in Rajab (18th) in the year 256, (21*st June* 870). Thus his Caliphate lasted one year all but fifteen days.||

When the Turks rose against him, the people rose in tumult and wrote on slips of paper and threw them in the mosques, "O ye Muslims! pray for your Caliph, the just, the approved, who resembleth Omar the son of A'bdu'l A'zíz,¶ may the Lord defend him against his enemies."

* The MS. has كم and so Ibn u'l Athir—it is a better reading than the لم of the text; the accidental oversight of the oblique stroke of the ك has no doubt caused the error.

† One of the Turkish leaders.

‡ Musáwir-b-A'bdu'l Ḥamíd-b-Musáwir in revenge for the maltreatment of his son by the prefect of Mosul, attacked Mosul at the head of a band of Bedouins and Kurds, released his son from prison, defeated the Turkish generals and for a time occupied the greater part of the province. See Ibn u'l Athír and Weil, p. 406, Vol. II.

§ Not Usrús, as in the text. The MS. is here correct. It is the name of a district beyond the Oxus, lying between Samarkand and the Jaxartes. Yakút.

|| The date of his abdication was the 15th of Rajab. Ibn u'l Athír.

¶ The Kámil has,—but I think incorrectly—Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb.

A. H. 265.
A. D. 870.

AL MUA'TAMID A'LA'LLÁH.

Al Mua'tamid a'la'lláh Abu'l 'Abbás, called also Abu Jaa'far, Aḥmad, the son of al Mutawakkil, ths son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd, was born in the year 227. His mother was a Greek named Fityán.

When al Muhtadi was slain, al Mua'tamid was lying in prison at al Jausaḳ,* and they brought him out and swore allegiance to him. He then appointed his brother *Abú Aḥmad* Ṭalḥah *surnamed* al Muwaffaḳ *bi'lláh, (the directed of God)* ruler over the East and nominated his son Jaa'far to the succession and gave him the government of Egypt and the West and surnamed him al Mufawwadh ila'lláh *(recommended to God)*. Al Mua'tamid now gave himself up to pastime and sensual pleasures, and neglected the care of his subjects, the people therefore regarded him with dislike, and became attached to his brother Ṭalḥah.

During his reign the Zanj† entered Baṣrah and its dependencies and laid waste and slaughtered and burnt and ravaged and made prisoners. Many engagements took place between them and the Caliph's troops, which during most of them, were commanded by his brother al Muwaffaḳ.

This event was followed by the plague which never fails to follow bloodshed in I'rák, and countless people died therein. This was succeeded by convulsions and earthquakes, and thousands of people perished in falling ruins, and hostilities with the Zanj continued from the accession of al Mua'tamid in 256 till the year 270. In that year the chief of the Zanj—may God curse him—whose name was Bihbúḍ,‡ was slain. He pretended that he had been sent from God to the people but had rejected the mission, and that he was cognizant of hidden things.

As Súli says that he slew 1,500,000 Muslims, three hundred thousand having been slain in a single day at Baṣrah. He had a pulpit in his city

* There are various places of this name, some in the vicinity of Baghdad. Consult Yakúṭ.

† The leader of the Zanj was, according to Ibn u'l Athír, A'li-b-Muḥammad-b-Aḥmad who was 5th in descent from A'li-b-Abi Tálib: according to another account his grandfather was Abdur Raḥím (not Abdúr Raḥmán as Weil has it) of the tribe of Ḳays. He rallied round his standard the African slaves (known by the generic name of Zanj) and kept his ground against the Caliph's troops till the year 270. The Arabic historians name him "al'Khabíth," "the impure," "or the reprobate." Consult Weil, pp. 452-4, Vol. II, and Ibn Athír p. 139, and D'Herbelot.

‡ This is certainly incorrect, the chief of the Zanj was A'li al Khabíth as above stated. Bihbúḍ was one of his generals, and took a considerable part in the defence of the Zanj stronghold of Mukhtárah. Ibn u'l Athír does not give the date of his death and rarely mentions him, and Weil not at all. Al Khabíth was slain on 3rd Ṣafar 270, after he had been for more than 14 years the terror of Islám.

which he used to ascend and revile Othmán A'li, Mu'áwiyah, Ṭalḥah, az A. H. 256.
Zubayr and Ayesha, and he used to sell by the public crier an Aliide woman A. D. 270.
at two or three dirhams, and one of the Zanj had ten Aliide women whom he employed in his service.

When this reprobate was slain, his head was brought into Baghdád on a spear, and pavilions of triumph were erected and the people called down blessings on al Muwaffaḳ, and the poets praised him and it was "a day upon which men are assembled" (Kur XI). The people *thenceforth* reposed in security and returned to the cities which the Zanj had taken and there were many such, as Wásiṭ and Ramahurmuz.

In the year 260 of this reign a great scarcity prevailed in Ḥijáz and I'ráḳ, and a *kurr** of wheat in Baghdad rose to one hundred and fifty dínárs. During the same year the Byzantines captured the town of Lúlúah.†

In the year 266 al Mua'tamid covenanted for the succession after him of his son Jaa'far al Mufawwadḥ ila'lláh and next, for his brother Ṭalḥah al Muwaffaḳ. He appointed his son over Mauritania and Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, and placed his brother over the East and Iráḳ, Baghdad, Yaman, Parthia, Ispahán, Rai, Khurasán, Ṭabaristan, Sijistan and Sind. He appointed also for each of them two banners, black and white, and stipulated that if anything should happen to him, the government should go to his brother, should his son not be of age, and he set the agreement in writing and sent it in charge of the chief Ḳádhi Ibn Abí Shawárib to hang it in the Kaa'bah.

In the year 266 the Byzantine troops entered Diyárbakr and ravaged it, and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and of Mosul fled. During the same year the Bedouins plundered the covering of the Kaa'bah and carried it away.

In the year 267 Aḥmad-b-A'bdi'llah al Ḥijábi made himself master of Khurásán, Kirmán and Sijistán and even purposed subjugating Iráḳ. He struck the coinage in his own name, and on the reverse side the name of al Mua'tamid, a strange circumstance. His own slaves put him to death at the close of the year, thus God sufficed for his evil deeds.

In the year 269 al Mua'tamid conceived strong suspicions against his brother al Muwaffaḳ who had risen against him in the year 264, but they had subsequently become reconciled. When in this year these suspicions again strongly possessed him, he wrote to Ibn Ṭúlún his prefect in Egypt and they agreed upon a certain course. Ibn Ṭúlún set out until he reached Damascus and al Mua'tamid left Sámarra on the pretext of a change of air, his intended destination being Damascus. When this reached al Muwaffaḳ,

* About 7100 lbs. Ibn Athír gives the price as 120 dínárs.

† According to Yakúṭ a fortress near Tarsus.

A. H. 269. A. D. 882-3. he wrote to Isháḳ-b-Kundáj* to turn him back, and Ibn Kundáj rode from Naṣíbín to al Mua'tamid and met him between Mosul and al Ḥadíthah and said, "O prince of the Faithful, thy brother is opposing the enemy and thou hast come forth from thy residence and the capital of thy empire, and when this becomes authentically known to him, he will return from engaging the rebels, and thy enemies will take possession of the dominion of thy ancestors," and other words to the like effect. Then he placed a party in charge of al Mua'tamid, and gave orders respecting his suite of attendants.† Then he sent to al Mua'tamid, saying, "this is no place for thee, therefore return." Al Mua'tamid said "swear to me that thou wilt go down with me and wilt not deliver me up," and he swore to him and went down to Sámarra. There Sái'd-b-Mukhallad the Secretary of al Muwaffaḳ met him and Isháḳ delivered the Caliph up to him, who took him to the house of Aḥmad-b-Khaṣíb and would not suffer him to enter the palace and placed over him five hundred men who forbade all access to him.

When this reached al Muwaffaḳ, he sent Isháḳ a robe of honour and presents, and bestowed upon him the estates of the chiefs who were with al Mua'tamid and gave him the title of Ḍu's Sanadayn (*Lord of the two Sanads*) and surnamed Sái'd, Ḍu'l Wizáratayn (*possessor of the dignity of the two ministries of State*). Sái'd continued to serve under al Mua'tamid, but al Mua'tamid had no real authority in the administration, and he himself says regarding this:

"Is it not strange that one like myself
Should see that there is not a little that is denied him.
The whole world is under the authority of his name
And yet of all this he hath nothing in his possession.
The entire wealth of the state is carried to him
Yet he is denied much of what is exclusively his own."

He was the first Caliph who had force put upon him, was restrained and kept under ward.

Al Mua'tamid was then brought to Wásiṭ, and when this reached Ibn Ṭúlún, he assembled the Ḳádhis and the nobles, and said, "verily al Muwaffaḳ hath rebelled against the prince of the Faithful, therefore set him aside from the succession." They thereupon removed him from the succession, all save the Ḳádhi Bakkár-b-Ḳutaybah who exclaimed, "thou didst bring me from al Mua'tamid a deed appointing him to the succession, bring me therefore, another deed excluding him." He replied, "but al Mua'tamid is under restraint and compulsion." He answered, "I do not

* In the Kámil followed by Weil, this name is written Kundájiḳ. He was governor of Mosul. Ibn'Khall, accords with the text.

† Placed them in chains according to Ibn Athír.

know it." Then Ibn Ṭúlún said, "the people have beguiled thee with their saying that there is no one in the world like Bakkár! Thou art old and dotest." He then imprisoned him and put him in chains and confiscated from him all the gifts he had received for years past which amounted to ten thousand dínárs, and they say that this sum was found in the house of Bakkar with the seals *unbroken.** Al Muwaffaḳ hearing of this caused Ibn Ṭúlún to be cursed from the pulpits. A. H. 269. A. D. 882-3.

Subsequently in the month of Shaa'bán 270, al Mua'tamid was brought back to Sámarra and entered Baghdad, Muḥammad-b-Ṭáhir accoutred, preceding him and the troops in attendance on him as if he were not under constraint.

Ibn Ṭúlún† died in this year, and al Muwaffaḳ appointed his son Abu'l A'bbás to his government and sent him with the army of I'rák to Egypt; but Khumáruwayh the son of Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlún had succeeded to his father's possessions, wherefore there took place between him and Abú'l A'bbás the son of al Muwaffaḳ a great battle, so that the earth ran with blood. The victory remained with the Egyptians.

In this year a breach took place in the I'sá canal and the water reached Karkh and destroyed seven thousand houses.

During the same, the Byzantines came down upon Ṭarsus with one hundred thousand men, but the victory remained with the Muslims who took in plunder what could not be computed, and it was a great and unparalleled victory.‡

In the same year was made public the mission of al Mahdi U'bayd-u'llah-b-U'bayd the ancestor of the Banu U'bayd the heretic Caliphs of Egypt, in Yaman;§ and he continued in the prosecution of this design until the year 278, in which year he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and

* Ibn Khall in his life of Bakkar states that Ibn Ṭúlún used to give Bakkar every year 1000 dínárs in addition to his salary. The Ḳádhi made no use of this, neither did he break the seal placed on the purse which contained it. Eighteen such purses were delivered up to Ibn Ṭúlún, to his great confusion with the seals unbroken.

† The good effects of Ibn Ṭúlún's administration of Egypt, his reforms and endowments, the splendour of his court, and the vast wealth he bequeathed, may be read with interest in Weil, who draws a parallel between him and Muḥammad A'li the destroyer of the Mamelukes in our own times.

‡ This expedition, according to Weil, was led by Stypiotis; Ibn Athír mentions it and states that, according to report, 70,000 Byzantines fell including the commander of the forces, seven crosses of gold were taken, and one large one of the same metal studded with jewels, 15,000 beasts and mules, besides considerable plunder in silver articles and brocade and 10,000 standards!

§ The establisher of this mission or "call" was Abu Abdu'llah al Ḥusayn the Shiíte a native of Sana'á in Yaman. Consult his life in Ibn Khall, and Weil, p. 511.

A. H. 270. A. D. 884. joined with a tribe of the Banu Kutámah.* His pretension satisfied them, and he went with them to Egypt and saw that there was in them devotion and vigour. He accompanied them to Mauritania and this was the beginning of al Mahdi's rise.

In the year 271, says as Şúli, Harún the son of Ibráhím al Háshimi, took the office of Muhtasib, and issued orders that the people of Baghdad should transact business with the copper coins called "fulus," but they employed them reluctantly and afterwards abandoned them.

In the year 278 the Nile in Egypt fell so low that nothing remained of it and prices rose. During the same year, died al Muwaffak, and al Mua'tamid was thus freed from him. In the same year, the Carmathians appeared in Kúfah. They are a sect of heretics who assert that no ablution is necessary after being in a state of ceremonial uncleanness, and that the use of wine is lawful, and they add *words* to the call to prayers and maintain Muhammad-b-u'l Hanífah to be the apostle of God, and that fasting is obligatory in the year on two days only, on the festival of the Nauroz (*New Year's Day*) and that of Mihrján,† that the place of pilgrimage and that towards which the face should be directed in prayer should be Jerusalem, and the like, and their opinions spread among the foolish and the dwellers in the deserts and the people were troubled by them.

In the year 279, the power of al Mua'tamid declined through the usurpation by Abu'l A'bbás the son of al Muwaffak of the administration of affairs, and the devotion of the troops to him. Al Mua'tamid held a public audience and before it took himself to witness that he set aside his son al Mufawwadh from the succession and he took the covenant for Abu'l A'bbás and surnamed him al Mua'tadhid. During this year al Mua'tadhid ordered that no astrologer and no story-teller should sit by the roadside, and he took an oath from booksellers that they would not sell works on philosophy and polemics.

Al Mua'tamid died suddenly after a few months of this year had elapsed. Some say he was poisoned, others that he was smothered in his bedding when he was asleep; and this on Monday the 19th of Rajab 279 (*14th October* 892). His Caliphate lasted twenty-three years, but he was under subjection to his brother al Muwaffak through the latter's usurpation of the government, and when al Muwaffak died, he was for several reasons kept under ward by al Mua'tadhid in like manner.

* Not "Kanánah" as in the text. The MS. is in accordance with all the other authorities and has Kutámah. According to Weil, it was the missionary Abu A'bdu'llah, not U'baydu'llah that made the pilgrimage and secured the Banu Kutamah.

† These were two Persian festivals held in honor of the sun. The first took place on the 1st of Farwardín (March) when the sun entered Aries, and the second on the 16th of Mihr (September) the time of the autumnal equinox.—For an account of the Carmathians, consult Ibn Athír, Weil, D'Herbelot, Ibn Khall &c.

Among persons of note who died in the reign of al Mua'tamid were, A. H. 279.
al Bukhári, Muslim, Abu Dauúd *as Sijistani,* at Tirmidi, Ibn Májah, ar A. D. 891.
Rabíi' al Jízi, ar Rabíi' al Murádi, al Muzani, Yunas-b-A'bdu'l A'a'la, az Zubayr-b-Bakkár, Abu'l Fadhl ar Riáshi, Muhammad-b-Yahya ad Duhli, Hajjáj-b-u's Sha'ír, the Hafidh al I'jli, the chief Kádhi Ibn Abi's Shawárib, as Súsi the Kuran reader, Omar-b-Shaybah, Abú Zara'h ar Rázi, Muhammad-b-Abdi'llah-b-A'bdi'l Hakam, the Kádhi Bakkár, Dauúd at Táhiri, Ibn Dárah Bakií-b-Mukhallad, Ibn Kutaybah, Abú Hátim ar Rázi, and others.

The following are among the verses of A'bdu'llah the son of al Mua'tazz on al Mua'tamid :

" O best of those with whom riding camels travel swiftly,
Of those the rope of whose covenant is bound firm,
The reins of sovereignty were unwillingly forced
Into thy hands, which thou didst grasp and abandon.
Subject then to thyself the world and its inhabitants
As long as the arrow is turned aside of which thou art the target."*

Of the verses of al Mua'tamid when he was under ward, are these :

" I am so placed that I am unable to ward off
What I suffer of indignity and contempt.
The affairs of men proceed without me
And little mention of them is made to me.
When I desire a thing, they take it from me
And say, ' herein is harm *to thee.*' "

As Súli says that he had a scribe who used to write his verses in water of gold, and Abu Sa'íd al Hasan-b-Sa'íd an Nisabúrí mourned him as follows :

" Verily the eye of avaricious fortune hath brightened
After it had been blurred, dim-sighted and blear.
Misfortunes have attained their desires
By the death of the Imám of right guidance, al Mua'tamid.
And since he has gone, no vigilant guardian is left me
And we strive our best against misfortunes."

AL MUA'TADHID BI' LLAH.

Al Mua'tadhid bi'lláh Ahmad, Abu'l A'bbás son of the heir-apparent al Muwaffak Talhah-b-u'l Mutawakkil-b-u'l Mua'tasim-b-i'r-Rashid was

* For موفقة read as in the MS. موقعة.

A. H. 279. born in Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah in the year 242, but according to as Ṣúli in Rabíi'
A. D. 891. I, 243. His mother was a slave concubine called Ṣawáb, but some say, Ḥirz, and others Dḥarár, and he was acknowledged Caliph in succession to his paternal uncle al Mu'atamid in the month of Rajab 279.

He was comely, intrepid, of a grave exterior, majestic in presence, of considerable intellectual power, and the fiercest of the Caliphs of the house of A'bbás. He once had the courage to engage a lion single-handed. He was little prone to mercy; when enraged with one of his generals, he ordered him to be thrown into a pit, and to be covered over with earth. He possessed great talents for administration.

A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥamdún relates as follows: "Al Mua'tadḥid set out for the chase and dismounted by the side of a cucumber bed, I being with him. The keeper called out loudly, and al Mua'tadḥid said, 'bring him to me.' He was brought and the Caliph questioned him *as to the reason of his shout*, and he answered, 'three youths came upon the cucumber bed and plundered it.' They were brought before him and he decapitated them in the cucumber bed on the following day. Some time subsequently discoursing with me, he said, 'tell me truly why the people dislike me!' I replied, 'for shedding blood.' He said, 'by Allah, I have never shed blood unlawfully since I assumed the government.' I rejoined, 'why then didst thou put to death Aḥmad-b-u'l Ṭayyib.' He replied, 'he sought to lead me into heresy.' I said, 'well then, the three who came down upon the cucumber bed.' He replied, 'by Allah, I did not lawlessly shed their blood, but I executed robbers who had been guilty of murder, and I had been made to believe that these were they.'"

The Ḳádḥi Isma'il-*b-Isḥaḳ** says: "I visited al Mua'tamid upon one occasion and he pushed a book towards me. I glanced into it and lo! there was collected for him in it the ordinances of indulgence from legal observances, granted by the erroneous opinions of the learned. I exclaimed, 'the author of this is a Zindíḳ.' He said, 'is he a fabricator?' I replied, 'no, but† he who permits the use of intoxicating liquor will not hold temporary marriage lawful, and he who holds temporary marriage lawful, will not permit singing, and there is no learned man but has some error, and he who holds all the errors of the learned, his religion is gone,' whereupon he gave orders concerning the book and it was burnt."

Al Mua'tadhid was bold, active, and distinguished for manliness, indeed he had been present in military expeditions, and his capacity was acknowledged. He administered the government admirably and the people stood in awe of him and feared him with a great fear. Dissensions were lulled during his days through the excessive dread he inspired, and his

* He was appointed Ḳádḥi of Baghdád A. H. 262 (875-6). De Slane, I. K.

† The words ولكن are not in the MS.

reign was happy and full of peace and prosperity. He diminished the taxes and diffused justice and freed his subjects from oppression. He used to be called as Saffaḥ the Second, because he restored the power of the House of A'bbás which had become effete and weak and was approching its decay, for it had been rudely shaken from the time of the assassination of al Mutawakkil. On this subject Ibn ar Rúmi* says eulogizing him— A. H. 279. A. D. 891.

"Hail sons of A'bbás, for your Imám
Is the Imám of right guidance, power and liberality, most worthy of praise.†
As with Abu'l A'bbás *(as Saffah)* rose your power,
So with Abu'l A'bbás likewise is it restored.
The Imám *towards* whom yesterday turns
Lamenting with grief and for whom to-morrow yearns."

To the same effect, says likewise Ibn al Mua'tazz—

"Dost thou not see the dominion of the House of A'bbás
Hath returned triumphant after its decline.
O thou that seekest power, do like him
Be worthy of sovereignty or otherwise, *seek it* not."

In the first year during which he became Caliph he forbade booksellers from selling works on philosophy and the like of them, and prohibited story-tellers and astrologers from sitting by the wayside. He also read the prayers of the festival of Adḥa and pronounced the takbír in the first *Raḳa'at* six times, and in the second once, but the Khuṭbah was never heard to be delivered by him.

In the year 280, the missionary of al Mahdi entered Cyrene. His designs became spread abroad and a battle took place between him and the ruler of Africa and his authority grew apace.

In the same year came advices from Daybul that the moon had been eclipsed in the month of Shawwal, and that darkness had spread over the country till the afternoon when a black storm began to blow which continued for a third of the night, followed by a mighty earthquake which

* Abu'l Ḥasan A'li was the son of al A'bbás the son of Juraij or Jurgís (Georgius). He was considered an admirable poet, and his poems were transmitted down orally by al Mutannabi who learned them from himself. He was born at Baghdad A. H. 221 (836) and died there, A. H. 283 (896). The cause of his death was poison administered by al Mua'tadhid's minister who feared his satirical tongue. A poisoned biscuit was given to him while he was in the minister's company. The poet ate it and perceiving that he was poisoned rose to withdraw, on which the minister asked him whither he was going. "To the place you are sending me." "Present my respects to my father." "I am not taking the road to hell," retorted the poet who retired to his house and died a few days after. Ibn Khall.

† His name, Aḥmad, has this interpretation.

A. H. 280. destroyed the whole city, and the number of those taken out from the
A. D. 893-4. ruins was one hundred and fifty thousand.

In the year 281, Makúriyah* in the Byzantine territory was taken. During the same the waters of Rai and Ṭabaristán subsided into the earth, so that water sold at three pints for the dirham, and the people were famished and fed on corpses. In the same al Mua'tadhid demolished the Hall of Assembly† at Mecca and converted it into a place of prayer adjoining the Sacred Mosque.

In the year 282 he cancelled what had been instituted regarding the burning of fires and the pouring of water upon the people on the day of the new year and abolished the Magian year. During the same Katr u'n Nada *(the dew-drop)* daughter of Khumáruwayh-b-A'ḥmad-b-Ṭúlún was led in bridal procession to his house and he consummated his marriage with her in Rabii' I. Her portion consisted of four thousand jewelled waistbands‡ and ten coffers of jewels.

In the year 283 he prescribed throughout his dominions that relations§ called Ḍú u'l Arḥám should be capable of inheritance, and he abolished the Court of Inheritances *lapsed to the Crown* and the benedictions of the people on al Mua'tadhid rose louder.

In the year 284 a great redness showed itself in Egypt, so that when a man looked upon the face of another, he beheld him quite red, and in the same way appeared the walls. The people supplicated the Most High in prayer, and this redness continued from the afternoon till night.

Ibn Jarír|| relates that in this year al Mua'tadhid resolved upon having Mu'áwiyah cursed from the pulpits. His minister U'baydu'llah endeavoured to dissuade him by the fear of a public disturbance, but he gave no heed to him, and drew up a letter on the subject in which he men-

* I do not trace this name in Ibn Athír, and Yakút does not give it.

† The Báb al Nadwah still exists at Mecca under its later name of Báb u'l A'tik, the Old Gate. The Hall of Assembly was built by Kusayy and contained the great tribal standard: see page 30, and Burton's Mecca, p. 180. The new year's day was altered from the Persian date to the 11th of Huzayrán the Syrian month of June, called thenceforth النيروز المتعضدي Ibn Ath.

‡ Ibn Khall says that she received one thousand mortars of gold. De Slane notes that mortars were used for pounding perfumes and were an important article of the female toilette. Ibn Khall relates on hearsay that the Caliph by marrying her purposed reducing the Ṭúlún family to poverty.

§ ذوو الأرحام means in law any relations that have no portions of the inheritances termed فرائض and are not such heirs as are indicated by the term عصبة, see Lane arts. ذو and رحم.

|| Not Jurayr as pointed in the text. Ibn Jarír at Ṭabari is the author of the great commentary on the Kurán and the celebrated history. He was born A. H. 224 (838-9) at Amul in Tabaristan and died at Baghdad 310 (923). Ibn Khall.

tioned many of the virtues of A'li and impugned the character of Mu'áwiyah. The Kádhi Yusuf said to him, "Prince of the Faithful, I fear a disturbance at the hearing of this." He replied, "if the populace move, I will put them to the sword." He continued, "what will thou do then, with the followers of A'li, who in every province have rebelled against thee? for when the people hear all this of the merits of the prophetical House, they will be more inclined to them." Upon this al Mua'tadhid withdrew from it. A. H. 284. A. D. 897.

In the year 285, a yellow looking storm blew in Başrah; it next turned green and then grew black and extended to the provinces. It was followed by hail, the weight of a hailstone being one hundred and fifty dirhams and the wind uprooted about five hundred palm trees and it rained in one village black and white stones.

In the year 286, Abú Sa'íd* al Karmaṭi appeared in Bahrayn and his power increased. He was the father of Abú Ṭáhir Sulaymán he who, as will follow, carried off the Black Stone. Engagements took place between him and the Caliph's troops. He descended upon Başrah and its environs and defeated the army of the Caliph on several occasions.

Of personal accounts of al Mua'tadhid recorded by al Khaṭíb and Ibn Asakir, is the following on the authority of Abú'l Ḥusayn al Khaşíbi who relates that al Mua'tadhid sent to the Kádhi Abú Ḥázim, saying, "verily I have a claim upon the goods of a certain person, and I have heard that his creditors have appeared before thee, and that thou hast divided his property amongst them; therefore put us down as being one of them." Abu'l Ḥázim replied, "tell him that the prince of the Faithful—may the Lord lengthen his days—when he conferred with me at the time of investing me with office, said that he put off its responsibility from his own shoulders and placed it upon my shoulders, and it is not permitted to me to pass judgment on the property of an individual in favour of a claimant without evident demonstration." *The messenger* returned and informed the Caliph who said, "tell him, such a one and such a one are witnesses, alluding to two respectable persons." The Kádhi replied; "let them give testimony before me and I will examine them, and if they are just I will accept their testimony otherwise I will execute what is in my judgment established." Those persons, however, refrained from giving testimony fearing *the result* and nothing was given to al Mua'tadhid.

Ibn Ḥamdún the boon companion† says that al Mua'tadhid spent

* For a sketch of the Carmathians under Abú Sa'id and his son Abú Ṭáhir, see Ibn Khall under art. al Jannábi, and for the history of the Carmathians, Abu'l Fida, Ibn Ath., Weil, M. de Sacy's Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes, and Gibbon's short but picturesque narrative.

† Ḥamdún-b-Isma'il-b-Dauúd the Kátib was the first of his family who followed

A. H. 286. sixty thousand dínárs on the construction of al Buhayrah whither he used
A. D. 899. to retire with his slave girls, among them his favourite Durayrah.

Durayrah died during the reign of al Mua'tadhid, and he grieved over her with exceeding grief, and said, mourning her loss—

"O beloved! none can equal her
As a loved one to me.
Thou art far from my sight,
But near to my heart.
Since thou art gone I have
No share in pleasures.
Thou hast in my heart, over my
Heart, though thou be away, a watcher.
And my thoughts have been of thee since
Thou hast departed, thoughts that are never absent.
Would that thou couldst see how since
Thou hast left, I lament and mourn.
And my heart! a flame hath filled
It with burning grief.
Thou mayst truly know that I
Am disconsolate and afflicted for thee.
I do not find my soul, though I console it
For thy loss, become cheerful.
I have tears that do not resist me
And resignation that will not obey."

One author praises al Mua'tadhid thus, in detached sentences—

A vision approached—in the land of the Mimosa—amongst the tents—wandering about the hills: an auspicious neighbour—healing the sickness—of whomsoever it kisseth—or clingeth to. It hath a slender waist—when clasped—wearing long tresses. Then it departed. I did not sleep—for love and anxiety. Reproach censureth—how long and yet how long—a day of calamity. I labour to collect—all learning*—it hath therefore not perished. He is a beacon—and a place of protection—the best of mortals—by female or male descent—who containeth all high resolves—and how full of manly vigour. Firm and dignified—liberal of nature—who illumineth darkness—like the full moon—whose rights are protected—and what should be inviolate, guarded—wherefore he hath not sought *what is forbidden.* He distinguisheth specially and generally—in what he lavisheth. With him

the profession of a Nadím or boon companion. His son Aḥmad was an oral transmitter of poetry and historical narrations. De Slane; I. K.

* The MS. has لئم for علم.

are favours—and punishments. Good things abound—when he smiteth—and water becometh blood—when he taketh revenge. A. H. 286. A. D. 899.

In Rabíi' II of the year 289, al Mua'tadhid fell ill of a grievons sickness, for his constitution was injured by the excess of his sensuality, but after a little he recovered, and Ibn al Mua'tazz said—

"My heart fluttered with trembling wings
Bemoaning the mishaps of calamities,
And in fear lest they should wish thee evil
Who art the lion of the kingdom and the Sword of War."

He, however, again relapsed and died on Monday the 22nd of the same month (*5th April* 902). Al Masa'údi relates that they doubted whether al Mua'tadhid was dead and the physician drew near and felt his pulse, whereupon he opened his eyes and kicked the physician with his foot, flinging him away several yards so that the physician died and al Mua'tadhid died immediately after. During his last moments he thus versified:

"Enjoy the world; for, verily, thou shalt not live,
And snatch its brightness while it is bright, and lay aside retirement,
And be not confident of fortune, for verily I trusted to it
And it hath not left me any place nor regarded my due.
I have slain heroes among men and have not left
An enemy and given none a respite, in his own conceit.*
I have cleared the habitations of the kingdom of every rival,
Scattered them in the west and dispersed them in the east.
And when I reached unto the stars in glory and power,
And the necks of all the people were abased before me in submission,
Death smote me with an arrow and extinguished the spark of my life.
And now am I fallen, hastening to the grave.
I have lost this world and the next through my folly.
Who is there more miserable than I am in his abasement?
Would that I knew whether after death I shall behold
The mercies of God or be cast into hell fire."

Among the verses of al Mua'tadhid are the following:

"O thou who regardest me with a languishing dark eye
And slayest me with coyness and glances of love,
I complain to thee of what I have suffered
Through love: have I no relief to expect from thee?
By thy glance and thy beauty thou hast taken
Among men the place of their eyes and their souls."

* Ibn Ath. has طغيه a better reading. See his variants on this poem.

A. H. 289. As Ṣúli relates the following by him :
A. D. 902. " None hath ever suffered from the the burning of separation
What I have undergone from it.
O thou who askest me regarding its taste !
I have found it bitter of flavour.
My body is dissolved and my eye
Weeps and my heart is aflame.
Since thou art gone I have no companion
But sadness and longing.
May God watch over you both
When I am with you and without you."

Ibn al Mua'tazz mourns him in these lines :

" O world—shame on thee—thou hast left me no one,
And thou art a parent of evil that devourest thy children.
I ask pardon of God—this all is destiny.
I resign myself to God, the Lord, One, Eternal.
O thou dweller in the tomb in the dark earth
Of Ṭáhiríyah, alone, in a distant abode !
Where are the armies thou wert wont to lead ?
Where the treasures whose number thou wert wont to count over ?
Where is the throne thou wert wont to fill
With awe so that the eye of him who beheld it trembled ?
Where are the enemies of old whose stubbornness thou didst abase ?
Where the champions thou didst scatter abroad ?
Where the swift steeds whose fetlocks thou didst die with blood,
And which bore in thee a raging lion ?
Where the lances which thou didst feed on hearts ?
Since thou hast died, they have reached neither heart nor liver !
Where are the gardens whose rivulets flow* murmuring
And answer to them the warbling birds ?
Where are the handmaids wandering at pleasure like gazelles
Trailing coloured robes fresh from the loom ?
Where the wanton pastimes and where the red wine thou didst deem
A ruby clothed in silver mail ?
Where the assaults on thy enemies, seeking
The welfare of the kingdom of the sons of 'Abbás, when it had fallen into disorder ?
Thou didst not fail to subdue every mighty one among them
And to overthrow the lofty and the powerful who were trusted in,
And now thou hast passed away, and neither trace nor vestige remains
So that thou art as if thou hadst never been."

* تَجري read تُجري.

Among the persons of note who died during the reign of al Mua'tadhid were Ibn u'l Mawwáz al Maliki, Ibn Abi'd Dunya, the Kádhi Isma'íl, al Hárith-b-Abi Usámah, Abu'l U'ayna, al Mubarrad, Abu Sa'íd the Cobbler the Súfi Shaykh, al Buhturi the poet and others. A. H. 289. A. D. 902.

Al Mua'tadhid left four male and eleven female children.

AL MUKTAFI BI'LLÁH.

Al Muktafí bi'lláh Abú Muhammad A'li the son of al Mua'tadhid was born in the beginning of the month of Rabía' II, in the year 264. His mother was a Turkish woman named Jíjak. His comeliness was proverbial so that one author has said :—

" I compared her beauty and her deeds
But her beauty equals not her deceit,
By Allah, I never addressed her, though verily she
Is like the sun, the full moon or Muktafi."

His father made him his heir and he was acknowledged as Caliph during his father's sickness on Friday afternoon the 19th of Rabía' II, 289. As Súli observes that none of the Caliphs had his name of A'li, save he and A'li b-Abi Tálib, and none the surname of Abu Muhammad save al Hasan the son of A'li, al Hádi, and al Muktafí.

When he was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father, he was absent at Rakkah, and the Wazír Abu'l Hasan al Kásim-b-U'baydu'llah undertook the duties of receiving the oath of allegiance and wrote to him and he arrived in Baghdad on the 7th of Jumáda I, and passed down the Tigris in a ship and it was a great day. The Kádhi Abú Omar fell through the bridge by reason of the crowd but was taken out unhurt. Al Muktafi alighted at the palace and the poets spoke their poems, and he bestowed seven robes of honour upon the Wazír al Kasim, and destroyed the underground prisons which his father had established, turning them into mosques. He ordered the gardens and shops which his father had taken from the people whereon to build his palace, to be restored to their owners, and he showed an excellent disposition, and the people loved him and invoked blessings upon him. During this year Baghdad was convulsed by a great earthquake which lasted for days, and also in the same, a furious wind blew at Basrah uprooting all its palm trees, the like of which had been never heard of.

In the same year rose Yahya-b-Zakarúyah the Carmathian, and engagements took place between him and the troops of the Caliph until he was killed in the year 290. His brother al Husayn succeeded him and

A. H. 289. shewed the mole upon his face* and pretended that it was his token. He
A. D. 902. was joined by his cousin Ísa-b-Mahrúyah† who asserted that al Ḥusayn was entitled "al Mudaththir," and that he it was who was intended in the Súra (LXXIV), and he surnamed a page of his "al Muṭawwaḳ-bi'n Núr *(Collared with Light)*. He overran Syria and destroyed and ravaged and assumed the titles of al Mahdi prince of the Faithful, and prayers were made for him in the pulpits. All the three were, however, killed in the year 291.

In this year Antalíyah‡ (with an l) was taken by storm, and the booty captured therefrom was beyond computation.

In the year 292 the Tigus rose so high that the like of it had never before been seen, for it did much injury in Baghdad, the rise reaching twenty-one cubits.

The following is by as Ṣúli eulogizing al Muktafi and mentioning the Carmathians—

"Al Muktafi the Caliph was made sufficient
For the emergency he was provident against.'"

And he goes on until he comes to

"Sons of A'bbás—ye
Are the chiefs and the first of men.
Allah ordained that ye
Should be rulers over the people,
And those among ye who hold rule
Are the brightest and best of God's creatures.
He who obeyeth you is a true believer,
And whoso rebelleth hath turned infidel.

* A mark of the Imámate: for an account of this sect of the Ismailites, their belief and mode of initiation, see Weil, Vol. II. p. 493. They are discussed at sufficient length in D'Herbelot, art. Carmath, and by Gibbon, cap LII.

† Ibn u'l Mahdi, according to Ibn Ath. who gave himself out as great-grandson of the Imám Isma'íl. Al Mudaththir signifies "the Covered" and the 74th Sura of the Ḳurán is so entitled. Ibn al Mahdi himself gave al Ḥusayn the title of al Mudaththir and named him his heir. Ibn Ath.

‡ Ibn Ath. has l in one copy, k in another. In Yakúṭ, Anṭalíyah is called one of the great Byzantine cities, and its position is marked by the words of al Balkhi who says that when you pass Kalamiyah (near Tarsus) and Lamas you get to Anṭalíyah. Ibn Baṭútah fixes its position with precision He travelled from Latakia to Alaia, thence to Anṭaliyah (Adalia, in the gulf of that name) proceeding onwards inland to Buldur and Isbarta. The Greek writers mention the sack of Thessalonica at this time and the coincidence of their accounts with that of the Arabs in the number of prisoners and booty leads Weil to the conclusion that this place must be meant, but I believe it to be a coincidence and nothing more, as the difference of sites and names will not easily support the notion of mistaken identity.

Allah hath revealed that regarding ye
Before in the perspicuous chapters of the Ḳurán." A. H. 292. A. D. 904.

As Ṣúli says, "I heard al Muktafi saying during his illness, 'I grieve not but for seven hundred thousand dínárs which I expended from the funds of the Muslims on buildings of which I had no need and which I might have done without, and verily I ask pardon of this from God."' Al Muktafi died in the prime of life on Sunday night the 12th of Ḍu'l Kaa'dah in the year 295 (13*th August* 907) leaving eight male and eight female children.

Among persons of note who died during his reign were: A'bdu'llah-b-Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Thaa'lab the great master of the Arabic language, Ḳunbal the Ḳurán reader, Abu A'bdu'llah al Busanjí the jurisconsult, al Bazzár the author of the Musnad, Abu Muslim al Kajjí, the Ḳádhi Abu Ḥázim, Ṣáliḥ Jazarah,* Muḥammad-b-Naṣr al Marwazi, the Imám Abu'l Ḥusayn an Núri the Súfi Shaykh, Abú Jaa'far at Tirmidi, the Sháfií Shaykh in Irák.

I read in the History of Naysabúr by A'bdu'l Ghafir regarding Ibn Abi'd Dunya that he says as follows—"when the Caliphate fell to al Muktafi I wrote to him these two couplets."

"The right of correction is a right of paternal authority
According to men of intelligence and honour.
And the most deserving of men to maintain this
And to regard it are those of the prophetical House."

The narrator adds "upon this he brought me ten thousand dirhams." This is a proof that Ibn Abi'd Dunya lived till the reign of al Muktafi.

AL MUḲTADIR BI'LLÁH.

Al Muḳtadir bi'lláh, Abú'l Fadḥl Jaa'far the son of al Mua'tadḥid was born in Ramadḥán of the year 282. His mother was a Greek but some say a Turkish woman, her name Shaa'b, and according to another account, Gharíb. When the illness of al Muktafí became serious, he enquired about him, and on being assured that he had reached the age of puberty, he made him his heir. None ever governed the Caliphate at an earlier age than he for he was thirteen years old when he assumed power. The Wazír al A'bbás-b-u'l Ḥasan regarding him as a child, sought to depose him and a party conspired with him to place A'bdu'llah the son of al

* The MS. has incorrectly, "the son of Jazarah" whereas Jazarah was his surname. The Munṭaha'l Arab calls him—Ṣáliḥ Ḥafidh-b-Muḥammad.



A. H. 295. Mua'tazz upon the throne. The son of al Mua'tazz agreed to it on the
A. D. 907. condition that no blood should be spilt, but al Muktadir on hearing of this bettered the condition of al A'bbás and lavished wealth upon him that contented him, upon which he reverted from his design. The rest of the conspirators, however came upon al Muktadir on the 20th of Rabíi' I, 296 when he was playing at ball.* He fled and the doors were locked, and the Wazír with a number of others were slain. The son of al Mua'tazz was sent for, and he came, and the generals assembled together with the Kádhis and principal men, and they swore homage to him as Caliph, and gave him the title of Ghálib bi'lláh.† He appointed Muhammad-b-Dáuúd-b-i'l Jarráh his Wazír and Abu'l Muthanna Ahmad-b-Yakúb to the office of Kádhi, and letters were despatched as issued under the Caliphate of the son of al Mua'tazz.

Al Mu'áfa-b-Zakaríya al Jaríri‡ relates as follows: "When al Muktadir was deposed and allegiance was sworn to the son of al Mua'tazz, people went to visit my Shaykh Muhammad-b-Jarír at Tabarí. He asked what the news was. He was told that the son of al Mua'tazz had been acknowledged Caliph. He asked who was appointed to the office of Wazír. They told him Muhammad-b-Dáuúd. He then enquired who was named to that of Kádhi; he was told, Abu'l Muthanna. Thereupon he looked down in thought, and then said, 'this affair will not succeed.' He was asked why it should not. He replied, 'every one name that you have mentioned is eminent, in its meaning high in dignity, but fortune shifts and prosperity turns its back, and I behold in this but its decline, and I cannot think that its season will endure.'"

Ibn al Mua'tazz now sent to al Muktadir commanding him to depart to the house of Muhammad-b-Táhir in order that he himself might remove to the palace. He submitted, for there were with him only a few retainers but they said one to another, "shall we, O brethren, yield the government, and shall we not exert ourselves to avert what hath befallen us?" And they girded on their arms and made for the quarter of al Mukharrim in which resided Ibn u'l Mua'tazz. When he beheld them surrounding him, the Lord put fear into the hearts of those with him, and they retired in

* For الاكرة read بالكرة as in Ibn Ath.

† According to Ibn Ath. "al Murtadha bi'llah" and Weil gives also, "al Munsif bi'lláh."

‡ The Kádhi Abú'l Faraj Muáfa surnamed-b-Tarárá al Jariíri was a jurisconsult, a philologer, a poet, and a scholar versed in every branch of science. He held the post of Kádhi in that quarter of Baghdad called Báb u't Ták. He was considered also a faithful transmitter of tradition. He was born in A. H. 303 (916) and died at Nahrawán in 390 (A.D. 1,000). He was called al Jarírí because he adopted the religious opinions of Ibn Jarír at Tabari, consult both names in Ibn Khall.

disorder without fighting. Ibn al Mua'tazz, together with his Wazír, and his Ḳádhi fled, and there was rapine and slaughter in Baghdad. Al Muḳtadir made prisoners of the jurisconsults and nobles that had deposed him, and made them over to Múnis* the treasurer who put them to death save four, among these being the Ḳádhi Abu Omar, and they were saved from death. Ibn al Mua'tazz was placed in confinement from which he was shortly after taken out dead. The authority now reverted to al Muḳtadir who appointed Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad al Furát his Wazír. He pursued a most praiseworthy course, brought abuses to light, and invited al Muḳtadir to justice. The Caliph, on account of his own inexperience, committed the administration to his care and devoted himself to amusement and frivolity and dissipated the public treasure. During this year al Muḳtadír ordered that Jews and Christians should be employed in menial service, and that they should ride only on packsaddles. During the same, the affairs of al Mahdi throve in Africa: he was saluted as Imám and the Caliphate was claimed as his right. He extended justice and beneficence to the people and they inclined to him. Africa fell under his power and his dominion increased, and the city of al Mahdíyah was founded.

A. H. 296.
A. D. 908.

Ziyádat u'llah-b-Aghlab, the ruler of Africa, fled to Egypt,† but afterwards repaired to I'ráḳ. From this date Africa passed from the sway of the children of A'bbás, the term of their rule over the whole of the dominions of Islám having been one hundred and sixty and odd years, and from this period dates their decline. Ad Ḍahabi says that the administration became disorganised under al Muktadir by reason of his youth.

In the year 300‡ a mountain near Dinawar subsided into the earth and a large quantity of water issued from beneath it and overwhelmed villages. During the same year a mule gave birth to a colt—and God is powerful to do what He willeth.

In the year 301 A'li-b-I'sa became Wazír. He followed a course of virtue, justice and piety. He abolished the use of wine and diminished the taxation by the amount it had been increased in the year, *viz.*, five hundred thousand dínárs. During the same the Ḳádhi Abu Omar was restored to the judicial office and al Muḳtadir rode from his palace to al

* For يونس read مونس as in Ibn Ath.

† After his decisive defeat at Arbes in Jumada II, 296 (Feb. 909) by Ubaydu'llah's missionary and general Abu A'bdúllah. This last prince of the Aghlabite dynasty died according to Ibn A'sákir in A. H. 304 at Ramla. The duration of the power of his House was 212 years, 5 months and 14 days. Ibn Khall, see also Weil, p. 584.

‡ It was in this year also as well as in 290 that disturbances of the stars and the failure of the Nile were remarked in Egypt, as related by A'bdu'l Latíf, and troubles arose which in the latter year occasioned the fall of the House of Ṭúlún. See his Hist. Egypt, Cap. I. Lib. II.

A. H. 301. Shamásíyah,* and this was the first ride he had made and in which he
A. D. 913. showed himself to the people. During the same al Husayn the weaver was brought into Baghdad exposed to the public gaze, on a camel. He was crucified alive,† and it was proclaimed over him—" This is one of the missionaries of the Carmathians, therefore recognize him." He was then kept in prison till he was put to death in the year 309. It was given out that he claimed divine power, and that he asserted the descent of the divinity upon eminent persons and that he wrote to his associates with long rays of light. He was questioned but found not to possess any knowledge of the Kurán, nor of the Traditions, nor of jurisprudence.

During the same year al Mahdi the Fatimite set out at the head of 40,000 Berbers to attack Cairo, but the Nile interposing as a barrier between him and the city, he turned towards Alexandria and ravaged and slaughtered and then returned. The troops of al Muktadir marched against him to Barkah and several engagements took place, the Fatimite afterwards made himself master of Alexandria and Fayyúm in this year.‡

In 302 al Muktadir caused five of his children to be circumcised, and expended on the festival of their circumcision six hundred thousand dínárs, and he circumcised at the same time a number of orphans and treated them with great kindness. During the same al Muktadir read the prayers for the Eed in the principal mosque of Cairo, and before this time the prayers for the Eed had never been made in it. A'li-b-Abi Shaykhah read his discourse to the people from a book, and it happened that by an inaccuracy, he said, " Fear God with His true fear and die not unless ye be also infidels."§ (Kur III.

During this year also the Daylamites were converted to Islám by al Hasan-b-A'li|| al A'lawí al Utrúsh (the deaf) and before this they were Magians.

* A part of Baghdad.

† From early morning till midday for three days. According to Ibn Ath. this Husayn-b-Mansúr denied that he pretended to the powers the vulgar accused him of claiming and he held himself to be a devout worshipper of God. Some believed in his sanctity and miraculous powers and asserted that he even raised the dead; others condemned him as an impostor. On examination he was found to maintain nothing opposed to the law of Islám, but the Wazir Hámid was determined on his death, and catching at a hasty expression of Abu Omar's, the Kádhi, that the shedding of his blood was lawful, he was barbarously scourged with a thousand stripes, his hands and feet cut off and his body burnt and the ashes thrown into the Tigris. Ibn Ath.

‡ This account is confused and incorrect in order of time. Mahdi with his son, Abu'l Kásim first marched and took Barkah, next occupied Alexandria and Fayyúm and some other towns, and was then attacked by the Caliph's troops under Múnis al Khádim and driven back to Africa. Ibn Ath.

§ Instead of infidels he should have said " true believers."

|| He was another partisan of the Aliide cause and received the surname of an Násir al Utrush (the deaf conqueror). He won the Daylamites to his side, converted

In the year 304 Baghdad was in consternation regarding an animal called Zazbab. People said that they saw it at night upon the flat roofs of the houses, and that it eat children and tore off the breasts of women. They used to watch and beat upon their drinking vessels that it might be scared, and they set up covered pens for their children, and this continued for many nights. A. H. 304. A. D. 916.

In the year 305 the ambassadors arrived from the Roman Emperor with presents seeking to conclude a peace. Al Muḳtadir prepared a grand display, and assembled the army and set them in ranks under arms, 160,000 strong, extending from the Shamásíyah gate to the palace. Behind them came the royal retinue 7,000 in number, and after them the chamberlains who were 700. The coverings that were placed upon the walls of the palace were 38,000 and were of brocade, and there were 22,000 carpets, and in the courtyard were one hundred wild beasts in chains besides other things.

In this year there arrived presents from the prince of Omán, and among them a bird, black in colour, which spoke in the languages of Persia and of India more fluently than a parrot.

In the year 306, the mother of al Muḳtadir opened a hospital, and the sum expended on it yearly was seven thousand dínárs.* During the same the supreme authority fell into the hands of the Caliph's harem and his women through his imbecility, and things came to such a pass that the mother of al Muḳtadir governed like a queen-regent, holding audience to redress wrongs and looking into the petitions of the people every Friday. She held public audiences and used to summon the Ḳadhis and nobles and issue state edicts signed under her hand.

In the same year al Ḳáim Muḥammad-b-al Mahdi the Fáṭimite returned again towards Egypt, and made himself master of a great portion of Upper Egypt. In the year 308 prices rose exceedingly high in Baghdad, and the people were starving, through the Wazir Ḥámid-b-u'l A'bbás having undertaken the administration of the royal domains in the Sawád†

many of them to Islám and took possession of Ṭabaristan from the Samanides, and his descendants ruled in parts of Daylam, Ṭabaristán and Ghílán to the middle of the 4th century.

* So the text and MS. The words of Ibn Athír are: In this year al Muktadir ordered the building of a hospital .... and it was named the Muktadiri Hospital.

† The Sawád extends in length from Hadíthat u'l Mausil to A'bbadán and in breadth from al U'dhayb to Ḥulwán. Ḥámid took their administration from A'li-b-I'sa whom he wished to ruin with the Caliph and who had been endeavouring to subvert Ḥámid's power, and in order to fill the Caliph's purse without ruining himself, he was obliged to purchase corn &c. at a high cost and instead of sending it to Baghdad, sold it in other places where he obtained a better price. This reacted on the Baghdad market and caused the popular tumult. See Weil, p. 552.

A. H. 308. and renewed wrongful exactions. The people fell to plundering and the
A. D. 920. troops rode among the populace, but they dispersed them and the fighting continued some days. The mob set fire to the prison and opened the cells and plundered the citizens and stoned the Wazír and the affairs of the House of A'bbás fell into great disorder. During the same year the troops of al Ḳáim took possession of the Delta from Fusṭáṭ and the distress of the people of Cairo became grievous and they prepared for war and hostilities took place.

In the year 309 al Ḥusayn the weaver was put to death by the sentence of the Ḳádhi Abu Omar and the jurisconsults and the doctors, who declared that it was lawful to shed his blood, and there are accounts of the extraordinary circumstances regarding him which authors have separately compiled.

In the year 311 al Muḳtadir ordered the restoration of the inheritances inherited by those who are Dú u'l Arḥám,* to the condition from which they had been altered by al Mua'tadhid.

In the year 312, Farghánah was conquered by the ruler of Khurásán. In the year 314 the Byzantines captured Malaṭiyah by the sword. During the same, the Tigris was frozen over at Mosal and cattle crossed over and such a thing was never before heard of. In the year 315, the Byzantines entered Damietta and took the inhabitants prisoners with all the property therein, and sounded their bells for worship in the mosques of that town. During the same the Daylamites made their appearance in Rai and the mountainous districts, and people were slain and children slaughtered.

In the year 316, the Carmathian established a residence which he called the House of Pilgrimage.† It was during these years that his evil doings increased, and his conquest of towns and attacks on the Muslims, and through him calamities multiplied, and fear of him fell upon all hearts. His followers became more numerous and he sent his bands in every direction, and the Caliphate was convulsed by him, and the troops of al Muḳtadir were routed on several occasions. During these years the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted through fear of the Carmathians and the people of Mecca quitted the town. The Byzantines marched against Khaláṭ,‡ tore down the pulpit from the principal mosque and set up the cross

* See note §, p. 388.

† It was in the Ḳatamah country near the mountainous district of Ankiján in Barbary the head quarters of Abu A'bdu'llah the missionary of al Madi. The account is here incorrect. The House of Pilgrimage in the Valley of the Good الاخيار was established in 280 or 88 (for Ibn Ath. has a variant in the date) by Abu A'bdu'llah who was put to death by al Mahdi in 298. The "Carmathian" in the year 316, refers to Abu Ṭahir. See Ibn Ath. under these years.

‡ In Armenia.

in its place. In the year 317 Múnis al Khádim surnamed al Mudhaffar A. H. 317. rebelled against al Muktadir because he heard that he purposed conferring A. D. 929. on Harún-b-Gharíb the office of Amír u'l Umará, (*chief of the Amírs*) in place of Múnis himself. The whole of the military force and the nobles and the confederates advanced with him against the palace. The attendants of al Muktadir fled and al Muktadir was brought out from his palace after his evening repast on the night of the 14th of Muharram together with his mother, his maternal aunt and his women and 600,000 dínárs were taken from his mother. His abdication was testified to* and they sent for Muhammad the son of al Mua'tadhid, and Múnis, and the nobles swore allegiance to him and surnamed him al Káhir bi'lláh *(conquering through God)*. The office of Wazír was entrusted to Abu A'li-b-Muklah on the Saturday and al Káhir took his seat on Sunday and the Wazír wrote informing the provinces of this. On Monday the royal procession was to be held and the troops came demanding their largesse for their covenant of allegiance and their pay for the year, Múnis not being present. Voices were then loudly raised and they slew the chamberlain and made for the house of Múnis demanding al Muktadir to restore him to the Caliphate. They bore him on their shoulders from the house of Múnis to the palace and al Káhir was seized and he was brought out weeping and crying "Allah! Allah! protect me!" Al Muktadir desired him to approach and embraced him, and said, "O brother, by Allah thou art not in fault—by Allah, no harm shall ever befall thee from me—therefore be of good cheer." The people were silent and the Wazír returned and wrote to the provinces announcing the restoration of the Caliph to the Caliphate and al Muktadir lavished sums of money on the troops.

In this year al Muktadir sent the Mecca caravan in charge of Mansúr ad Daylami. They arrived safely at Mecca. But on the day of Tarwíyah,† Abu Táhir the Carmathian, the enemy of God, fell upon them and slew the pilgrims in the holy temple with a swift slaughter and threw the slain into the well of Zem Zem and smote the Black Stone with an iron mace and broke it and then they dug it up. They remained at Mecca eleven days when they departed, and the Black Stone remained in their possession for more than twenty years, (50,000 dínárs being offered to them for it which they refused) until it was restored in the Caliphate of al Mutíi'. It is said that when they carried it away, forty strong‡ camels sunk under its weight from Mecca to Hajar and when it was brought back, it was borne by a lean young camel which grew fat on the road. Muhammad-b-u'r Rabíi'-b-Sulaymán relates as follows: "I was at Mecca in the year of the Carmathians when a man *of them* ascended *the temple* to tear down

* By Abu Omar the Kádhi— احضروا القاضي ابا عمر يشهد عليه بالخلع Ibn Ath.
† The first of the three days of pilgrimage, *i. e.*, the 8th of Du'l Hijjah.
‡ Ibn Khall says three. Life of al Jannábi.

A. H. 317. A. D. 929. the water-spout,* I was observing him and losing patience, I cried, 'O God! what hath induced thee!' and the man fell upon his head and died on the spot." The Carmathian (*Abu Ṭáhir*) ascended to the door† of the Kaa'bah calling out.

" We, by Allah, and by Allah, we
Create creatures and destroy them, we.

Abu Ṭáhir did not prosper after this, and his body was eaten up with small-pox.

During this year a great tumult arose in Baghdad regarding the saying of the Most High, " Peradventure the Lord will raise thee to an honorable station." (Kur. XVII). The Hanbalites asserted the meaning of it to be that God would place Muḥammad upon His throne *beside Him*, while others maintained that this meant only the power of intercession The controversy continued, and they fell to blows until a great number were slain.

In the year 319 the Carmathians fell upon Kúfah and the people of Baghdad feared their entry into Baghdad itself. They implored aid and lifted up their Ḳuráns and reviled al Muḳtadir.

During the same, the Daylamites entered Dinawar and took prisoners and made great slaughter.

In the year 320 Múnis marched against al Muḳtadir, the greater part of the troops of Múnis, being composed of Berbers. When the contending armies met, a Berber struck al Muḳtadir with a javelin by which he fell to the ground. He then slew him with a sword and placed his head upon a spear. The body was stripped and remained naked until it was covered over with dry grass. A grave was dug for him on the spot and he was there buried, and this on Wednesday the 27th of Shawwal (31*st October* 932).

It is said that his Wazír took his horoscope on that day and al Muḳtadir said to him, "at what time was that?" He replied, "at the hour of sunset." The Caliph took it as a bad omen and purposed turning back, but the horsemen of Múnis approached and the battle began. As to the Berber who slew him, the people called out against him, and he rode on towards the palace to bring out al Ḳáhir when he encountered a stack of brambles which threw him violently over his bridle, a prong caught him and the horse passed from under him in his gallop and he was killed. The people pulled him down and burnt him with the bramble stack.

Al Muḳtadir had good sense and sound judgment, but was addicted to sensuality and drinking and profuse in his expenditure. His women

* This was of gold, a span in width and stands out about the distance of two cubits. Ibn Batoutah. Defremery, Vol. I, 312.

† There is only one door according to Burton, that affords entrance to the Kaa'bah. It is opened only two or three times a year and is seven feet from the ground.

had entire influence over him, and he lavished upon them the whole of the crown jewels and precious objects and bestowed upon one of his concubines a matchless pearl, the weight of which was three mithkals,* and he gave Zaydán the Comptroller of the Harem a string of jewels, the like of which were never seen, and he wasted immense wealth. He had in his palace eleven thousand eunuch boys, besides slaves and Greeks and negroes. He left twelve male children, three of whom ruled the Caliphate, *viz.*, ar Rádhi, al Mutakki and al Mutíi'. The same occurred with al Mutawakkil and ar Rashíd, but in the instance of A'bdu'l Malik four of his children held sway—and there is no parallel to this except among temporal sovereigns. Thus observes ad Dahabi. I note, however, that in my time, five of the sons of al Mutawakkil held the Caliphate, al Musta'ín al 'Abbás, al Mua'tadhid Dauúd, al Mustakfi Sulaymán, al Káim Hamzah, and al Mustanjid Yusuf, which is unparalleled. A. H. 320. A. D. 932.

In the Latáif u'l Ma'árif of at Thaa'labi is the strange fact that none of the name of Jaa'fir governed the Caliphate, save al Mutawakkil and al Muktadir, and they were both put to death—the former on the night† preceding the fourth day of the week, the latter on the fourth day itself.

Among praiseworthy actions of al Muktadir is the following related by Ibn Sháhín, namely, that his Wazír A'li-b-Isa desired to effect a reconciliation between Ibn Sái'd‡ and Abú Bakr-b-Abi Dáuúd as Sijistáni and the Wazír said, "O Abu Bakr, Abu Muhammad (*-b-Sái'd*) is older than thou, wert thou then to make the advance to him, *it would be fitting.*" He replied, "I will not." The Wazír said, "thou art a vain old man." He replied, "nay, the vain old man is he—the liar against the apostle of God." Saying this Ibn Abi Dáuúd rose, and exclaimed, "thou thinkest that I am inferior to thee because my stipend cometh to me from thy hand—by Allah, I will never take anything at thy hands." Al Muktadir hearing of this weighed out his daily allowance with his own hand and sent it on a platter by his servant.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muktadir were, Muhammad-b-Abi Dauúd ad Dháhiri, Yusuf-b-Yákúb the Kádhi, Ibn Saríh the Sháfi'í Shaykh, al Junayd the Súfi Shaykh, Abu Othmán al Híri the devotee, Abu Bakr al Birdíjí, Jaa'far al Kariyáni,§ Ibn Bassám the poet, an Nasái the author of the Sunan, al Hasan-b-Sufyán author of

* A mithkál is one dínár's weight or 1$\frac{3}{7}$ of a dirham equal to about four and a half drams.

† It must be remembered that the Muhammadan day begins at sunset.

‡ Yahya-b-Muhammad-b-Sáid al Baghdádi an eminent traditionist died in A. H. 318, at the age of 90. Ibn Ath.

§ Ibn u'l Ath. has two variants, al Faryábi and al Gharyáni.

A. H 320. the Sunan, al Jubbái the Mua'tazalite Shaykh, Yamút-b-Muzarra'* the
A. D. 932. grammarian; Ibn u'l Jalá the Súfi Shaykh, Abu Ya'la al Mausili author of the Musnad, al Ashnáni the Ḳurán reader, Ibn Sayf one of the great Ḳurán readers of Cairo, Abu Bakr ar Ruyáni author of the Musnad, Ibn u'l Munḍir the Imám, Ibn Jarír at Ṭabari, az Zajjaj the grammarian, Ibn Khuzaymah, Ibn Zakaríya the physician, al Akhfash the Less, Bannán al Jammál, Abú Bakr-b-Abí Dáuúd as Sijistáni, Ibn u's Sarráj the grammarian, Abu A'úánah the author of the Saḥíḥ,† Abú'l Ḳásim al Baghawi al Musnid,‡ Abu U'bayd-b-Ḥarbúbah, al Kaa'bí the Mua'tazelite Shaykh, Abu Omar the Ḳádḥi, Ḳudámah the Secretary and others.

AL ḲÁHIR BI'LLÁH.

Al Ḳáhir bi'lláh Abu Manṣúr Muḥammad was the son of al Mua'-tadḥid-b-Ṭalḥah-b-Mutawakkil. His mother was a slave concubine called Fitnah. When al Muḳtadir was slain, he was summoned together with Muḥammad the son of al Muktafi, and they asked the son of al Muktafi whether he would accept the government. He replied, "I have no need of it, and my uncle here has a better right to it." Al Ḳáhir was then addressed and he accepted, and the oath of allegiance was sworn to him and he was surnamed al Ḳáhir bi'lláh, as he had been thus surnamed in 317.

His first act was to despoil the family of al Muḳtadir and to maltreat them, and he scourged the mother of al Muḳtadir till she died under the punishment.

In the year 321 the army was unfavorable to him, and Múnis and Ibn Muḳlah,§ and others conspired to dethrone him in favour of the son of al Muktafi, but al Ḳáhir intrigued with them till he seized their persons and put them to death and immured the son of al Muktafi between two walls. As for Ibn Muḳlah, he concealed himself, but his house and the houses of the conspirators were burnt down. Al Ḳáhir now discharged

* The text is here incorrect, the life of this grammarian will be found in Ibn Khall.

† More properly speaking author of a Musnad extracted from the Saḥíḥ of Muslim. See Ibn Ath. anno. 312.

‡ I do not find this personage mentioned by Ibn Ath., but De Slane mentions a traditionist named, as in the text, who died in 317, the author of a Mu'jam or catalogue of the Companions of Muḥammad. Musnid signifies a reader of isnáds or ascriptions. De Slane elsewhere makes it synonymous with Ḥáfidh.

§ The life of this celebrated scribe and minister may be read in Ibn Khall whose narrative throws light on the events of this and the succeeding reign. He was the inventor (or his brother, for the question is in dispute) of the style of writing termed Sharḳi or Oriental, derived from the characters used by the people of Kúfah.

the pay of the troops who were thus quieted, and his authority became firmly established, and awe of him filled the minds of men. To his titles was added that of "Chastiser of the enemies of God," which was engraved upon the coinage. A. H. 321. A. D. 933.

In this year he issued a prohibition against female musicians,* and the use of wine, and arrested all singers and forbade the employment of infamous persons, and he broke all instruments of idle diversion, but permitted the sale of female singers on the condition of their being of rustic and simple manners, yet withal he did not relinquish intemperance himself nor desist from listening to music.

In the year 322 the Daylamites grew in power and this because the followers of Mardawij† entered Ispahán, and among their leaders was A'li-b-Buwayh who gaining considerable resources, detached himself from his chief Mardawíj. Subsequently he engaged Muhammad-b-Yakút the Caliph's governor *of Ispahan;* Muhammad was defeated and Ibn Buwayh occupied Fars. Buwayh himself had been in very poor circumstances and employed himself in catching fish. He saw himself in a dream, as it were a whale, and there came forth from his person a column of fire, and the column dispersed until it filled the earth. This was interpreted to mean that his posterity would rule the world, and that their dominion would reach to the limits embraced by the fire. Years passed by and events resulted in his becoming a general under Mardawíj-Ziyád ad Daylami who despatched him to obtain resources from Karaj.‡ He wrung out of it five hundred thousand dirhams and marched to occupy Hamadán. The inhabitants closed the gates against him, but he attacked them and took it by storm, though some say, by treaty, and then set out for Shíráz. Subsequently his resources ran short, and one day when he was lying asleep on his back, a serpent crept out of the roof of the hall *where he was.* He ordered it to be pulled down and there were taken from it chests of gold which he distributed amongst his troops. *At another time* he sent for a tailor to sew something for him: the man was deaf and imagined that information had been laid against him, whereupon he exclaimed, "by Allah, I have nothing but twelve chests and I know not what is in them." They were sent for and there were found in them vast sums of money. On another occasion as he was riding, the legs of his horse sunk into the earth, which on dig-

* The MS. has قنيان Ibn Ath. states that the Caliph's object in all this was not to reform morals, but to purchase at a cheap rate for his own amusement, the singing girls whom he forbade his subjects to entertain. "Heaven preserve us," he pathetically adds, "from such morals as these."

† Of Ghílan, one of the soldiers of fortune who figured in the wars between the Aliides and the Samanides in Tabaristan. See Weil, pp. 651-2-3, and 657.

‡ Not Karkh as in the text. The MS. is here correct. Karaj is between Ispahan and Hamadan.

A. H 322. ging up they found to contain treasure. He made himself master of the
A. D. 934. provinces, and Khurasán and Fars passed away from the rule of the Caliph.

During this year al Ḳáhir put to death Isháḳ-b-Isma'íl an Naubakhti. he who had counselled the elevation of al Ḳáhir to the Caliphate. He, cast him down head foremost into a well and filled it up. His crime was, that before the Caliphate of al Ḳáhir, he had outbid him for a female slave and bought her, for which reason he bore him a grudge. During the same the army was incited against him because Ibn Muḳlah during his concealment put them in dread of him, saying, "he has built dungeons for you to imprison you" and the like, and they assembled to assault him and forced an entrance upon him, sword in hand, but he fled. They, however, overtook him and seized him on the 6th of Jumáda I* (*25th April* 934) and swore allegiance to Abu'l 'Abbás Muḥammad the son of al Muḳtadir and surnamed him ar Rádḥi bi'llah. Then they despatched to al Ḳáhir his Wazír and the Ḳádḥis Abu'l Ḥusayn the son of the Ḳádḥi Abú Omar, and al Ḥasan-b-A'bdi'llah-b-Abí's Shawárib, and Abú Ṭálib-b-u'l Buhlúl. They accordingly went and al Ḳáhir was asked what he had to say. He replied, "I am Abu Manṣúr Muḥammad the son of al Mua'tadḥid and the covenant of allegiance to me is upon your necks and upon the necks of the people, and I will not release nor absolve ye from it—therefore depart." They retired and the Wazír said, "he must be deposed and there is no need of reflection† on his deeds which are notorious." The Ḳádḥi Abu'l Ḥusayn thus continues the narration. "I then went to ar Rádḥi and recounted to him what had passed and informed him that I considered his assumption of the Caliphate as a bounden duty." He replied, "depart and leave me and him." He then directed Síma the commander of the guards to blind him, who therefore seared his eyes with a red hot needle. Maḥmúd al Iṣpaháni says: "The cause of al Ḳáhir's deposition was the depravity of his nature and his shedding of blood. He refused to abdicate, they therefore branded his eyes till they came out upon his cheeks." As Ṣúli observes that be was violent and blood-thirsty, of a depraved disposition, volatile and inconstant, and addicted to intemperance, and that had it not been for the munificence of his chamberlain Salámah, the whole country‡ would have been ruined. He had also made for him a javelin which he carried about, and he never cast it aside until he had slain a man with it. A'li-b-

* The text and MS. have Jumáda II. but this is wrong. All the other authorities give Jumáda I. and the duration of al Ḳáhir's reign which was 1 year 6 months and 8 days, proves it.

† I prefer the reading of the MS. here which is يخلع ولا تفكر فيه افعاله مشهورة and which would run. "He should be deposed and do not reflect about it—his deeds are notorious."

‡ Literally, the soil and its products.—See Ḳur II.

Muḥammad al Khurásáni narrates as follows. "Al Ḳáhir sent for me one day, and the javelin was before him, and he said, "I wish to ask you regarding the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás—as to their qualities and dispositions." I replied, "with regard to as Saffáh—he was quick to shed blood and his prefects imitated him in that respect, but he was withal munificent and liberal with money." He said, "and al Manṣúr?" I continued, "he was the first who threw dissension between the descendants of al A'bbás and the descendants of Abú Ṭálib who before that were united, and he was the first Caliph who gave access to astrologers, and the first who had translated for him Syrian and Persian works like the book of Kalílah and Damnah and the book of Euclid and *other* Greek works, and the people read them and took to them. And when Muḥammad-b-Isháḳ observed this, he compiled his work on battles and military expeditions. Al Manṣúr likewise was the first who employed his slaves in service and preferred them over the Arabs." He asked, "and al Mahdi?" I replied, "he was generous, just and equitable. He restored what his father had taken by violence from the people, and was zealous in rooting out the Zindíḳs. He also re-fashioned the sacred temple of Mecca and the mosques of Medína and Jerusalem." He exclaimed "and what of al Hádi?" I answered, "he was a proud tyrant, and his prefects walked in his way during his short reign." He went on, "and ar Rashíd?" I said, "he was devoted to war and pilgrimage, and he established houses and reservoirs of water on the road to Mecca and fortified the frontier positions of Káḍanah, Tarsus, Maṣíṣah and Mara'sh. His bounty embraced the people at large, and during his days flourished the Barmecides with their renowned munificence. He was the first Caliph who played at polo and who shot arrows at a target and who played at chess." "And al Amín?" I said, "he was bountiful but absorbed in sensuality, and affairs fell into disorder."

A. H. 322.
A. D. 934.

"And al Mamun?"

I said, "astrology and philosophy had too much influence over him, but he was forbearing and munificent."

"And al Mua'taṣim?"

I replied, "he followed in his footsteps, but the love of horsemanship and the imitation of foreign potentates unduly swayed him, and he occupied himself in war and conquest."

"And al Wáthiḳ?"

I replied, "he walked in the ways of his father."

"And what of al Mutawakkil?"

I said, "he was opposed to the course of conduct of all Mámún and al Mua'taṣim and al Wáthiḳ in the matter of religious belief, and prohibited contention and controversies and disputes and punished them, and he commanded the reading and hearing of traditions, and forbade the doctrine

A. H. 322. of the creation of the Ḳurán, wherefore the people loved him." Then he
A. D. 934. asked concerning the rest of the Caliphs, and I answered him in what regarded them, and he said to me, "I have heard thy discourse, and it is as if I saw the actors themselves." Then he arose and departed.

Al Masa'údi says that al Ḳáhir confiscated an immense amount of property from Múnis and his followers, and when he was deposed and blinded, he was asked for it, but he refused compliance, and he was tortured in various ways, but would not confess anything. Then al Rádhi bi'llah took him and caused him to approach and brought him close and said to him, "verily thou seest the demands of the army for money, and I possess nothing and what thou hast, doth not profit thee, therefore confess where it is." He replied—"well, if thou doest this,* why then the money is buried in the garden." For he had formerly laid out a garden in which were trees of various kinds brought to him from the provinces and he had embellished it and built therein a pavilion and ar Rádhi was much attached to the garden and the pavilion, and he said, "in what part of it is the treasure?" He replied, "I am blind and cannot be a guide to the place but dig up the garden and you will find it." Ar Radhi dug up the garden, and the foundations of the pavilion, and rooted up the trees but found nothing, and he said to al Ḳáhir "where is the treasure?" Al Ḳáhir replied, "have I any treasure? my only regret was thy sitting in the garden and thy enjoyment of it, and I therefore wished to grieve thee through its loss."

Ar Rádhi repented *of what he had done* and put him in prison where he remained till the year 333 when they released him and left him at liberty. He was standing one day in the mosque of al Manṣúr among the ranks *of the worshippers* wearing a lined garment of white, when he exclaimed—"Give me alms for I am one whom ye know:" and this was in the reign of al Mustakfi and *done* in order to dishonour him. For this he was forbidden to appear in public till he died in the year 339 on the 3rd Jumáda I, (18*th October* 950) at the age of three and fifty. The sons he had were A'bdu's Ṣamad, Abú'l Ḳasim, Abú'l Fadhl and A'bdu'l A'zíz.

Of persons of note who died in his reign were at Ṭaháwi the Ḥanafite Shaykh, Ibn Durayd, Abu Háshim al Jubbái and others.

AR RA'DHI-BI'LLA'H.

Ar Rádhi-bi'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Muhammad the son of al Muḳtadir was born in the year 297. His mother was a Greek slave concubine called Dhalúm. He received the oath of allegiance on the day of the deposition

* I read with the MS. اذا for اذ.

of al Káhir and he commanded Ibn Muklah to draw up a document containing the misdemeanour of al Káhir and to read it to the people. A. H. 322. A. D. 934.

During the year of his Caliphate, that is 322—died Mardawíj* the Daylamite chief in Ispahán. His power had grown great, and they say that he even purposed marching against Baghdad, and that he cultivated the friendship of the chief of the Magians—and he used to declare that he would restore the Persian monarchy and annihilate the Arab power.

In the same year A'li-b-Buwayh sent to ar Rádhi proposing the retention of the provinces he had conquered as a fief of the Caliphate on the yearly payment of 800,000† dirhams. The Caliph therefore sent him a standard and a robe of honour. Ibn Buwayh subsequently put off indefinitely the payment of the money.

During the same year died al Mahdi the ruler of Africa. His reign was twenty-five years in duration. He was the ancestor of the Egyptian Caliphs whom the vulgar call the Fatimites, because this al Mahdi claimed to be a descendant of A'li, while in truth his ancestor was a Magian.

The Kádhi Abú Bakr al Bákiláni says—" the grandfather of U'baydu'llah surnamed al Mahdi was a Magian. U'baydu'llah entered Egypt and gave out that he was a descendant of A'li, but none of the genealogists would acknowledge him as such. He was a Bátini—a reprobate, thirsting to extirpate the religion of Islám. He got rid of the learned and the jurisconsults that he might be able to seduce the people and his posterity followed his example. They made wine-bibbing and fornication lawful and disseminated heresy. After his death his son al Káim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l Kásim Muhammad succeeded him. In this year appeared Muhammad-b-A'li al Shalmagháni known as Ibn Abi'l A'zákir.‡ It was reported that he claimed divine power and raised the dead to life. He was put to

* According to Ibn Ath. he was murdered by the Turks in his service in 323. He used to assert that the spirit of Solomon dwelt in him, and that the Turks were devils who could be made submissive only by violent measures—which he consistently resorted to. A little before his assassination, which was instigated by Tuzún who became afterwards the commander-in-chief at Baghdad—he had made for himself a golden throne on which he sat surrounded by his nobles on silver seats, and he wore a crown of gold after the manner of the Khusroes. He purposed to rebuild Madáin and the palace of the Persian kings, and to have himself saluted as king of kings. Ibn Athir's narrative will repay perusal.

† The MS. and text here have 800,000,000—but this sum would be equivalent to about £20,000,000 sterling which is of course absurd. Ibn Ath. mentions that he offered the Caliph a lump sum of a million dirhams (about £25,000) but says nothing of an annual tribute. One (الف) thousand—therefore omitted in the text would bring the amount approximately to that mentioned by Ibn Ath.

‡ Ibn Khall. notices this individual in his Life of Ibn al Mukaffa, and says that he was burnt by fire and his disciple Ibn Abi A'un crucified after being beheaded.

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A. H. 322. A. D. 934. death and crucified, and a number of his companions were put to death with him. In the same died Abu Jaa'far as Sajzi one of the chamberlains. It is said that he reached the age of 140 and that all his senses were in sound condition. From this year the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdad was interrupted* until the year 327.

In the year 323 ar Rádhi bi'llah ruled in paramount authority and conferred the east and west on his two sons Abu'l Fadhl and Abu Jaa'far.

During the same occurred the well known affair of Ibn Shanabúḍ† and the recantation he was called upon to make regarding his unorthodox reading of the Ḳurán, and his declaration that was taken down and that in the presence of the Wazír Abu A'li-b-Muḳlah.

In the same year in Jumáda I, a violent storm blew in Baghdad—the earth was darkened and the darkness continued from the afternoon till sunset.

During the month of Ḍu'l Kaa'dah of the same, the stars kept falling all night with extraordinary frequency, the like of which has been never recorded.

In the year 324 Muḥammad-b-Ráiḳ governor of Wásit and its dependencies obtained supreme predominance in the state. He issued orders to the provinces, and the offices of the minister of state and of the controllership of the public registers were abolished, and he and his scribes took charge of the whole, and all monies were taken to him and the state treasuries were abolished and ar Rádhi remained with him as a mere phantom, having nothing of the Caliphate but the name. In the year 325 affairs fell into great confusion. The provinces became a prey either to a rebel that seized them or to a prefect who would not pay the state revenues, and they became separate independent princes and nothing remained in the possession of ar Rádhi but Baghdad and the Sawád on account of the hand of Ibn Ráiḳ being upon him.‡

* By the Carmathians.

† Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad a famous reader of the Ḳurán, but whose readings deviated from the received orthodox text. Ibn Khall gives various instances of his misreadings, and adds that he was reported to be a man of little knowledge. When he was being scourged by order of Ibn Muḳlah, he cursed him and prayed that God would cause his hand to be cut off which actually took place. He died at Baghdad in 328 (939).

‡ Baṣrah appertained to Ibn Ráiḳ, Khuzistan was held by al Barídí, Fars by Imád u'd Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, Kirmán by Abu A'li Muḥammad-b-u'l Yás, Rai, Ispahan and the mountainous districts were fought for by Rukn u'd Daulah another son of Buwayh's and Washmagír brother of Mardawij; the Ḥamdanites ruled in Mesopotamia, the Ikshides in Syria and Egypt, the Faṭimites in Africa, the Umayyads in Spain, the Samanides in Khurásán and the trans Oxus country, the Daylamites in Ṭabaristán and Jurján and the Carmathians in Yemámah and Baḥrayn. Such is the picture drawn by Ibn Ath. of the now distracted Caliphate.

When the power of the Caliphate in these times waxed feeble, and the pillars of the Abbaside dominion tottered to their fall, and the Carmathians and other heretics became supreme in the provinces, the spirit of the Amír A'bdúr Raḥmán, the descendant of Umayyah and Marwan, ruler of Spain, became emboldened, and he said, "I am the most worthy of men for the Caliphate." He called himself prince of the Faithful, the Defender of the religion of God. He held rule over the greater part of Spain. He inspired great awe and carried on religious wars, and commanded military expeditions, and possessed many eminent qualities, and he overthrew all rivals, and captured seventy fortresses. There were thus three personages calling themselves princes of the Faithful, the Abbaside at Baghdad, this one in Spain, and al Mahdi at Cyrene. A. H. 324. A. D. 936.

In the year 326 Baḥkam* rose against Ibn Ráiḳ and prevailed over him and Ibn Ráiḳ concealed himself. Baḥkam entered Baghdad and ar Rádḥi received him with honour, raised him in dignity and gave him the title of Amír u'l Umará and invested him with the government of Baghdad and Khurasán.

In the year 327, Abu A'li Omar-b-Yahya, the descendant of A'li, wrote to the Carmathian leader with whom he was on friendly terms, soliciting him to open the road free to pilgrims, and that he would give him five dínárs for every camel. Permission was accorded and the people performed the pilgrimage, and this was the first year that mail was levied from pilgrims.

In the year 328, Baghdad was swamped by a terrible inundation, so that the rise of the water reached nineteen cubits and men and animals were drowned and houses destroyed.

In the year 329, ar Rádḥi fell ill and died in the month of Rabíi' I,† at the age of thirty-one and a half. He was beneficent, liberal and accomplished, skilful in versifying, eloquent and a patron of men of learning, and a collection has been made of his poetry. He heard traditions from al Baghawi and others. Al Khaṭíb observes that some notable particularities distinguish him; among these—that he was the last of the Caliphs whose verses were collected together, and the last of the Caliphs who

* Or Bajkam. He was a Turk and originally a slave of the Daylamite Wazírs and afterwards of the Daylamite prince Mákán under whom he commanded a troop of horse. He afterwards served under Mardawíj, and eventually offered his services to the Caliph, and Ibn Ráiḳ called him with his Turkish and Daylamite following to Baghdad. See Weil, p. 664.

† A'bu'l Fida and Ibn Ath. have Rabíi' I. Weil gives one authority that writes Rabíi' II, but as he justly observes, this date does not coincide with the duration of ar Rádḥi's reign which was 6 years 10 months, and (according to Ibn Ath.) ten days. Abu'l Fida makes him 32 years old, Ibn Ath. 33 and some months. They both say that he died in the middle of the month which would be about (18th Dec. 940).

A. H. 329. undertook the sole direction of the army and the finances, the last who
A. D. 940. preached on Fridays, and the last who sat with boon companions. His largesses and his state surroundings were after the manner of the former Caliphs, and he was the last of the Caliphs who journeyed in the fashion of his predecessors.

Among his verses are the following—

"All that is pure tends to defilement*
And all things to decay.
And the march of youth towards
Death—is in death or affliction.
May hoariness be abundant
As a monitor to warn mortals.
O thou who entertainest hope and
Art confounded in an ocean of deception,
Where are they that were before us?
Their forms and traces have disappeared.
O God, pardon my sin,
Thou who art the best of those who pardon."

Abu'l Ḥasan-b-Zarkúyah relates on the authority of Isma'íl al Khaṭabi,† that he said: "Ar Rádhi sent for me on the eve of the close of the Ramadhán fast. I went to him and he said, 'O Isma'íl, I purpose to-morrow to pray before the people—what shall I say when I come to the supplication for myself?' I looked down in thought for a little while, and I exclaimed, 'say, O prince of the Faithful! "O Lord excite me, that I may be thankful for thy favour wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents,"' &c., (Kur. XXVII). He replied, 'that will suffice.' Afterwards a servant followed me and gave me four hundred dínárs."

Of people of note who died in his reign were: Nifṭawayh, Ibn Mujáhid the Ḳurán reader, Ibn Kás the Ḥanafite, Ibn Abí Ḥátim, Mabramán, Ibn Abd Rabbih author of the Iḳd‡ (*necklace*) al Istakhari, the Shafi'ite Shaykh, Ibn Shanabúḍ, Abu Bakr al Anbári and others.

* Ibn Ath. and Abu'l Fida give these verses with variants.

† I cannot find this name in Ibn Khall: both the MS. and text have خطبي, a form I have not before met—it should be, perhaps خطيبي or خطابي.

‡ See his life in Ibn Khall. The I'ḳd contains much important information on the manners of ancient Arabs of which some extracts have been given by M. Fresnel in his letters.

AL MUTTAḲI LI'LLÁH.

A. H. 329.
A. D. 940.

Al Muttaḳi li'lláh Abu Isḥáḳ Ibrahím was the son of al Muḳtadir. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother ar Rádhi, being thirty-four years old. His mother was a slave girl called Khalúb or as some say, Zuhrah. He never made any changes *in his establishment* nor secretly visited a female slave that he had. He used to fast and pray much, and he never drank wine, and he used to say, "I need no boon companion but the Ḳurán." He had nothing of authority but the name, and the administration was in the hands of Ibn* A'bdu'llah Aḥmad-b-A'li al Kúfi the secretary of Baḥkam. In this year the green dome of the city of Manṣúr† which was the crown of Baghdad and a memorial of the House of A'bbás, fell in. It was one of the edifices erected by Manṣúr. Its height was eighty cubits, and below it was a hall, its length twenty cubits by twenty cubits, and over it was the statue of a horseman with a spear in his hand, and when he turned facing towards any direction, it was known that a rebel had risen up in that quarter. The summit of this dome fell in during a night of rain and thunder.

In this year Baḥkam‡ the Turk was slain and Kurtakín the Daylamite succeeded him in the office of Amír u'l Umará. Al Muttaḳi took possession of the treasures of Baḥkam that were in Baghdad and they were more than a million dínárs. Subsequently in this year Ibn Ráiḳ obtained predominance and fought Kúrtakin at Baghdad.§ Kúrtakin was routed and he concealed himself while Ibn Ráiḳ became Chief Amír in his place.

In 330 there occurred a scarcity in Baghdad so that a "kur" of wheat fetched 316 dínárs. Distress was in consequence very severe and people fed on corpses, and it was a famine the like of which had never been seen in Baghdad.

During the same year Abu'l Ḥusayn A'li Ibn Muḥammad al Barídí||

* Abú A'bdu'llah. Ibn Ath.

† Baghdad, because built by him. Yaḳút, on the authority of al Khaṭib, mentions the horseman that stood on it, and which pointed in the direction of any rebellion as it occurred,—but adds that he considers it a most preposterous falsehood. Neither the dome nor the horseman existed when Ibn Batutah visited it about 1330 A. D. Let the horseman with his spear be considered—what it may have been—a simple weather-cock, and the wonder vanishes, for from "a' the airts the wind can blaw" came daily tidings of disaster and rebellion.

‡ During a hunting excursion he came upon a troop of Kurds who had amassed considerable plunder. He followed them up, and in the melée he was fallen upon from behind and transfixed with a spear. Ibn Ath.

§ This engagement took place according to Ibn Ath. at U'kbarah, a town on the Tigris ten parasangs from Baghdad.

|| Not Yazídi as in the text. The family of Barídí were masters of Khuzistán during ar Rádhi's reign.



A. H. 330. raised the standard of revolt and the Caliph and Ibn Ráiḳ set out to
A. D. 941-2. engage him, but they were defeated and fled to Mosal, and Baghdad and the royal palace were sacked.

When the Caliph arrived at Takrít he found there Sayf u'd Daulah Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Abdi'llah-b-Ḥamdán and his brother al Ḥasan. Ibn Ráiḳ was treacherously assassinated, and the Caliph appointed al Ḥasan-b-Ḥamdán to his office and gave him the title of Náṣir u'd Daulah (*Defender of the State*) and to his brother a robe of honour and surnamed him Sayf u'd Daulah, (*The Sword of the State*). He then returned to Baghdad accompanied by these two, upon which al Barídí fled to Wásiṭ. Subsequently advices arrived in the month of Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah that al Barídí was marching on Baghdad, whereupon the people were alarmed and the principal men of Baghdad fled. The Caliph set forth in order to be with Náṣir u'd Daulah, while Sayf u'd Daulah marched to meet al Barídí.* A desperate engagement took place between the two near Madáin. Al Barídí was defeated and returned in disheartened mood to Wásiṭ. Sayf u'd Daulah pushed on to Wásiṭ and al Barídí retreated to Baṣrah.

In the year 331 the Byzantines made a raid as far as Arzan, Mayyafárikín and Niṣibín and slaughtered and took prisoners, Then they demanded the handkerchief preserved in the church of Edessa with which they believe the Messiah to have wiped his face by which its image was impressed upon it, engaging in turn to release all those they had taken captive. It was sent to them and the prisoners were set free.

During the same, the nobles of Wásiṭ rose against Sayf u'd Daulah who fled on relays of post horses making for Baghdad. His brother Náṣir u'd Daulah then set out for Mosal in fear on account of the flight of his brother. Túzún† left Wásiṭ and marched on Baghdad from which Sayf u'd Daulah had fled to Mosal. Túzún entered Baghdad in Ramadhán and al Muttaḳi presented him with a robe of honour and appointed him chief of the Amírs. Soon afterwards there fell a mutual distrust between al Muttaḳi and Túzún. Túzún sent Abu Jaa'far-b-Shírzád from Wásiṭ to Baghdad which he governed (*in Túzún's absence*) issuing his commands and prohibitions. Al Muttaḳi then wrote to Ibn Ḥamdán to come to him, who advanced at the head of a considerable force. Ibn Shírzád concealed himself and al Muttaḳi and his family set out for Takrít and Náṣir u'd Daulah moved forward with a large army consisting of Arabs and Kurds to engage Túzún. The two armies met at U'kbara‡ and Ibn Ḥamdán and

* Several consecutive engagements took place continuing for some days in one of which Sayf u'd Daulah was worsted. He was reinforced by his brother and succeeded in routing al Barídí.

† See note *, p. 409.

‡ Us Suyuti seems in error here and is confusing this engagement with that between Ibn Ráiḳ and Kúrtakin (p. 413). Ibn Ath. says that a series of actions between

the Caliph retreated in disorder to Mosal. A second engagement afterwards took place and Ibn Ḥamdan and the Caliph fled to Niṣibín, upon which the Caliph wrote to al Ikhshíd* the ruler of Egypt to come to him. A. H. 331. A. D. 942-3.

Subsequently he received at the hands of the House of Ḥamdán much annoyance and vexation upon which he proposed a reconciliation with Túzún who consented and confirmed his words by oath. Later al Ikhshíd repaired to al Muttaḳi who was at Raḳḳah and the news of the reconciliation with Túzún having already reached him, he said, "Prince of the Faithful, I am thy slave, and verily I know the Turks and their evil deeds and their treachery—then the Lord protect thee—come with me to Egypt for it is thine and be in safety for thy person." He would not however consent, and al Ikhshíd returned to his dominions, and al Muttaḳi set out from Raḳḳah to Baghdad on the 4th of Muharram, 433. Túzún went forth to meet him and they met between Anbár and Hít. Túzún dismounted and kissed the ground, and al Muttaḳi commanded him to remount, but he would not do so and walked on foot before him to the camp he had pitched for him. When the Caliph alighted, Túzún seized him together with Ibn Muḳlah and those that were with him. Shortly after he blinded the Caliph with a hot iron, and he was taken into Baghdad with his eyes seared, his ring mantle and sceptre having been taken from him. Túzún then sent for A'bdu'llah the son of al Muktafi and swore allegiance to him as Caliph and he was surnamed al Mustakfi bi'llah *(contenting himself with God)*. Then the blinded Muttaḳi swore him allegiance and thus testified to his own abdication on the 20th of Muharram, or as it is said of Ṣafar,† (12*th October*, 944).

When he was blinded, al Ḳáhir *(the deposed Caliph)* said—

"I and Ibrahím (*al Muttaḳi*) are two blind old men,
There must be to the two old men but one common end.
As long as Túzún holds sway
Which is implicitly obeyed, the blinding iron will be in the chafing dish."‡

Náṣir u'd Daulah and Ibn Ḥamdán took place during three days at 2 parasangs below Takrit and Takrit is 30 parasangs from Baghdad and therefore 20 from U'kbara.

* This family was descended from the princes of Farghánah. The Caliph al Mua'tasim bi'llah drew into his service a number of soldiers from Farghánah among whom was Juff, grandfather of Abu Bakr Muḥammad al Ikhshíd father of Tughj. See Ibn Khall, and Abu'l Mahasin Nujúm, Part I, page 251. Of Túlún and Ikhshíd, Gibbon says, "The founders of these two potent dynasties confessed either in words or actions the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second in the midst of 400,000 soldiers and 8,000 slaves concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep." Chap. LII. Ikhshíd signifies according to Abu'l Mahásin, king of kings in the Farghánian tongue.

† All the other authorities give the latter date.

‡ The MS. has جمر for مجمر which is perhaps a better reading.

A. H. 333. But a year did not elapse before Túzún died. As for al Muttaḳi, he
A. D. 944. was conveyed to an island opposite Sindíyyah* where he was imprisoned. He remained in prison twenty-five years till his death in Shaa'bán 357. In the reign of al Muttaḳi lived Ḥamdi the robber to whom Ibn Shírzád when he governed Baghdad accorded the license of robbing therein on the payment to him of 25,000 dínárs a month.† He used to fall unawares upon the houses of the people with torches and lights and carry off their property. Iskúraj the Daylamite who held the post of chief of police in Baghdad, caught him and sawed him in half, and this in the year 332.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muttaḳi‡ were Abu Yaḳúb an Nahrjúri one of the disciples of Junayd, the Ḳádhi Abu A'bdi'llah al Maḥámali, Abu Bakr al Fargháni the Ṣúfi, the Ḥáfidh Abu'l 'Abbás-b-A'kadah, Ibn Wallád the grammarian and others.

When al Káhir heard that al Muttaḳi was blinded, he said, "We are now two, needing a third,"—and so it turned out, for al Mustakfi was also blinded.

AL MUSTAKFI BI'LLAH.

Al Mustakfi bi'llah Abu'l Ḳásim A'bdu'llah was the son of al Muktafi-b-u'l Mua'tadhid. His mother was a slave concubine called Amlaḥ u'n Nás (*the most beautiful of mankind*). He was acknowledged Caliph on the deposal of al Muttaḳi in the month of Safar 333 at the age of forty-one. During his reign Túzún died. His secretary Abu Jaa'far-b-Shírzád was with him at the time and he thereupon sought the viceroyalty for himself and obtained the concurrence of the army, and the Caliph invested him with a robe of honour. Subsequently Aḥmad-b-Buwayh entered Baghdad and Ibn Shírzád concealed himself, and Ibn Buwayh entered the palace. The Caliph stood before him and gave him a robe of honour and the title of Mui'zz u'd Daulah and his brother A'li that of I'mád u'd Daulah, and their brother al Ḥasan that of Rukn u'd Daulah and engraved their

* Sindíyyah was a village situated on the Isa Canal between Anbár and Baghdad. Yaḳúṭ.

† Ibn Ḥamdi, according to Ibn Ath., who places the hush-money at 15,000 dínárs. The name of the prefect of police he gives as Abú'l A'bbás. The terrible scarcity then prevailing at Baghdad, and the heavy and incessant rains had half depopulated the city. Private houses and public edifices, mosques, baths and palaces had fallen into ruin, and were abandoned by the famishing people.

‡ During this reign the Russians made their first appearance in Arab history. They sailed down the Kur and attacked and took the town of Bardaah on the confines of Azarbiján in 332. They put to death a great number of the inhabitants, but were afterwards expelled by the Daylamite general.

titles on the coinage. Al Mustakfí took for himself the title of the Imám of the Truth, and caused this to be struck on the coinage. Mui'zz u'd Daulah now waxed in power. He placed the Caliph under ward and appointed for him every day by way of maintenance five thousand dirhams and no more. He was the first of the Daylamites who was supreme in I'rák̤. He was the first who exhibited *trials of speed between* runners in Baghdad and unduly encouraged wrestlers and swimmers, wherefore the youth of Baghdad gave themselves up to learning to wrestle and to swim, so that a swimmer would swim holding in his hand a chafing dish upon which was a vessel, and he would swim until the meat in it was cooked. After a time Mu'izz u'd Daulah began to suspect al Mustakfi, and he visited him in Jumáda II of the year 334. He stood in waiting and the people were likewise standing according to their degrees when two of the Daylamites stepped forward towards the Caliph, who stretched forth his hand thinking that they wished to kiss it, but they pulled him from his throne and threw him on the ground and dragged him by his turban, and the Daylamites thronged through the palace into the Harem and plundered it until nothing was left therein. Mu'izz u'd Daulah repaired to his own residence and they drove al Mustakfi on foot to him and he was deposed and his eyes seared on the same day (*22nd Jumáda*, II 334 = *29th January*, 946). His Caliphate lasted a year and four months, and they summoned al Fadh̤l the son of al Muktadir and swore allegiance to him. Then they brought forward his cousin al Mustakfi who acknowledged him as Caliph and testified to his own abdication. He was then imprisoned till he died in the year 338 at the age of forty-six. He professed the Shiite doctrines.

A. H. 333.
A. D. 944.

AL MUṬI'I' BI'LLÁH.

Al Muṭíi' bi'llah Abu'l K̤ásim al Fadh̤l was the son of al Muk̤tadir. His mother was a slave concubine called Mashghalah. He was born in the year 301 and was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of al Mustakfi in Jumáda II, 334, and Mu'izz u'd Daulah appointed him a stipend of but one hundred dínárs a day. In this year of his Caliphate the scarcity in Baghdad became excessive, so that men ate corpses and ordure and died by the roadside and the dogs devoured their flesh. An estate was given in exchange for loaves of bread, and among the very destitute, children were found roasted *for food*. A "kur" of flour was purchased for Mu'izz ud Daulah at 20,000 dirhams* and a "kur" is equivalent to seventeen kintárs of Damascus.

* This would be about £42 a bushel.

A. H. 334 A. D. 946. During this year a dissension arose between Mu'izz u'd Daulah and Násir u'd Daulah-b-Ḥamdán and Mu'izz u'd Daulah marched to engage Náṣir taking al Muṭii' with him. He afterwards returned accompanied by al Muṭii' almost as a prisoner.

During the same, died al Ikshíd, ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad-b-Tughj* al Farghání, and the meaning of al Ikshíd is king of kings, and this was the title of each prince of Farghánah, as al Iṣbahbaḍ† is the title of every prince of Ṭabaristán, and Ṣúl of the prince of Jurján, and Kháḳán of the chief of the Turks, and Ifhshín‡ that of the prince of Ushrúsanah, and Sámán of the prince of Samarkand. Al Ikshíd was brave and awe-inspiring. He governed Egypt on the part of al Ḳáhir (*A. H.* 321). He had eight thousand slaves and was the master of Káfúr.§

During the same, died al Ḳáim al U'baydi, ruler of the West, and he was succeeded by his son and heir Isma'íl al Manṣúr bi'lláh. Al Ḳáim was more wicked than his father, an accursed Zindíḳ who openly reviled the prophets. His criers used to call out—"Curse the Cave|| and what it contained" and he put to death many of the learned.

In the year 335 Mu'izz u'd Daulah renewed protestations of mutual confidence with al Muṭii', freed him from close ward and lodged him in the palace once more.

In the year 338, Mu'izz u'd Daulah solicited permission to associate with him in his government his brother A'li-b-Buwayh I'mád u'd Daulah in order that he might eventually succeed him, to which al Muṭii' consented, but it so happened that I'mád u'd Daulah died the same year, upon which al Muṭii' appointed Rukn u'd Daulah the father of Adhud u'd Daulah.

In the year 339 the Black Stone was restored to its place and a silver band was fixed to it to secure it,¶ its weight being 3777 dirhams and a half.

* Not Tufj as in the text. His life will be found in Ibn Khall.

† The text has Isbahand: Abú'l Mahásin from whom this information is probably taken, writes the word Isbahbad, and this is confirmed by the words of Yaḳúṭ.
و كانت ملوك الفرس يولونها . رجلا و يسمونه الا صبهبذ

‡ So Abú'l Mahásin: though the word in the Leyden edition is printed Afshín, the Muntaha'l Arab points it as I have done. The Iḳshín of the text must be incorrect.

§ Abu'l Misk (*father of Musk*) Káfúr (*camphor*) was a negro slave sold to Muḥammad al Ikshíd, by whom he was appointed guardian of his two sons, upon whose death he virtully succeeded to supreme power. Ibn Khall.

|| Meaning Muḥammad and Abú Bakr who took refuge in a cave on their flight to Medína.

¶ Ibn Baṭutah says that the Stone is in four pieces, having been broken by the Carmathians. According to Burton, it appears to be composed of a dozen small stones of different sizes joined together as if the whole had been broken to pieces by a violent blow and then reunited. The silver band was afterwards changed into a massive arch of gold or silver gilt. Consult Burton's Mecca.

Muḥammad-b-Náfi' al Khuzáa'í says, "I looked carefully at the Black Stone when it was dug up, the blackness was only on the surface, the whole of it being white *beneath*,* and its length was about the measure of a cubit." A. H. 339. A. D. 950.

In the year 341 a sect of metempsychosists appeared, and among them a youth who asserted that the soul of A'li had passed into him, and his wife who pretended that the soul of Fáṭima had entered her, and another who gave out that he was Gabriel. They were scourged but they gloried in their kinship with the Prophetical House, wherefore Mu'izz u'd Daulah ordered them to be released through his partiality to the people of the House, and this was one of his accursed deeds.

In the same year died al Manṣúr al U'baydi the ruler of the West at Manṣúríyah which he had founded. He was succeeded by his son and heir Saa'd in the government and surnamed Mu'izz li din'illáh *(the glorifier of the religion of God)*. He it was who founded Cairo. Al Manṣúr succeeding his father, displayed benevolence of disposition, for he put down oppressions and the people loved him. His son too was of an amiable character and the West acknowledged his undisputed sway.

In the year 343 the prince of Khurasán named al Muṭíi' in the khuṭbah, before which time the khuṭbah had not been read in his name. Upon this al Muṭíi' sent him a standard and a robe of honour.

In the year 344, old Cairo was convulsed by a dreadful earthquake which overthrew houses, lasting for three hours and the people called out to the Lord in supplication. In the year 346 the sea sunk eighty cubits, and there appeared within it hills and islands and things such as had never been beheld.

About Rai and its dependencies occurred a dreadful earthquake. The town of at Ṭáliḳán sunk into the earth, and there escaped of its inhabitants only about thirty persons, and one hundred and fifty of the villages of Rai were swallowed up. The calamity extended as far as Ḥulwán, the greater part of which was engulfed and the earth vomited up the bones of the dead, and waters burst forth from it. A mountain in Rai was cleft asunder, and a village with its inhabitants was suspended between heaven and earth during the half of a day, then it was swallowed up. The earth was rent in a mighty chasm and fetid waters came forth from it and volumes of smoke. This is the narration of Ibn u'l Jauzi.

In the year 347, the earthquakes recurred at Ḳumm and Ḥulwán and in the mountainous districts, and great numbers of people perished, and locusts came and overspread the earth and settled upon all the crops and the trees.

In the year 350 Mu'izz u'd Daulah built in Baghdad a vast stupen-

* See Burton, p. 159, note.

A. H. 350. dous palace, its foundations being thirty-six cubits deep in the earth.*
A. D. 961. During the same, he invested with the office of Ḳádhi, Abu'l A'bbás A'bdu'l-lah-b-Ḥasan-b-Abi's Shawárib, who rode wearing the robe of honour from the palace of Mu'izz u'd Daulah preceded by drums and trumpets and accompanied by the troops, and he undertook to convey every year to the treasury of Mu'izz u'd Daulah two hundred thousand dirhams writing a judicial record to that effect, but al Muṭíi' refused to invest him and to allow him audience, and† he commanded that he should not be authorized on any occasion to have access to him.

During the same, Mu'izz u'd Daulah farmed the offices of market inspector and chief of police in Baghdad, and all this was after an indisposition from which he suffered and was restored to health—but may God not preserve him from punishment for his sins. During the same, the Byzantines took the island of Crete from the Muslims which had been conquered by the latter about the year 230.‡

In the same year died the ruler of Spain an Náṣir li díni'lláh (*Defender of the religion of God*) and was succeeded by his son al Ḥákim.

In the year 351, the Shiites wrote upon the doors of the mosques "Curse upon Mu'áwiyah and cursed be he who took from Fáṭima her right to Fadak§ and upon those who forbade al Ḥasan to be buried with his grandfather, and a curse upon him who banished Abu Ḍarr."|| This was however rubbed out in the night. Mu'izz u'd Daulah wished to re-inscribe it, but his minister al Muhallabi suggested that he should write in place of what had been effaced, "May God curse the oppressors of the family of the apostle of God," and they particularized Mu'áwiyah alone in the curse.

* The cost of this was 13,000,000 dirhams, about £3,25,000 a great part of which he extorted from his followers. He was at this time suffering from gravel and he supposed that a lofty house and purer air would benefit him. Ibn Ath.

† This word 'and' (و) should be inserted in the text, as it stands in the MS.

‡ This would make it in the reign of al Wáthiḳ, whereas it was taken by the Arabs under Abu Ḥafṣ Omar-b-Isa al Andalúsi surnamed the Cretan, in the Caliphate of al Mamun A. H. 210, and in the reign of Michael the Stammerer (A. D. 823). It was retaken by Nicephorus Phocas, according to Yaḳúṭ in the 13th of Muharram 350 (*7th March* 961). Ibn Ath. is incorrect in giving the year as 351.

§ She gave out that it had been granted to her as a marriage portion by Muḥammad, but the shrewd Abu Bakr needed some further testimony than her own word.

|| Othmán. Mu'áwiyah induced that Caliph to recall Abú Ḍarr from Syria to Medina for inciting the people to give alms in larger proportion than was legally incumbent upon them. Othmán reproved him for this and Ka'ab al Aḥbár interfering in the discussion, the hasty Abú Ḍarr smote him for a meddling Jew, and requested the Caliph's leave to retire from men: he was permitted to select Rabaḍah three miles from Medina on the Hijaz road. See Ṭabari, Zotenberg, Tom III, p. 567.

In the year 352 on the 10th day of the Muharram, Mu'izz u'd Daulah forced the people to close the market-places and forbade the cooks from cooking. They set up cupolas in the public squares and hung sackcloths over them, and they made the women come forth with dishevelled hair, beating their breasts and mourning for al Ḥusayn. This was the first day in which lamentation had been made over him in Baghdad, and this innovation continued for some years. On the 12th of Ḍu'l Hijjah of the same was held the festival of Ghadír Khumm* and drums were beaten. A. H. 352. A. D. 963.

During this year one of the Arman Chiefs sent to Náṣir u'd Daulah-b-Ḥamdán, twins coupled together, their age being twenty-five. The junction was at the side and they had two bellies and two navels and two stomachs. Their times of hunger and thirst &c. were different. Each had two palms, two arms, two hands, two thighs, and two shanks. One of them died and so remained for days, while his brother was yet living and he began to putrefy. Náṣir u'd Daulah assembled the physicians to decide if they were able to sever the dead from the living, which they could not do. Soon after he who was alive, sickened from the smell of the dead and died.

In the year 353 a vast tent was made for Sayf u'd Daulah, the height of its poles being fifty cubits. In the year 354 died the sister of Mu'izz u'd Daulah, and al Muṭíi' went down to his residence in a fast sailing boat, to condole with him. Mu'izz u'd Daulah went forth to meet him but would not put him to the inconvenience of leaving the boat, but kissed the earth several times before him and the Caliph returned to his palace.

During the same, Nicephorus† (*Phocas*) Emperor of Rome fortified‡ Cesarea near the frontier towns of the Muslims, and took up his abode in it that he might pursue his depredations at all seasons.

In the year 356, Mu'izz u'd Daulah died and his son Bakhtyár succeeded him in his government and al Muṭíi' surnamed him I'zz u'd Daulah.

In the year 357, the Carmathians seized Damascus,§ and during it no one made the pilgrimage either from Syria or from Egypt. They

* Ghadír is a valley between Mecca and Medina wherein is a pool (Ghadír) where Muḥammad once preached. See the various derivations of this name in Yaḳúṭ. The discourse of this occasion was in favour of A'li. According to Weil this festival was on the 18th and according to Abu'l Fida on the 8th of Ḍu'l Hijjah.

† The text has 'Jacob'. Ibn Ath. Nakfúr, which is Nicephorus Arabecized. Reiske (Abu'l Fed.) gives the name in full.

‡ The word is بنا which cannot mean "founded" as Cesarea was one of the conquests of Omar, 19 A. H. The words of Ibn Ath. are بنا بقيسارية مدينة "he built near or at Cesarea, a town," &c.

§ From the Fatimite General Jaa'far-b-Faláḥ who was acting under the orders of Jauhar the Commander-in-Chief of the African Caliph Mu'izz. The Carmathians pressed on against Cairo, but reinforcements sent to Jauhar enabled him to hold it and the alliance of the Carmathian was bought by the prudent policy of Mu'izz.

A. H. 357. then determined to march to old Cairo and take possession of it; but the
A. D. 968. U'baydites came and mastered it, and the heretic rule was supreme in the countries of the West, and in Egypt and Syria. And this because when Káfúr al Ikshídí died, affairs fell into disorder and the largesses to the troops diminished, whereupon a faction wrote to al Mu'izz (*the Faṭimite Caliph*) solicting from him a force in order that they might surrender old Cairo to him. He sent his freedman Jauhar,* al Ḳá'id *(the generallissimo)* at the head of one hundred thousand horsemen, who took possession of it. He encamped at the spot which is now Cairo and traced out its position and built a palace for al Mu'izz now known as al Ḳasrayn. He abolished the khuṭbah for the House of A'bbás, and the wearing of black, and caused the preachers to wear white, and he commanded that in the khuṭbah should be said, "O God, bless Muḥammad the chosen, and A'li the accepted, and Fáṭima the virgin, and al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn the grandsons of the Apostle, and bless the Imáms the predecessors of the prince of the Faithful al Mu'izz billáh." All this took place in the month of Shaa'bán 358.

Afterwards in Rabíi' II of the year 359 they introduced into the call to prayers, at old Cairo—"Hasten to an excellent work,"† and they began the construction of the principal mosque of al Azhar *(the splendid)* and completed it in Ramadhán 361. And in the year 359 a huge meteor fell in I'rak by which the whole country was illumined as though it were with the rays of the sun, and after its fall was heard a sound like a peal of thunder.

In the year 360 the callers to prayer in Damascus introduced into the call to prayers, "Hasten to an excellent work" by command of Jaa'far-b-Faláḥ the prefect of al Mu'izz bi'lláh at Damascus and no one dared to oppose it.

In the year 362 Bakhtyár exacted money from al Muṭíi', who said, "I have nothing *of sovereignty* left now but the khuṭbah *in my name* and if ye desire it, I will abdicate," but he pressed him so that he sold his own furniture and gave him 400,000 dirhams, and it was bruited about on men's tongues that the Caliph had been mulcted.

During the same, one of the attendants of the Police Magistrate‡ at

* Ibn Khall may be consulted for the life of this General.

† The words of the Aḍán after the invocation of the Deity Muḥammad are—
حي على الصلوة حي على الفلاح "hasten to prayers—hasten to the attainment of everlasting life," to which were added the words in the context, used by the Shíiahs to this day.

‡ The text should have Wáli (والي) as in the MS. which term is equivalent to the Sáhib u'l Maúnat which Ibn Ath. employs. This conflagration according to the latter took place at Karkh and 30 mosques were burnt down.

Baghdad was killed, whereupon the Wazír Abu'l Fadhl as Shirázi sent A. H. 362.
people to throw inflammable materials from the quarter of the copper- A. D. 973.
smiths to that of the fish-mongers, and a huge conflagration occurred, the like of which had not been seen, and considerable property was burnt and many people *perished* in their houses and in the baths. The Wazír died in the same year—may God not have mercy upon him. In Ramadhán of this year al Mu'izz entered old Cairo with the coffins of his ancestors.

In the year ~~368~~ al Muṭii' invested with the office of Ḳádhi, Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad-b-Umm Shaybán al Háshimi after his having declined the office, and he stipulated for himself certain conditions. Among them, that he should not receive any stipend for the judicial office, nor be invested with a robe of honour, nor be petitioned regarding things which were contrary to law. And he appointed for his secretary three hundred dirhams monthly, and for his chamberlain one hundred and fifty, and to the official at his gate, skilled in the division of inheritances, one hundred—and to the treasurers of the judicial court and the assistants six hundred, and he wrote him a charge which ran as follows: "This is what the servant of God al Fadhl al Muṭii'-li'lláh prince of the Faithful, hath commissioned unto Muḥammad-b Ṣáliḥ the Háshimite what time he called him to those things appertaining to the judicial office over which he hath appointed him, among the dwellers in the city of peace, the city of al Manṣúr and the eastern city from the east side and the west side—and Kúfah—and the districts watered by the Euphrates—and Wásiṭ—and Karkhí—and the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris—and the road to Khurásán—and Hulwán,—and Karmísín,* and Diyár Muḍara†—and Diyár Rabia'h—and Diyár Bakr—and Mosal—and the two sacred cities—and Yaman—and Damascus—and Emessa—and the district of Kinassrín—and al A'waṣim—and Cairo—and Alexandria—and the province of Palestine—and the Jordan and all their dependencies—and the supervision consequent therefrom over such as he may prefer of the A'bbasides in Kúfah and the districts watered by the Euphrates and their dependencies—and the duties of the chief judicial office with which he hath invested him—and inquiry into the condition of the judges—and the consideration of all that the course of judicial decisions involves—in all the provinces and countries which the empire comprehends and within which the Abbaside prerogative determines—and the maintaining of such whose method and conduct he approves, and the removal of those whose character and disposition he reprehends—watchful over private and public interests, embracing those of the faith

* Not Farmísín—as in the text. The MS. is correct.

† This is the plain country to the east of the Euphrates towards Harrán. The text and MS. have مصر without the diacritical points. For the limits of these three Diyárs, consult Yákúṭ.

A. H. 363. and those tolerated under its protection, from the Caliph's knowledge that he
A. D. 974. is the chief of his house, of eminent continence of life, pure in his faith and his trust—renowned for his virtue and stainless conduct—a cynosure for his erudition and sagacity—acknowledged for his forbearance, and intelligence—far removed from *association with* the base—clothed in the most beauteous garment of virtue—the pure—the beloved—rejoicing in supernatural serenity—learned in worldly affairs—cognizant of the things which imperil the salvation to come. The Caliph hath enjoined him the fear of God, for verily it is a covering shield—and that he should make the Book of God his study in all that he does—and order his decisions and decrees in accordance with it—his guide to which he should turn for aid,—his prop upon which he must rely—and that he should take the law of the apostle of God as the beacon to which he must advance—the exemplar which he must follow—and that he should observe the consensus of teaching and follow the orthodox Imáms—and use his own discretionary faculties in cases which are not found in the Book, the Law and the general concurrence of the faithful—and that he should summon to this Council those on whose wisdom and judgment he can rely, and be the same in look and word to two litigants when they come before him—and accord to both of them of his justice and his equity, so that the weak shall be secure from his tyranny and the powerful despair of his partiality. He hath further enjoined him to regard with solicitous affection his assistants and coadjutors, and those of his supervisors and instruments upon whom he relies, withdrawing them from the evil adoption of reprehensible conduct and checking any tendencies to unlawful gain,"—and he continued a long discourse to the same effect. I here remark that the Caliphs used to nominate the Ḳádhi resident within their metropolis, over the judicial service throughout the whole of the territories and provinces under their sovereignty, and the Ḳádhi would appoint as deputy under his authority whomsoever he pleased in every district and in every town, and for this reason he was entitled the Ḳádhi of the Ḳádhis, and no one was so named save such as were thus distinguished, and others besides him were Ḳádhi simply or Ḳádhi of such a town. But now-a-days in a simple town there are four conjointly, and each of them called Ḳádhi of the Ḳádhis—and perhaps a single one of the subordinates of the former ones had a jurisdiction twice as large as any of the chief Ḳádhis now possesses, and indeed the chief Ḳádhis then held a more extensive authority than is enjoyed by sovereigns of this our time.

In this year, namely 363, al Muṭíi' was struck with paralysis and he lost the power of speech. Sabuktagín, chamberlain of I'zz u'd Daulah summoned him to abdicate and to resign the government to his son at Ṭáii' li'lláh *(obedient to God)*. And this he did and made over the

government to him on Thursday the 13th* of Du'l Kaa'dah (*5th August*, 974). The duration of the reign of al Muṭíi' was twenty-nine years and some months, and his abdication was attested by the Ḳádhi, Ibn Umm Shaybán. After his abdication he went by the name of the virtuous Shaykh. A. H. 363. A. D. 974.

Ad Ḍahabi says that al Muṭíi' and his son were powerless in the hands of the House of Buwayh, and the authority of the Caliphate continued to decline until the accession of al Muḳtafí when it recovered a little, but the sway of the heretical House of U'bayd in Egypt was pre-eminent and their commands universally obeyed and their power contested the A'bbaside sovereignty in their time.

Al Muṭíi' went to Wásiṭ with his son and *there* died in the month of Muḥarram 364. Ibn Sháhín remarks, "He voluntarily abdicated as far as I can ascertain." Al Khaṭíb relates a tradition on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Yusuf al Ḳattán through al Muṭíi' li'lláh that Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal said, "when the friends of a man die, he beomes humbled."

Of distinguished persons who died in the reign of Muṭíi' were al Khirḳi the Ḥanbalite Shaykh, Abu Bakr as Shiblí the Ṣúfi, Ibn u'l Ḳádhi the Shafi'íte Imám, Abu'r Raja al Uswáni, Abu Bakr as Ṣúli, al Haytham-b-Kulayb as Sháshí, Abu't Ṭayyib as Sa'lúki, Abu Jaa'far the coppersmith and grammarian, Abu Naṣr al Fárábi, Abu Isḥáḳ al Marwazí the Shafi'íte Imám, Abu'l Ḳásim az Zajjájí the grammarian, al Karkkí the Ḥanafite Shaykh, ad Dínawari author of the Majálisat (*Conference*), Abu Bakr al Ḍhaba'í, the Ḳádhi Abu'l Ḳásim at Tanúkhi, Ibn u'l Ḥaddád author of the Farúu' (*development of Law*), Abu A'li-b-Abi Hurayrah one of the most eminent of the Shafi'íte doctors, Abu Omar the devotee, al Masa'údi author of the Meadows of Gold, Ibn Darastwayh, Abu A'li at Ṭabari the first who wrote on controversy in the abstract, al Fákihi author of the history of Mecca, al Mutanabbi the poet, Ibn Ḥabbán author of the Ṣaḥíḥ, Ibn Shaa'bán one of the Malikite elders, Abu A'li al Ḳáli, and Abú'l Faraj author of the Agháni.

AT ṬÁII' LI'LLÁH

At Ṭáii' li'lláh Abu Bakr A'bdú'l Karím was the son of al Muṭíi'. His mother was a slave concubine called Hazár. His father abdicated in his favour, he being forty-three years of age. He rode in procession wearing the royal mantle accompanied by the troops and preceded by

* The text has 23rd, but this is an error. The MS. is in accordance with Ibn Ath. who makes it the 13th.

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A. H. 363. Subuktagín. On the following day he invested Subuktagín with the
A. D. 974. office of Sulṭán, fastened for him a banner *to a spear* and gave him the title of Náṣir u'd Daulah (*Defender of the State*). Shortly after a misunderstanding occurred between I'zz u'd Daulah and Subuktagín. The latter invited the Turks to his aid who answered to his call, and hostilities took place between him and I'zz u'd Daulah. In Ḍu'l Hijjah of this year *i. e.*, 363, the khuṭbah and the prayer for al Mu'izz the U'baydite were read in the sacred cities.

In the year 364 A'dḥud u'd Daulah marched on Baghdad to aid I'zz u'd Daulah against Subuktagín. Baghdad and its possession excited his cupidity and he set about acquiring it. He won the favour of the troops and they turned against I'zz u'd Daulah, who now retired from public life.* A'dḥud u'd Daulah wrote to the provinces under the authority of at Ṭáii' announcing the nomination to supreme authority of A'dḥud u'd Daulah. Upon this a quarrel arose between at Ṭáii' and A'dḥud u'd Daulah on which account the khuṭbah in the name of at Ṭáii' was discontinued in Baghdad and other places from the 10th Jumáda I, until it was restored on the 10th of Rajab.

In this year and subsequently, heresy became rampant and spread in Egypt and Syria and in the East and the West, and the cessation of the prayers called at Tarawíḥ was proclaimed on the part of the U'baydite. In the year 365 Rukn u'd Daulah-b-Buwayh renounced in favour of his sons the dominions he held in his possession, conferring on A'dḥud u'd Daulah, Fars and Kirmán, on Múayyid u'd Daulah, Rái and Ispahan, and on Fakhr u'd Daulah, Ḥamadán and Dínawar. In the month of Rajab a judicial session was held in the palace of Sulṭán I'zz u'd Daulah and the chief Ḳádḥi-b-Ma'rúf took his seat and adjudicated cases, because I'zz u'd Daulah had requested it, that he might witness how the procedure of his court was conducted. During the same a breach occurred between I'zz u'd Daulah and A'dḥud u'd Daulah during which a Turkish page belonging to I'zz u'd Daulah was imprisoned. He longed to recover him and his sorrow overpowered him, and he refused to eat and took to weeping, shunning society and ceasing to hold audience in his court. He wrote to A'dḥud u'd Daulah entreating him to restore the boy to him, and he demeaned himself till he became the ridicule of the people. He was reproved for his conduct, but would not forbear from it, and he proffered in ransom for the boy two slave girls skilled in the lute for one of whom,† a hundred thousand dínárs had been paid on his account, and he said to the messenger—"if he is reluctant to restore him, add what thou thinkest fit and do not hesitate, for verily I would be content to have him even if I had to go to

* اغلق باب داره و عرف كتابه و حجابه Ibn Ath.

† After الواحدة read منهما as in the MS.

the ends of the earth,"—and A'dhud u'd Daulah restored the youth to him. A. H. 365. A. D. 975.

During the same, the khutbah in the name of I'zz u'd Daulah was discontinued in Kúfah and was read for A'dhud u'd Daulah. In the same, died al Mu'izz li dín i'lláh the U'baydi ruler of Egypt and the first of the U'baydites that conquered it. His son Nizár succeeded him in the government and was surnamed al A'zíz.

In the year 366 died al Mustansir bi'lláh al Hakam-b-Násir li dín i'lláh, the Umayyad ruler of Spain. His son al Muayyid bi'lláh Hishám succeeded him. In the year 367 an engagement took place between I'zz u'd Daulah and A'dhud u'd Daulah. The latter was victorious, and he took I'zz u'd Daulah prisoner and afterwards put him to death. At Táii' then invested A'dhud u'd Daulah with the royal robe and crowned him with a jewelled crown and decked him with a collar and bracelet and girt a sword about him, and fastened for him two banners with his own hand, one ornamented with silver after the fashion of nobles, and the other with gold after the manner of regents designate, and the second banner had never been bound for any one before him. He also wrote him a diploma of investiture which was read in his presence, and there was none but was astonished, for this had never been the custom, the diploma being given only to the successors to the Sultánate in the presence of the prince of the Faithful, and when he received it the prince of the Faithful would say—"this is my diploma, act therefore according to it."

In the year 368 at Táii' commanded that the drums should be sounded at the gate of A'dhud u'd Daulah, in the morning, at sunset and at night fall and that the khutbah should be read in his name in the pulpits of the metropolis. Ibn al Jauzi observes that these two orders were never issued before his time nor sanctioned for regents designate, for Mú'izz u'd Daulah desired that the drums should be sounded for him in Baghdad, and he solicited it of al Mutii' who would not permit it, and A'dhud u'd Daulah would not have enjoyed this privilege except for the impotence of the Caliphate.

In the year 369 the ambassador of al A'zíz ruler of Egypt arrived in Baghdad, and A'dhud u'd Daulah solicited at Táii' to add to his titles that of Táj u'l Millat (*Crown of the Faith*) and to present him anew with a robe of honour and to crown him. At Táii' consented and took his seat upon the throne, and around him stood a hundred men with swords and bravely apparelled, and before him was placed the Kurán of the Caliph Othmán, and upon his shoulders the Apostolic Mantle and in his hand the sceptre, and he was girt with the sword of the Apostle of God. A curtain, sent by A'dhud u'd Daulah had been set up, and he had requested that it might be placed as a veil before at Táii', in order that the eyes of none

A. H. 369. of the troops should behold him before himself. The Turks and Daylamites
A. D. 979. then entered, but none of them in mail, and the nobles and officers of State stood ranged on either side. Then permission was given to A'dhud u'd Daulah to enter, and he entered, and the veil was raised and A'dhud u'd Daulah kissed the earth. The general Ziyád was struck with awe and he said to A'dhud u'd Daulah, "What is this? O king,* is he the Almighty?" He looked towards him, and replied, "This is the Vicegerent of the Almighty upon earth,"—and he continued moving onwards kissing the ground seven times. Then at Táii' looked towards Khális the eunuch and said, "let him approach." And A'dhud u'd Daulah ascended and kissed the ground twice, and the Caliph said to him—"come near to me," and he approached and kissed his foot and at Táii' stretched out his right hand to him and commanded him *to sit down*, and he sat down upon a seat after the Caliph had repeatedly requested him to be seated, and he excusing himself, till the Caliph said, "I adjure thee to be seated" whereupon he kissed the throne and sat down. Then at Táii' said to him, "verily I think it meet to entrust to thy care what God hath committed to me of the affairs of my subjects in the east of the earth and the west thereof, together with their direction in all their aspects, with the exception of what appertains to my special and personal effects—wherefore assume charge of them." He replied, "may God aid me in obedience to the prince of the Faithful and in his service." Then the Caliph bestowed upon him a robe of honour and took his departure.

I remark that I look upon this fact *as a proof* that he was a Caliph so impotent that the Caliphate was never so feeble in the time of any other as it was in his, nor was the authority of any Sultán so powerful as that of A'dhud u'd Daulah, and things have come to such a pass in our time that the Caliph visits the Sultán to congratulate him, at the beginning of each month, and the utmost that the Sultán condescends in his favour, is to come down from his dais and the two sit down together beyond the dais; then the Caliph arises and departs like an ordinary person, and the Sultán seats himself in the Hall of State. Indeed, I have been told that Sultán al Ashraf Barsabai† when he marched to Amida to engage the enemy, the Caliph accompanied him, riding before him and acting as his chamberlain while all dignity and honour were reserved for

* A'dhud u'd Daulah was the first prince according to Ibn Khall. who since the promulgation of Islámism, had received the title of Malik.

† Abú'r Nasr Sayf u'd dín surnamed Malik al Ashraf, eighth Sultán of Egypt of the second dynasty of the Mamelukes called Burjites—who began his reign in 825 A. H., (1421 A. D.,) and died 841 after a reign of 7 years. D'Herbelot says that he was so modest that he would not force his subjects to kiss the earth or prostrate themselves before him. His life will be found in Weil's Hist. of the Abbaside Caliphs in Egypt, Vol. II.

the Sulṭán, the Caliph appearing as one of the nobles in the suite of the Sulṭán. A. H. 370 A. D. 980.

In the year 370, A'dhud u'd Daulah left Hamadán and marched to Baghdad, and at Ṭáii' went out to meet him, though it had never been the custom for the Caliphs to go forth to meet any one, for when the daughter* of Mú'izz u'd Daulah died, al Muṭíi' went to visit and condole with him, and Mú'izz u'd Daulah kissed the ground. On this occasion the messenger of A'dhud u'd Daulah went to request at Ṭáii' to meet him who was unable to decline.

In the year 372, A'dhud u'd Daulah died and at Ṭáii' appointed to the Sulṭánate in his place, his son Ṣamṣám u'd Daulah, and he gave him the title of Shams u'l Millat (*Sun of the Faith*). He bestowed upon him seven robes of honour and crowned him and fastened for him two banners.

Subsequently in the year 373 died Muayyid u'd Daulah brother of A'dhud u'd Daulah. In the year 375 Ṣamṣám u'd Daulah proposed to put a tax upon stuffs of silk and cotton woven in Baghdad and its environs, the farming of which brought him a million dirhams a year, but the people assembled in the mosqne of al Manṣúr and determined to stop the Friday prayers and the city was almost in an uproar whereupon he remitted this monopoly.

In the year 376, Sharaf u'd Daulah marched against his brother Ṣamṣám u'd Daulah. He was victorious over him and blinded him. The army now favoured Sharaf u'd Daulah who marched to Baghdad. At Ṭáii' rode out to meet him and to congratulate him on *his conquest of* the provinces and gave him a diploma of investiture in the dignity of the Sulṭánate, and crowned him. The diploma was read out while at Ṭáii' listened. In the year 378, Sharaf u'd Daulah ordered an observation of the seven heavenly bodies† and their orbits as al Mámún had done. During the same a great scarcity prevailed in Baghdad and deaths occurred therein, and the people of Baṣrah suffered from a violent heat and from a burning wind under which men dropped down. A strong wind blew at Fam u's Silḥ‡ which dried up the Tigris so that it was said that the bottom appeared, and many ships were overwhelmed, and it carried down a boat full of cattle which it cast in the land of Júkha§ where it was seen after some time.

* He had before said "sister." See page 421.

† The sun, moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.

‡ A large canal above Wásiṭ.

§ The name of a stream in the Sawád of Baghdad upon which a large town was situated rich enough to yield a revenue of eight million dirhams. It was destroyed, says Yaḳúṭ, by the Tigris altering its course and a plague completed its ruin. Yaḳúṭ.



A. H. 379, A. D. 989. In the year 379 died Sharaf u'd Daulah who bequeathed the succession to his brother Abu Naṣr, and at Ṭáii' went to the palace to condole with him, and the latter kissed the earth several times. Afterwards Abu Naṣr rode to visit at Ṭáii'. The nobles were present and at Ṭáii' bestowed seven robes of honour upon Abu Naṣr, the upper one being of black, and a black turban and placed a collar round his neck and two bracelets upon his arm, and the chamberlains preceded him with *drawn* swords. Then he kissed the ground before at Ṭáii' and sat upon a chair of state. His diploma of investiture was read out, and at Ṭáii' surnamed him Baha u'd Daulah wa Ḍhiyá u'l Millat. (*The Glory of the State and the lustre of Faith.*)

In the year 381 at Ṭáii' was arrested. The cause of this was that he had imprisoned one of the suite of Baha u'd Daulah. Upon this, Baha u'd Daulah went to at Ṭáii' who was seated in the pavilion girt with a sword, and as he approached he kissed the ground and seated himself on a chair. His myrmidons advanced and dragged at Ṭáii' from his throne, and the Daylamites pressed upon him and enveloped him in a mantle and he was taken up to the Sulṭán's palace. The city was in commotion and Baha u'd Daulah returned and dictated an oath to at Ṭáii' that he would abdicate and resign the government to al Ḳádir bi'lláh, and the nobles and principal men testified to this. This took place on the 19th of Shaa'bán (*1st November*, 991) and a despatch was sent to al Ḳádir bi'lláh who was at al Bati'ḥah* to summon him. At Ṭáii' dwelt in the palace of Ḳádir bi'lláh, respected and honoured in most comfortable circumstances—(as an instance of which—a candle was one night taken to him the half of which had been burnt, and he refused it and they brought him another)†—until he died on the night of the Eed u'l Fiṭr 393, (*2nd August*, 1002). Al Ḳádir, prayed over him and the nobles and attendants followed him and the Sharíf ar Ridḥá‡ mourned in a poem. He was particularly hostile to the descendants of Abu Ṭálib. Reverence for his authority had so declined in his reign, that the poets satirized him.

* Between Wásiṭ and Baṣrah.

† On another occasion al Ḳádir sent him a dish of lentils. He asked the messenger if that was the kind of food the Caliph ate. On being answered in the affirmative, he desired the man to tell his master that if such fare contented him, he need not have aspired to the dignity of the Caliphate. From that time al Ḳádir appointed a girl from his own kitchen to cook whatever he asked for. Ibn Ath.

‡ Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad the son of at Táhir Ḍú'l Manáḳib directly descended from A'li-b-Abi Ṭalib. His poetical works fill a large diwán of four volumes and at Thaa'labi considers him the ablest poet of all the descendants of A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib. His life in Ibn Khall. will repay perusal. He was born at Baghdad 359 A. H., (969-70) and died there 406 A. H. (1015).



Of persons of note who died in the days of at Ṭáii' were Ibn Sunni the Ḥáfidh, Ibn A'di, al Ḳaffál the elder, as Síráfi the grammarian, Abu Sahl as Ṣa'lúki, Abu Bakr ar Rázi' al Ḥanafi, Ibn Khálawayh, al Azhari the great philologist, Abu Ibrahím al Fárábi author of the Diwán u'l Adab, ar Raffá the poet, Abu Zayd al Marwazi as Shafi'í, ad Dáriki, Abu Bakr al Abhari the Malikite Shaykh, and Abu'l Layth as Samarḳandi, the Ḥanafite Imám, Abú A'li al Fárisi the grammarian, and Ibn u'l Ḥalláb al Máliki. A. H. 381. A. D. 991.

AL ḲA'DIR BI'LLA'H.

Al Ḳádir bi'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Aḥmad-b-Isḥáḳ-b-i'l Muḳtadir was born in the year 336. His mother was a slave girl called Támanni and some say Damnah. He was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of his brother, being then absent, but he arrived on the 10th of Ramadḥán and gave public audience the next day and received congratulations and the poets recited their poems before him. Among these was the following by as Sharíf ar Ridḥá—

" Sons of A'bbás, the honour of the Caliphate,
This day Abu'l A'bbás hath renewed.
May fortune long preserve as a store for time of need, this rock
Of that mighty immoveable mountain, (*the A'bbáside dynasty*)."

Al Khaṭíb says that al Ḳádir was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character, for long watching and much alms-giving, and an admirable course of conduct in accordance with the accounts reported of him. He studied the science of the law under the learned Abu Bishar al Harawi the Shafi'íte, and he composed a treatise on the fundamental principles of faith in which he introduced the merits of the Companions and accused of impiety the Mua'tazalites and those who maintained the creation of the Ḳurán, and this work used to be read every Friday, in an assembly of Traditionists in the mosque of al Mahdi, and in presence of the people. (Ibn u's Salah* records this in his Classes of the Shafi'ítes.)

Aḍ Ḍahabi states that in the month of Shawwál of the year of his accession, a public audience was held at which al Ḳádir and Baha u'd

* Abú Omar Othmán as Shahrozúri was a jurisconsult of the Shafi'í school. He was one of the most eminent of his time in Ḳuránic interpretation, traditions, jurisprudence, biographies of traditionists and other branches of knowledge. He was professor of the school for teaching traditions founded at Damascus by al Malik al Ashraf. He died in 643 A. H. (1245).

A. H. 381. Daulah pledged their faith to each other and al Ḳádir invested him with
A. D. 991. authority wheresoever the A'bbáside dominion was acknowledged outside his own gate. During the same Abu'l Futúḥ* al Ḥasan-b-Jaa'far the A'liide, the governor of Mecca claimed sovereignty for himself, and assumed the surname of ar Ráshid bi'lláh and he was saluted Caliph. The sovereign of Egypt was under much apprehension thereat, but after a little the authority of Abu'l Futuḥ declined, and he returned to his allegiance to al A'zíz the U'baydite.

In the year 382 the Wazír Abu Naṣr Sábúr Ardashír purchased a house at Karḳh and fitted it up and named it the House of Learning devoting it to the use of the learned and he bequeathed it many volumes.

In the year 384 the pilgrims from I'ráḳ returned, for the Bedouin (*Chief*) Uṣayfar† forbade their advance save under his pass, wherefore they returned and did not perform the pilgrimage, neither did the people of Syria or Yaman make it, but those of Egypt did so. In the year 387 Sulṭán Fakhr u'd Daulah died. He was succeeded by his son Rustam in the government of Rai and its dependencies at the age of forty, and al Ḳádir gave him the title of Majd u'd Daulah (*Glory of the State*).

Ad Ḍahabi remarks among strange occurrences, the death of nine sovereigns in a series during the years 387 and 388—*among them*, Manṣúr-b-Núḥ lord of Trans-Oxiana, Fakhr u'd Daulah prince of Rái and the mountainous tracts and al A'zíz the U'baydite ruler of Egypt.

And regarding them Abu Manṣúr A'bdú'l Malik at Tha'álabi says—

" Hast thou not seen the kings of our time in the past two years,
That a caller summoneth them to death and slaughter.
The hand of death hath grasped Núḥ the son of Manṣúr‡
With the regrets that his heart contained.
Alas! for the calamity of Manṣúr (*b-Núḥ*) on the day of Sarkhas.
His kingdom was torn from him and he about to perish.
His repose was disturbed by this being blinded and he became
A sightless prince whom calamities had attacked.

* An account of the pretension of this person will be found in Ibn Khallakan's Life of the Wazír al Maghribi—but Ibn Khaldún places this rebellion in the time of al Ḥákim instead of al A'zíz who died in 386—and this is confirmed by Ibn Khallakán.

† The reason given by Ibn Ath. is that Usayfar complained of the debasement of the coin in which the mail he levied had been previously paid by the Sulṭán. During the correspondence that ensued on this, the time for the pilgrimage passed by.

‡ Núḥ-b-Manṣúr of the Samáni dynasty died in 387, and was succeeded by his son Abu'l Ḥarith Manṣúr-b-Núḥ in the government of Bukhára. He was seized at Sarkhas in Khurasán by two of his rebellious nobles, Buktúzún and Fáiḳ and blinded, Consult Ibn Ath., anno 389.

And the lord of Egypt hath gone his way, A. H. 387.
And the prince of the mountains whom the sepulchres have concealed. A. D. 997.
And the ruler of Jurján in his vain regret,
Whom the regardant eye of death was watching.
And the king of Khwarazm* the face of whose felicity hath become darkened,
And to whom the day of his evil destiny hath appeared.
And Abu A'li† was exalted upon earth seeking to gain it
Until misfortunes destroyed him.
And the lord of Bust,‡ that lion whose
Claws were the keys of the East and West.
A quick messenger from adversity alighted near him,
And when fate presents itself it cannot be averted
By armies though they exceed in number the pebbles
And though the plains and level grounds are thronged with them.
Upon Ṣamṣám u'd Daulah the Buwide came
Destroying calamities whose spoils are afflictions.
And verily the prince of Juzján§ hath crossed
The bridge of life, and the fates that had long regarded him, approached."

Aḍ Ḍababi says that al A'zíz the sovereign of Egypt died in 386 and the conquests made by him beyond those of his predecessors, were Emessa, Ḥamát and Aleppo. The khuṭbah was said for him in Mosal and Yaman. His name was impressed upon the coinage and the standards, and he was succeeded in the government by his son al Manṣúr who was surnamed al Ḥákim bi-amri'lláh.

In the year 390 a gold mine was discovered in Sijistán and they extracted red gold from the soil.

In the year 393 the governor of Damascus al Aswad the Ḥákimite|| gave an order regarding a certain Mauritanian, and he was paraded upon an ass, and it was cried out, "This is the retribution for him who loveth Abú Bakr and Omar." Then they struck off his head—may God have mercy upon him, but not upon his slayer or his master al Ḥákim.

* Put to death by the ruler of Jurján Mámún-b-Muḥammad.

† Ruler of Khurasán succeeding his father Símjúr. He was imprisoned by Subuktagín and died in prison.

‡ Between the ancient Drangiana. (Sijistán) Ghazni and Herát. Subuktagín is probably meant here as he died in 387 A. H.

§ A city in Khurasán.

|| Because appointed by al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh who gave him in addition the command of his troops in Syria.

A. H. 394. In the year 394 Baha u'd Daulah invested the Sharíf Abu Aḥmad al
A.D. 1003-4. Ḥusayn-b-Músa al Músawi with the office of chief Ḳádhi and the superintendency of the pilgrimage and of the court for the redressal of abuses, and the chief jurisdiction over the descendants of Abú Ṭálib,* and wrote him from Shiráz a commission to that effect, but he did not assume the office of Ḳádhi through the refusal of al Ḳádir to sanction it.

In the year 395, al Ḥákim put to death a number of the principal men of old Cairo by confining them till they died, and commanded that writings reviling the Companions should be placed on the doors of mosques and in the public roads, and he gave orders to his prefects to revile them. In the same he ordered that all dogs should be killed, and forbade the use of beer, of *malúkhya*,† and prohibited *the sale of* fish without scales, and he put to death a number of people who sold them after their prohibition.

In the year 396 he ordered the people in old Cairo and the Sacred Cities to rise and bow down in the streets and places of public assembly when the name of al Ḥákim was mentioned.

In the year 398, an open rupture occurred between the Shíias and Sunnis at Baghdad in which the Shaykh Abu Aḥmad al Asfaráini was nearly killed, and the heretics (*Shíias*) in Baghdad called out, "O for Ḥákim, O for Manṣúr." Al Ḳádir was enraged at this and sent mounted the horse-guards in attendance at his gate to the assistance of the Sunnis, and the heretics were dispersed. During the same, al Ḥákim demolished the church of the Resurrection‡ at Jerusalem and ordered the destruction of all the churches in Egypt. He also commanded that the Christians should place crosses upon their necks, the length of the cross to be a cubit and its weight five Egyptian ratls,§ and that the Jews should carry on their necks logs of wood equal in weight to the crosses and wear black turbans, whereupon a number of them embraced Islám. Shortly afterwards he permitted the restoration of the churches and temples and suffered those who had embraced Islám, since it had been forced upon them, to return to their faith.

* Ibn u'l Athír has علويين for طالبيين —but the latter expression is used by Ibn Khall. See his life of the Sharíf ar Ridha son of Abu Aḥmad al Ḥusayn.

† A species of mallows. De Slane gives the botanical name as *Corchorous olitorius.* Al Ḥákim also forbade lupin pellets to be eaten with the *malúkhya*.

‡ Ibn Khall. places this event in 408. The word Kumámah (*sweepings*), says De Slane, is used by the Muslims contemptuously for Ḳiyámah (*Resurrection*). Yaḳúṭ however, does not bear out this statement of its contemptuous application by the Muslims. He allows that it is called Ḳiyámah, but says that the proper word is Kumamah as the place used to be the refuse repository outside the city, where in the earliest times malefactors were executed. *After* the death of the Messiah, he continues, it became the place of reverence it now is.

§ De Slane makes this equal to ten pounds. Lane gives the Baghdad ratl at one pound.

In the year 399 Abu A'mar the Ḳádhi of Baṣrah was removed from office and Abu'l Ḥasan-b-Abi's Shawarib assumed the post of Ḳádhi. The poet al U'sfari wrote as follows regarding this— A. H. 399. A. D. 1008.

"I have a pleasant story
Such as those which are sung,
Of two Ḳádhis one of whom is condoled with
And the other congratulated.
This one says, 'I was forced' *to accept it*
The other says, 'I was well rid of it.'
And both of them lie.
Which of us will believe them?"

In the same year the supremacy of the House of Umayyah in Spain sunk into feebleness and their authority declined. *

In the year 400 the Tigris fell to an extent never before witnessed and agricultural leases were granted on account of the island that appeared in it, and this had never before happened.

In the year 402 al Ḥákim forbade the sale of dates,† and caused them to be burnt, and also the sale of grapes and destroyed many vineyards.

In the year 404 he prohibited the women from going out on the roads night or day, and this continued till his death.

In the year 411 (27th Shawwal, 13*th February*) al Ḥákim (may God curse him) was slain at Ḥulwán a village in Egypt and his son A'li succeeded him and was surnamed ad Dháhir li'i'zázi dín i'lláh, (*the aider in exalting the religion of God*), but their supremacy declined in his reign, Aleppo and a great part of Syria being lost to them.

In the year 422 died al Ḳádir bi'lláh on Sunday night, the 11th of Ḍu'l Hijjah (29*th November* 1031) at the age of eighty-seven, and the duration of his Caliphate was forty-one years and three months.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were :—Abu Aḥmad al A'skarí the professor of general literature, ar Rummáni the grammarian, Abu'l Ḥasan al Másarjisi the Shafi'íte Shaykh, Abu U'baydi'lláh al Marzabáni, the Ṣáhib Ibn A'bbád the minister of Muayyid u'd Daulah, the first of the ministers who was called the Ṣáhib, ad Dáraḳuṭni the well known Ḥáfidh, Ibn Sháhín, Abu Bakr al Audani the Shafi'íte Imám, Yusuf-b-u's Síráfi, Ibn Zúláḳ‡ al Misri, Ibn Abi Zayd al Máliki, the Máli-

* An account of the deposition of Mahdi and the restoration of Hisham II, and the history of these troublous times will be found treated at length by M. Dozy (Hist. des. Musalm. D' Esp. Vol. III, p. 299) and more briefly by Ibn Ath. anno 400.

† Ibn Khall. says "raisins" (زبيب).

‡ The text should here be corrected.

A. H. 422. kite Shaykh, Abu Ṭálib al Makki author of the Food for the Heart,* Ibn
A. D. 1031. Battah al Ḥanbali, Ibn Samaún† the preacher, al Khattábi, al Ḥáti'mi the philologist, al Udfúí Abu Bakr, Záhir al Sarkhasi the Sháfi'ite Shaykh, Ibn Ghalbún the Ḳurán reader, al Kushmayhani the reciter of the Ṣaḥíḥ, al Mu'áfa-b-Zakaríya and Nahrawáni, Ibn Khuayz Mandád, Ibn Jinni, al Jauhari author of *the Arabic lexicon called* as Ṣaḥáḥ, Ibn Fáris author of the Mujmil *fi'l Loghat* (*Collection of Philological Observations*), Ibn Mandah the Ḥá'fidh, al Isma'ílí the Shafi'íte Shaykh, Aṣbagh-b-u'l Faraj the Málikite Shaykh, Badíi' u'z Zamán the first who composed Maḳámas (*Discourses*) Ibn Lál, Ibn Abi Zumnayn,‡ Abu Ḥayyán at Tauhídí, al Wáwá,§ the poet, al Harawi author of the *Kitab u'l* Gharibayn, Abu'l Fatḥ al Busti the poet, al Ḥalími the Shafi'íte Shaykh, Ibn u'l Fáridh, Abu'l Ḥasan al Ḳábisi, the Ḳádhi Abu Bakr al Báḳiláni, Abu't Tayyib as Ṣa'lúki, Ibn u'l Akfáni, Ibn Nubátah author of the khuṭbahs (*sermons*), as Ṣaymari the Shafi'ite Shaykh, al Ḥákim author of the Mustadrak *ala's Ṣaḥiḥayn* (*strictures on the two Ṣaḥiḥs*), Ibn Kajj, the Shaykh Abú Ḥámid al Asfaráini, Ibn Fúrak, as Sharíf ar Ridḥá Abu Bakr ar Rázi author of the Alḳáb (*Titles*),|| the Ḥáfidḥ Abu'l Ghaní-b-Sa'íd, Ibn Mardawayh, Hibbat u'lláh-b-Salámah, the blind Commentator, Abú A'bdu'r Raḥmán as Salamí the Ṣúfi Shaykh, Ibn u'l Bawwáb the Caligraphist, A'bdu'l Jabbár al Mua'tazalí, al Maḥámilí the Shafi'íte Imám, Abu Bakr al Ḳaffál the Shafi'íte Shaykh, the master Abu Iṣháḳ al Asfaráini,¶ al Lálakái, Ibn u'l Fakhkhár the scholar of Spain, A'li-b-I'sa ar Riba'í the grammarian and others. Ad Ḍahabi says that in this age lived the principal doctor of the Asha'rites** Abú Isháḳ al Asfaráini, the head of the Mua'tazalites the Ḳádhi A'bdu'l Jabbár, the head of the Ráfidhites (*schismatics*) the Shaykh al Mufíd, the head of the Kirámites Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥayṣam, the head of the Ḳurán readers Abu'l Ḥasan al Ḥammámí, the head of the Traditionists the Háfidḥ A'bdu'l Ghani-b-Sa'íd, the head of the Ṣúfis Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán as Salamí, the chief of the poets Abu Omar-b-Darráj,

* Intended as a guide to novices entering the Ṣúfi or contemplative life. De Slane, I. K.

† The text has incorrectly Shama'ún. See Ibn Ath. and Ibn Khall.

‡ I cannot find this name in any author I have consulted and am ignorant of its true pronunciation.

§ The text should have a second aliph.

|| This is an error. He died in 311. In Ibn Khall. the word is A'ḳtáb (اقطاب) of which De Slane remarks that he knows neither the true pronunciation nor the meaning. Háji Khalífa does not mention it neither does Abu'l Mahásin though he notes the death of this eminent physician.

¶ The text wrongly points this name.

** For the opinions of these various sects, consult Sale's preface to his translation of the Ḳurán.

the first of Caligraphists Ibn u'l Bawwáb, and the first among sovereigns Maḥmúd-b-Subuktagín. I observe that there may be added to these, al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh the chief among the impious, al Jauhari' the first of philologists, Ibn Janni the first of grammarians, al Badíi' the first of eloquent speakers, the first of Khaṭíbs Ibn Nubátah, the first of commentators Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Ḥábib an Naysabúri, and the first of Caliphs al Ḳádir bi'lláh for he was one of the most learned of them, having studied law and composed treatises therein and let it suffice thee that the Shaykh Takki u'd dín-b-i's Ṣaláḥ counts him among the Shafi'íte doctors and has introduced him in the classes of them—further his reign was one of the longest in duration. A. H. 422. A. D. 1031.

AL ḲA'IM-BI-AMRI'LLA'H.

Al Ḳáim-bi-amri'lláh, (*who stands by the order of God*) Abu Jaa'far Abdu'llah the son of al Ḳádir was born about the middle of Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah in the year 391. His mother was an Armenian slave concubine named Badr u'd Duja (*the full moon of darknes*) and some say Kaṭr u'd Nada (*dewdrop*). He assumed the Caliphate on the death of his father in 422 having been his heir-presumptive during his lifetime and it was his father who surnamed him al Ḳáim-bi-amri'lláh.

Ibn u'l Athír states that he was comely, of an attractive countenance, austere in life, pious, devout, learned, full of confidence in God, charitable, patient. He was assiduous in the cultivation of literature and skilled in writing, prompt to justice and benevolence, attending to all claims and undesirous to refuse anything that might be asked of him. Al Khaṭíb observes that his authority continued firm until he was arrested in the year 450. The cause of this was that the Turk Arslán al Basásírí* came into power and in the absence of any rivals, his authority increased and the Emirs of the Arabs and other tribes stood in awe of him and prayers were offered for him upon the pulpits. He levied money and desolated whole villages, al Ḳáim being unable to determine anything without him. At length he discovered his evil designs, for he heard that it was his intention to plunder the palace and to arrest the Caliph himself. Upon this the Caliph communicated with Abu Ṭálib Muḥammad Mikáyíl† the chief of the Ghuzz, known as Toghrul Bek who was at Rái, requesting him to march to his relief.

* Abu'l Ḥárith Arslán the general of the Turkish troops at Baghdad. He had been a Mamlúḳ to Baha u'd Daulah-b-Buwayh. His life may be found in I. K.

† Not Mikyál as in the text. Toghrul Bek was the first monarch of the Seljuk Dynasty. See I. K.

A. H. 447. Subsequently the palace of al Basásírí was burnt down and in the year
A. D. 1055. 447 Toghrul Bek arrived and al Basásírí retired to Raḥbah where he was joined by a number of Turks and he wrote to the sovereign of Egypt *(al Mustanṣir bi'lláh)* who assisted him with money. He also corresponded with Ínál* the brother of Toghrul Bek inciting him by the offer of his brother's dignities. Ínál accordingly revolted and engaged the attention of Toghrul Bek. Afterwards al Basásírí marched to Baghdad in the year 450 accompanied by the Egyptian standards and engagements took place between him and the Caliph. Public prayers were offered up for the Egyptian monarch al Mustanṣir in the great mosque of al Manṣúr and to the call to prayers was added "Haste to an excellent work."† Subsequently he was prayed for in all the mosques except that of the Caliph, and hostilities continued for some months. At length al Basásírí seized the Caliph in the month of Ḍu'l Hijjah and removed him to A'ánah‡ and confined him there. Toghrul Bek in the meantime defeated his brother and put him to death. Then he wrote to the prefect of A'ánah to send back the Caliph with honour to his palace, and the Caliph arrived at the royal palace on the 25th of Ḍu'l Kaa'dah in the year 451 entering with great pomp, the nobles and chamberlains preceding him. Toghrul Bek next despatched an army which encountered al Basásírí and defeated him and he was slain and his head carried to Baghdad. After the Caliph returned to his palace, he never slept save upon his prayer-carpet and gave himself up to fasting and prayer. He forgave all who had injured him and he accepted the restoration of what had been plundered from him only on payment for the same, saying, "I count upon obtaining for these things, a reward from God," and after this he never laid his head upon a pillow. When his palace was plundered there were not found in it any instruments of music. It is related that when al Basásírí placed him in confinement, he wrote his own story and sent it to Mecca where it was hung up in the ḳaa'bah. It contained the following—"To the most High God from his lowly servant. O Lord, thou knowest all secrets and readest all hearts! O Lord, verily thou art self-sufficing in Thine own knowledge and understanding of Thy creatures, needing not my telling. This slave hath been ungrateful for Thy benefits and hath not given thanks for them and hath put aside the consequences thereof and hath not remembered them. Thy forbearance hath led him astray, so that he hath rebelled against us and hath done evil to us in insolence and malice. O

* The text has incorrectly نبال

† See note †, p. 422.

‡ Above Hít. on the Euphrates and near Hadithah. The text incorrectly points the word.

Lord, the Defender hath been humbled and the Tyrant exalted, but thou art the All-knowing, the Wise, the Just, the Supreme Ruler. Through thee shall we overcome him and to Thee we fly from his hands. Verily he hath been exalted over us by means of creatures, but we shall overcome by Thy aid and verily we summon him, in judgment before Thee, and we trust to Thee for justice against him and we carry this oppression of us to Thy sanctuary and trust to Thy mercy to remove it—therefore judge between us for Thou art the best of judges."

A. H. 451.
A. D. 1059.

In the year 428, al Dháhir the U'baydite Sovereign of Egypt died and was succeeded by his son al Mustanṣir who was of the age of seven, and he reigned as Caliph sixty years and four months. Ad Ḍahabi says, "I know of no one in Islám, whether Caliph or Sulṭán, that reigned for this period. During his days there was a famine in Egypt, the like of which had not been known since the time of Joseph. It continued seven years so that people devoured each other, and it is said even that a small loaf was sold for fifty dínárs.

In the year 443 al Mu'izz-b-Bádís* suppressed the khuṭbah for the U'baydite in Mauritania and established in the name of the House of A'bbás.

In the year 451, a peace was concluded between Sulṭán Ibrahím-b-Masa'úd-b-Maḥmúd-b-Subuktagín prince of Ghazni and Sulṭán Jughri Bek-b-Saljúḳ† the brother of Toghrul Bek ruler of Khurasán after long hostilities. Jughri Bek died the same year and was succeeded by his son Alp Arslán.

In the year 454 the Caliph betrothed his daughter to Toghrul Bek after doing his utmost to avoid it. He was much perturbed and wished that it should be withdrawn but at last he yielded against his will. This was a concession never obtained by any of the Buwide princes with all their subjection of the Caliphs and their power over them. I observe that now the Caliph of our time hath married his daughter to one of the slaves of the Sulṭán—to say nothing of the Sulṭán—"Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return." Subsequently in the year 455 Toghrul Bek arrived and visited the daughter of the Caliph‡ and he restored the

* Nádís in the text and MS. is incorrect. He was of the Sanháj, one of the oldest and purest Berber tribes claiming descent from Himyarite Arabs. He ruled Africa for the House of A'bbás, and the khuṭbah was never again read in that country for any Egyptian sovereign. Ibn Khall.

† Not خفری as in the text. He was the son of Míkayíl and brother of Toghrul Bek. The word Toghrul signifies a kind of falcon and Bek a commander. Ibn Khall.

‡ This was a mere visit of ceremony and frequently repeated, she receiving him seated on a throne of gold and never lifting her veil or rising. Weil says that the marriage contract alone was celebrated and that Toghrul Bek died on the 8th Ramadhán

A. H. 455. A. D. 1063.

inheritances* and the taxes and farmed the revenues of Baghdad for one hundred and fifty thousand dínárs. He then returned to Rái and died in the month of Ramadhán—may the Lord not forgive him. He was succeeded by his nephew A'dhud u'd Daulah Alp Arslán prince of Khurasán to whom al Káim sent a robe of honour and the investiture. Ad Dahabi says that he was the first called the Sultán on the pulpits of Baghdad. He reached an eminence which none other of the sovereigns attained and he conquered many of the cities of the Christians and appointed Nidhám u'l Mulk his Wazír who abolished what his predecessor A'mid u'l Mulk had done regarding the reviling of the Asha'ris,† and he gave his countenance to Shafi'ítes, and honoured the Imám u'l Haramayn‡ and Abu'l Kásim al Kushayri§ and founded the Nizamíyah College. It is said that this was the earliest College|| founded for jurisconsults.

In the year 458 a little girl was born at Bab u'l Azaj¶ with two heads and two faces and two necks upon one body, and during the same, a heavenly body of great brilliancy appeared like a halo round the moon on a night when it was at its full, and it terrified the people, continuing during ten nights when its light waned and it disappeared.

In the year 459, the Nizamíyah College at Baghdad was completed and the Shaykh Ibn Isḥák as Shirázi** was appointed professor. The people assembled *to hear him*, but he did not appear and concealed himself

(18th according to I. K.) 455, (*4th September*, 1063) before the nuptials were completed, Ibn Ath. seems to bear out this view. The Caliph demanded as the price of his hand from 100 to 300,000 dínárs and the revenues of Wásiṭ.

* The words of Ibn Ath. and Ibn Khaldún are here identical فاعاد ماكان اطلقه رئيس الاراقيين من المواريس و المكوس

† Many Shafi'ite doctors were attached to the teaching of al Asha'ri (see Sale's preface to the Kurán for their doctrines) which led them into controversy with the Hanbalites on points of faith. See I. K.'s life.

‡ Abú'l Maáli A'bdu'l Malik surnamed Dhiya u'ddín (*Splendour of Religion*), called the Imám u'l Haramayn from his long residence in the two Sacred Cities. He was considered the most learned doctor of the Shafi'ítes in later times. The list of many of his works will be found in his biography by Ibn Khall. He died in A. H. 478.

§ Likewise a Shafi'íte doctor of eminence and one of the most learned in Jurisprudence, Kuranic Exegesis and Traditions &c., he held the first rank as a preacher. Born A. H. 376 (986) and died 465 (1072). Ibn Khall.

|| The Nizamíyah College was founded for the express purpose of establishing him in it as a professor. This is controverted by ad Dahabi. See de Slane's preface to Vol. I of his translation of Ibn Khall.

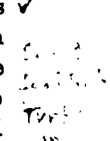
¶ A quarter in Baghdad.

** Another eminent Shafi'íte doctor whose life will be found in Ibn Khall. He was born at Firúzubád A. H. 393 (1003) and died at Baghdad 476 (1083) and the Nizamíyah College was closed for a year as a token of mourning for his death.

and Ibn u's Ṣabbágh* the author of the Shámil lectured. Subsequently they pressed Abu Isḥáḳ with friendly solicitations until he consented and opened a course of teaching. A. H. 459. A. D. 1066.

In the year 460 a tremendous earthquake occurred at Ramlah† which destroyed it, and even the water rose over the mouths of the wells and twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants perished. The sea retreated from the shore the space of one day's journey, and the people went down to its bed gathering the fish and the waters returned upon them and destroyed them.

In the year 461 the great mosque of Damascus caught fire and its beauties were effaced and its appearance rendered unsightly and its golden roofs destroyed. In the year 462 an envoy from the Emír of Mecca came to Alp Arslán informing him that he had established the khuṭbah for the A'bbásides and discontinued it for the Egyptian al Mustanṣir and had omitted from the Aḍán "Hasten to an excellent work," whereupon the Sulṭán bestowed upon him thirty thousand dínárs and a robe of honour. This was caused by the fallen state of the Egyptians through severe famines in successive years so that people fed upon each other and an irdabb‡ *of wheat* fetched one hundred dínárs and a dog was sold for fifty dínárs and a cat for thirty.



* Abú Naṣr A'bdu's Sayyid,—(*the son of the dyer*) was chief Shafi'í jurisconsult, of Persian and Arabian Irák. His work the Shámil (*comprehensive*) is one of the best Shafi'ite treatises on their system of jurisprudence. He was reinstated as professor of the Nizamíyah College on the death of Abu Isḥáḳ as Shirázi. Born at Baghdad 400 A. H., (1009-10) and died there 477 (1084). Ibn Khall.

† In Palestine. Ibn Ath. says that the shock was felt throughout Palestine and Egypt.

‡ An Egyptian measure equal, according to Kazimirski, to about five bushels. Lane fixes it at 24 Saá (صاع) this latter being about four times the quantity of corn that fills the two hands. Al Akhtal describing miserly people, says,

الخبز كالعنبر الهندى عندهم
والقمح سبعون اردبا بدينار

"Bread is like Indian amber to them
While wheat is seventy irdabbs for a dínár."

"Since writing the above I have met with an account of the famine that desolated Darfur, Kordofan and other provinces of Central Africa, in 1877; by Dr. Daniel Comboni, Vicar Apostolic of that region. The Austrian Consul, he writes, paid £10-3 for an ardeb (so the word is commonly pronounced) of flour, the ordinary price being 15 shillings. Later on, at Khartoum, flour could not be obtained at any price and in the kingdom of Kordofan £20 could not purchase a single ardeb." This measure he gives as equivalent to a sack containing about 2 cwt. 100 dínárs would be equal to about £45, double the price of the ardeb in the famine of 1877, which was terrible enough.

A. H. 462. The author of the Mirát* relates that a woman went out of Cairo
A. D. 1069. with a *mudd* (*about two pounds*) of jewels, crying out, "Who will take this for a mudd of wheat?"

One of the poets congratulating al Káim says—

"Verily the Egyptian knew that within his armies
Were the famine years of Joseph and the plague of Emmaus.
They remained there till he was anxious for his safety
And he feared them with an exceeding fear."

In the year 463 the khuṭbah was read for al Káim and the Sulṭán Alp Arslán in Aleppo when the people there beheld the supremacy of their authority and the decline of the sway of al Mustanṣir.

During the same a great battle† was fought between the Muslims and the Byzantines, and the Muslims were victorious, praise be to God. They were led by Alp Arslán who took the Emperor prisoner but afterwards released him for a large sum and concluded a peace for fifty years. When he was released he said to Alp Arslán—"In what direction is the Caliph?" He pointed to it and the Emperor uncovered his head and bent in submission in that direction.

In the year 464, a great murrain in sheep broke out.

In 465, Alp Arslán was slain and was succeeded in the government by his son Malik Sháh who was surnamed Jalál u'd Daulah. He restored the administration of the Empire to Nidhám u'l Mulk and gave him the title of Atábek. He was the first so called and it means "the Father‡ Emír."

During the same the famine was so severe in Egypt that a woman ate a small loaf *purchased* for a thousand dínárs and the plague reached its height.

In the year 466 there was a great inundation in Baghdad. The Tigris rose thirty cubits, the like of which had never occurred and property

* Probably the Mirát uz Zamán, the Mirror of the Age by the learned Professor Imám and historian Shams u'ddin Abu'l Muzaffar Yusuf-b-Kizaghli grandson of Abu'l Faraj-b-u'l Jauzi. He was born at Baghdad 597 A. H., (1200-1), died 654 A. H. (1257). His great historical work the Mirát extends to forty volumes and Abu'l Mahásin acknowledges his indebtedness to it when composing his annals. De Slane, I. K.

† This was fought on 26th August, 1071 near Metázkerd, midway between Van and Erzeroum. Romanus Diogenes was taken prisoner and released on a ransom of 1,500,000 dínárs. The intrepidity of the captive and the courtesy of the conqueror may be read with pleasure and instruction in the picturesque and accurate narrative of Gibbon. Cap. LVII.

‡ In Ibn Khall's life of Jaḳar Naṣíru'ddín, the meaning of Atábek is given as الزي يربي اولاد الملوك the educator of princes—from the Turkish Ata father and Bek Emír.

and lives and cattle were destroyed. The people went about in boats and A. H. 466.
the Friday prayers were twice held on sailing vessels on the face of the A. D. 1073.
waters, and the Caliph arose supplicating the Lord. Baghdad was levelled at a stroke, one hundred thousand houses or more being destroyed.

In the year 467, on Wednesday night the 13th of Shaa'ban (*2nd April, 1075*) the Caliph al Ḳáim-bi-amri'lláh died. This happened in consequence of his having been bled. He went to sleep and the place where he was bled became unbound. A great loss of blood ensued and he awoke, his strength being much diminished. He sent therefore for his grandson and heir A'bdu'llah the son of Muḥammad and bequeathed the succession to him and then died. The duration of his Caliphate was five and forty years.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were Abu Bakr al Birḳáni, Abu'l Fadḥl al Falaki, at Thaa'labi the commentator, al Ḳudúri the Ḥanafite Shaykh, Ibn Sína (*Avicena*) the philosopher, Mahyár the poet, Abu Nuaym author of the Ḥulyah, Abu Zayd ad Dabúsi, al Barda'í the Malikite, author of the Tahḍíb, Abu'l Ḥusayn al Baṣri the Mua'tazalite, Makki author of the I'ráb* (*grammatical inflexions*), the Shaykh Abu Muḥammad al Juayní, al Mahdawi author of the commentary, al Iflíli, at' Thamáníní, Abu A'mr ad Duwáni, al Khalíl author of the Irshád *fi maa'rifat Ulamá i'l Balád* (*Directory of information respecting the learned of all countries*), Salím ar Rázi, Abu'l A'lá the Ḳurán reader, Abu O'thmán as Ṣabúni, Ibn Baṭṭáh the Expounder of al Bukhári, the Ḳádhi Abu Tayyib at Ṭabari, Ibn Shíṭa the Ḳurán reader, al Máwardi the Shafi'íte, Ibn Bábshád, al Kudḥáa'í author of the Shiháb (*Flambeau on the merits of as Shafi'í*), Ibn Burhán the grammarian, Ibn Ḥazm ad Dhábiri, al Bayhaḳi, Ibn Sídah author of the Muḥkam (*fixed*) Abu Ya'la-b-u'l Farrá the Ḥanbalite Shaykh, al Hadḥrami one of the Shafi'íte school, al Hazli author of the Kámil (*Perfect*) on the reading of the Ḳurán, al Fúráni, al Khaṭíb al Baghdádi Ibn Rashíḳ author of the U'mdah (*Column on the art of poetry and poetical criticism*) and Ibn A'bdi'l Barr.

AL MUḲTADI BI-AMRI'LLÁH.

Al Muḳtadi bi-amri'lláh (*Directing himself by the command of God*) Abu'l Ḳasim, A'bdu'llah was the son of Muḥammad the son of al Ḳáim.

* This is probably the work entitled, "Kitáb u'z Záhi fil Lumá ad dallát a'la Mustamalát i'l Ii'ráb," "The blooming, a treatise on the lights which indicate the grammatical inflexions in general use." This Ḳurán reader was the author of many voluminous works, the list of which is given by Ibn Khall.

A. H. 467. His father died during the lifetime of al Ḳáim while his mother was
A. D. 1075. pregnant with him, and he was born six months after his father's death. His mother was a slave concubine called Arjawán. He was acknowledged Caliph on his grandfather's death, he being nineteen years and three months old. The oath of allegiance was taken in the presence of the Shaykh Abu Isḥáḳ as Shirázi, Ibn u's Ṣabbágh and ad Dámagháni.* During his reign many good works and excellent deeds were done in the provinces, and the ordinances of the Caliphate during his days were noble and honorable in contradistinction to those of his predecessors. Among his good deeds, he proscribed female singers and evil doers in Baghdad, and ordered that no one should enter the baths without drawers, and he destroyed the towers of the baths with a view to securing public decorum. He was pious, virtuous, firm of purpose, magnanimous and one of the noblest of the House of A'bbás. In this year of the Caliphate the khuṭbah was restored in Mecca in the name of the House of U'bayd. During the same, Nidhám u'l Mulk assembled the astronomers and they made the New Year's day the first point of the sun's entry into Aries, and before this it was held at the meridian of his passage through Pisces, and this act of al Nidhám was the origin of *the reformation* of the Calendar.†

In the year 468 the khuṭbah was read for al Muḳtadi at Damascus, and the words "Haste to an excellent work," in the call to prayers were discontinued at which the people rejoiced. In 469, Abu Naṣr son of the Master Abu'l Ḳásim al Ḳushayri al Asha'ri arrived at Baghdad and preached at the Nizamíyah College. A great dissension arose with the Ḥanbalites because he discoursed in favour of the Asha'ri doctrine and disparaged *them*. His followers and partisans increased in number and a tumult ensuing, a number were killed. Fakhr u'd Daulah-b-Jahír was removed from the office of Wazír of al Muḳtadi because he separated himself from the Ḥanbalites.

In the year 475 the Caliph sent Shaykh Abu Isḥáḳ as Shirázi as an envoy to the Sulṭán with a complaint against A'míd Abu'l Fatḥ.‡

* Abu Jaa'far Muḥammad a Ḥanafite jurisconsult Ḳádhi of Ḳarkh (a suburb of Baghdad). He resigned that office and entered the Caliph's service as chamberlain and proved an able statesman. De Slane, I. K., died 518 A. H.

† "In Persia" says Gibbon "since the age of Zoroaster the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival, but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected: the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malak was illustrated by the Jelalean era (from Malak Sháh's surname Jalál u'd Daulah) and all errors either past or future were corrected by a computation of time which surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style."—*Decline and Fall*, Cap. LVII.

‡ The words of Abu'l Fida are: The Caliph sent Abu Isḥáḳ to the Sulṭán Malak Sháh and to Nidhám u'l Mulk. He left Baghdad for Khurasán with a com-

In the year 476, prices fell in all the provinces and the scarcity ceased. During the same, the Caliph nominated Abu Shujáa' Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥasan to the office of Wazír and gave him the title of Dhahír u'd dín (*Defender of the Faith*). I believe that this was the first introduction of surnames coupled with the word "dín." A. H. 476. A. D. 1083.

In the year 477, Sulayman the son of Ḳultumish the Saljúḳ prince of Konieh and Akserai,* set out with his troops for Syria and took Antioch which had fallen into the possession of the Byzantines in the year 353,† and he sent to Sultan Malak Sháh to communicate the good tidings.

Aḍ Ḍahabi says that the posterity of Saljúk were sovereigns of a portion of Byzantine territory. Their ascendancy continued for a considerable time and a remnant of them existed up to the reign of al Malik ad Dháhir Bíbars‡.

In the year 478 a dark storm swept over Baghdad—the thunder pealed and the lightning flashed luridly and sand and dust fell like rain and many thunderbolts fell, and the people thought that it was the day of resurrection, and it continued for three hours past the afternoon. This occurrence was witnessed by the Imám Abu Bakr at Ṭurṭúshi§ who has related it in his Amáli (*Dictations*).

In the year 479 Yusuf-b-Táshifín|| prince of Ceuta and Morocco sent to al Muḳtadi requesting that he would confirm his authority and invest him with the sovereignty of the provinces he possessed. The Caliph

plaint against A'míd of Irák Abu'l Fatḥ-b-Abi'l Layth. He returned with the acceptance by the Sulṭán of the Caliph's request and A'míd was forbidden to exert any authority over the Sulṭán's private establishment. Reiske, takes A'míd (*Columen*) to signify here not a proper name but metaphorically—procuratorem commissarium. An account of Abu Isḥáḳ's mission is given by him in a note taken from the classes of the Shafi'ítes (Ṭabaḳát u's Shafi'íah) "auctore Sebekaeo,"—and the Caliph's charge to his envoy is to complain that the people of the city (Baghdad) suffer much annoyance at the hands of Abu'l Fatḥ. See Abu'l Fida, anno 475. From Ibn Athír it appears that the mission was for the purpose of reinstating Abu Shujáa' as minister who had succeeded Fakhr u'd Daulah and had been displaced by the Sulṭán.

* I have spelt the names as they are marked in Keith Johnston's Atlas.

† The text has by some mistake 358. In the MS. the unit is omitted. A masterly sketch of these events will be found at the close of Gibbon's 57th chapter.

‡ This dynasty of the Saljúks of Rúm dates from the year 480 and closes in 700 A. H., continuing 220 years under fifteen sovereigns whose names are recorded by the diligence of D'Herbelot. The Iranian and Kermanian branches will be found noticed by the same author.

§ He was a native of Tortosa in Spain and a Malikite doctor noted for his ascetic life. He studied at Seville, at Baghdad and at Baṣrah. He died in 520 A. H., (1126). Ibn Khall.

|| The text makes an N of the initial instead of T. The MS. is correct—the particulars of this event will be found in Ibn Khall. under Mua'tamid-b-A'bbád.

A. H. 479. A. D. 1086. accordingly sent him a robe of honour and standards and gave him the title of prince of the Muslims at which he was much pleased, and the jurisconsults of Mauritania rejoiced. It was he who founded the city of Morocco.

During the same, Sulṭán Malak Sháh entered Baghdad for the first time and took up his residence at the palace and played at ball. He met the Caliph *with reciprocal** civility and shortly after he returned to Ispahan. During the same, the khuṭbah for the U'baydite sovereign (*al Mustanṣir bi'lláh*) was discontinued in the Sacred Cities and was read for al Muḳtadi.

In the year 481 the sovereign of Ghaznah al Muayyid Ibrahím-b-Masa'úd-b-Maḥmúd-b-Subuktagín died and his son Jalál u'd dín Masa'úd succeeded him.

In the year 483 a College was built at Baghdad by Táj u'l Mulk Mustawfi† u'd Daulah at the gate of Abraz and Abu Bakr as Sháshi‡ lectured there.

In the year 484 the Franks conquered the whole of the island of Sicily which had been first conquered by the Muslims after the year 200§ A. H. The Aghlabites retained possession of it uninterruptedly till al Mahdi the U'baydite conquered Africa. During the same, Sulṭán Malak Sháh arrived in Baghdad and ordered a large mosque to be built. The nobles also erected mansions round about it, to dwell in *when they visited Baghdad.* He then returned to Ispahan but again repaired to Baghdad in 485 A. H. with evil intent. He sent to the Caliph informing him that he must quit Baghdad and that he might go to any other city he pleased. The Caliph was much perturbed and replied, "Give me a respite though it be for a month." He answered, "Not a single hour." The Caliph then sent to the Wazír of the Sulṭán begging for a delay of ten days. At this juncture occurred the illness and death of the Sulṭán which was ascribed to the miraculous powers of the Caliph. It is said that the Caliph fasted and when he had broken his fast, he sat upon ashes and called down

* Or it may mean "He played against the Caliph." The Sulṭán and the Caliph were on the most friendly terms and interchanged visits and presents. The MS. has تقادم for تقاوم of the text.

† Táj u'l Mulk Abu'l Ghanáim was the favourite of Turkán Khatún wife of Malak Sháh. At her instigation Nidhám u'l Mulk was deposed. Táj úl Mulk succeeded him and put him to death. See Weil, Ibn Ath. De Slane, I. K.

‡ The College was called the Tajíyah after its founder. Abu Bakr was surnamed the glory of Islám, and was considered the first jurisconsult of the age of the Shafi'íte school. He died 429 A. H., (1037). His life will be found in Ibn Khall.

§ 212 A. H., 827-8 A. D. See Gibbon's 52nd chapter. The descent of the Saracens of Africa was invited by the revengeful Euphemius who had been sentenced by the Emperor to the loss of his tongue for the abduction of a nun. The Arabic name of the island in the text should be spelt with a ص for a س.

a curse upon Malak Sháh. The Lord heard his prayer and Malak Sháh departed to hell-fire.* A. H. 485. A. D. 1092.

When he died, his wife Turkán concealed his death and sent to the nobles secretly, requesting their allegiance to his son Maḥmúd who was then five years old. They swore fealty to him whereupon she sent to al Muḳtadi to invest him with the dignity of the Sulṭánate. He assented and gave him the title of Násir u'd dunya wád dín (*Defender of Spirituals and Temporals*). His brother Barkyarúḳ son of Malak Sháh, however, opposed him and the Caliph invested him with authority and surnamed him Rukn u'd dín—and that in Muḥarram of the year 487. The Caliph signed the diploma of investiture and died suddenly the next day (15*th Muḥarram*, 4*th February* 1094). It was said that his female slave Shams u'n Nahár (*the sun of day*) poisoned him. His son al Mustadhir bi'lláh was acknowledged as his successor in the Caliphate. Of persons of note who died during his reign were A'bdu'l Ḳáhir al Jurjáni, Abu'l Walíd al Báji, the Shaykh Abu Isḥáḳ as Shirázi, al Aa'lam (*the hare-lipped*) the grammarian, Ibn u's Ṣabbágh author of the Shámil, al Mutawalli, Imám u'l Ḥaramayn, ad Damagháni the Ḥanafite, Ibn Fadhḍhál al Mujáshi'í, and al Bazdawi the Ḥanafite Shaykh.

AL MUSTADHIR BI'LLÁH.

Al Mustadhir bi'lláh (*Imploring help of God*) Abu'l A'bbás Aḥmad son of al Muḳtadi was born in Shawwal of the year 470. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father, being sixteen years of age. Ibn u'l Athír says that he was of gentle manners, of generous disposition, zealous in good works, a fine penman, skilful in the despatch of the royal rescripts in which no one could approach† him, indicating considerable‡ merit and

* الي حيث القت رحلها أم قشعم is an Arabic proverb, said to be a saying of Zuhayr expressive of the meaning I have given. It is said that U'mm Kasha'm (*Death*) was the name of a camel that had fled from its owner and passing by a large fire, it shied and flung its saddle into the middle of it. The expression is now used as an imprecation. The text would therefore be literally rendered—"and Malak Sháh went to where her saddle was thrown *by Umm Kasha'm.*" See the Durrat al Yatímah bi'l Amthal i'l Ḳadimah (*the matchless pearl on ancient proverbs*) by Ibrahím Sarkis of Lebanon.

† Ibn u'l Athír has يقاربه. not يقارنه

‡ For عريز read غريز as in Ibn Ath.

A. H. 487.
A. D. 1094.

extensive knowledge. He was humane and liberal and a patron of the learned and the virtuous. His tenure of the Caliphate was not free from trouble for the times *he lived in* were turbulent and occupied with frequent wars.

During this year of his reign died al Mustanṣir the U'baydite sovereign of Egypt and was succeeded by his son al Mustaa'li Aḥmad. During the same, the Byzantines took Valencia.

In the year 488, Aḥmád* Khan prince of Samarkand was slain, as it seemed that he held impious tenets. The nobles seized him and the jurisconsults were summoned and pronounced sentence of death against him and he was put to death—may God not have mercy upon him—and they gave the government to his cousin *Masa'úd*.

In the year 489 the seven planets with the exception of Saturn met in the sign of Pisces and the astronomers predicted a deluge similar to the deluge of Noah and it came to pass that the pilgrims encamped at Dar u'l Manáḳib† when a flood overtook and drowned the greater number of them.

In the year 490, the Sulṭán Arslán Arghún son of Alp Arslán the Saljúk, ruler of Khurasán was assassinated. The country was seized by Sulṭán Barkyárúḳ and its cities and people yielded obedience to him. During the same the khuṭbah was read for the U'baydite (*Mustaa'li*) in Aleppo, Antioch and Maa'rrah and Shayzar for the space of one month and afterwards restored for the A'bbássides. During the same the Franks advanced and captured Nice which was the first city they took and they reached Kafarṭáb‡ and devastated the adjacent country. This was the first appearance of the Franks in Syria. They passed the Bosporus in vast numbers, and princes and their subjects were in consternation and terrible were their depredations. It is said that when the ruler of Egypt beheld the supremacy of the Saljúks and their predominance in Syria, he wrote to the Franks inviting them to enter and conquer Syria, and from every quarter there was a general summons of the Frankish people.

In the year 492, the mission of the Báṭini§ sectaries spread into Ispahan. During the same the Franks took Jerusalem after a siege of a month and a half, and slaughtered more than seventy thousand, among them, many learned, devout, and pious men. They destroyed the places

* Not احمد as in the text.

† Ibn u'l Athír has مياقت and a variant مناقت —but none of those places are to be found in Yaḳúṭ. See the M. B. under مناقب.

‡ Between Maa'rrah and Aleppo.

§ See note †, p. 4.

of religious visitation and collected the Jews together in a church and A. H. 492.
burnt it over their heads. The refugees arrived at Baghdad and recounted A. D. 1099.
tales that brought tears to the eyes. But the rival Sulṭáns were at variance with each other, wherefore the Franks subdued all Syria.

Abu'l Mudhaffar al Abiwardi* says regarding this—

"I have mixed blood with flowing tears,
For none is left among us to be a mark for the catapults.
A poor weapon for a man is the tear that he sheds
When war kindles its flame with keen-edged swords.
O sons of Islam! behind ye
Are battles which will bring death upon your paths.
O thou fair sleeper in the shade of security and ease
And pleasure like the delicate flower of the grove!
How can the eye slumber whose lids are filled
With dust that awaketh every sleeper?
Your brethren in Syria take their midday rest
On the backs of well grown steeds or in the maws of vultures.
Rome beateth them with contumely, and ye
Trail the skirts of submission like those who seek peace.
How much blood has been shed with impunity,
And how many fair women veil with shame their beauty with their hands!
So that the glittering swords have their curved blades red with blood for their sakes,
And the tall lances bear their points† blood-dyed.
It may soon be that he who lies buried in Medína
Will call out with a loud voice, "O sons of Hashim!
Do I see my people not speeding towards the foe
Their spears, while the pillars of the faith are tottering!
And choosing hell-fire for fear of death
And counting not the inevitable shame?
Are the chief of the Arabs content with ignominy
And submit they to the scorn of barbarian lords?
Would that if they fight not in defence
Of their faith, they would be jealous for the honour of their homes."

* He was a direct descendant from Mua'wíyah the less, and a poet of great celebrity and an eminent genealogist and was a native of Abiward. His collected works are classed under various heads, such as Irákíyah, (pieces relative to Irák) Najdíyah (relative to Najd) and Wajdíyah (amatory pieces). He died at Ispahan 507 A. H. Ibn Khall.

† Ibn Ath. has this word with a ذ instead of ز —thus making it an adjective, sharp, penetrating. See his variants of this poem.

A. H. 492. A. D. 1099. During the same, Muḥammad the son of Malak Sháh rose against his brother Barkyarúḳ and vanquished him, wherefore the Caliph invested him with the supreme authority and gave him the title of Ghiyáth u'ddunya wa'd dín (*Redresser of wrongs in spirituals and temporals*) and his name was read in the khuṭbah at Baghdad. Many engagements subsequently took place between them. The Ḳurán of Othmán was brought this year from Tiberius to Damascus for fear *of an accident* to it, and the people went out to meet it and they placed it in the treasury in the reserved space of the principal mosque.

In 494 the power of the Báṭinis in Iráḳ increased and their assassination of the people, and the terrors they occasioned were such that the nobles wore armour under their garments and they slew many people, among them ar Ruyáni* author of the Bahr u'l Madḥab (*ocean of doctrine*). In this year the Franks took the town of Sarúj,† and Ḥayfa, Ursúf and Cesarea.

In 495 died al Mustaa'li ruler of Egypt and was succeeded by his son a child of five years, Manṣúr al Ámir bi'aḥkám alláh (*Ruling according to the commands of God*).

In the year 496 seditions occurred against the authority of the Sulṭán, and the preachers omitted the prayer for him, and restricted themselves to the prayer for the Caliph and no other.

In 497 a peace was concluded between the two Sulṭáns Muḥammad and Barkyarúḳ. The occasion of it was, that after hostilities had been protracted between them and dissensions had become universal, and property plundered and blood spilt and the provinces ravaged during which the Sulṭánate was the coveted prize, and princes after being victorious were in their turn subdued, men of understanding interfered in the interests of peace, and treaties and oaths and compacts were drawn up and the Caliph bestowed the viceregal robe of honour upon Barkyarúḳ and the khuṭbah was read for him in Baghdad.

In the year 498 Sulṭán Barkyarúḳ died and the nobles set up his son Jalál u'd Daulah Malak Sháh in succession to him. The Caliph invested him and his name was read in the khuṭbah in Baghdad. He was under five years of age. His uncle Muḥammad, however, opposed him and as the general voice was in his favour, the Caliph placed him in the dignity of the Sulṭánate and he returned to Ispahan, a powerful Sulṭán much feared and at the head of a numerous army.

* Abu'l Mahásin A'bdu'l Wáḥid a Shafi'íte jurisconsult of eminence in great favour with Nidḥám u'l Mulk. His work, the Baḥr, was a voluminous treatise on the jurisprudence of his school. He was killed at Amul and owed his death to sectarian intolerance. Ibn Khall. He was born 415 A. H., (1025) and slain 502 (1108).

† Sarúj is near Harrán N. E. of Aleppo. Ḥayfa is in the bay of Acre and Ursúf on the coast between Cesarea and Jaffa.

During the same year the small-pox broke out with great virulence in Baghdad, and a countless number of children died and it was followed by a great plague. A. H. 498. A.D.1104-5.

In the year 499, a man arose in the neighbourhood of Nahawand claiming the gift of prophecy. The people followed him but he was taken and put to death. In the year 500, the fort *of Shahdiz** in Ispahan of which the Ismailites had taken possession, was recaptured and destroyed and the defenders slain. Their leader (*Aḥmad-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-A'ttásh*) was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw. This was done by Sulṭán Muḥammad after a close siege. Praise be to God.

In the year 501 the Sulṭán removed the imposts and taxes in Baghdad and many blessings were invoked on him and he increased in justice and beneficence.

In 502 the Ismailites returned and occupied Shayzar when its inhabitants were off their guard and took possession of it and captured the citadel and shut the gates. Its governor was at the time absent on a tour of pleasure, but he returned and quickly exterminated them.

During this year the Sháfi'ite Shaykh ar Ruyáni author of the Baḥr was slain by the Ismailites as hath already gone before.

In the year 503, the Franks took Tripoli after a siege of some years.

In 504 the troubles of the Muslims increased by reason of the Franks, and being convinced of their ultimate conquest of the whole of Syria, the Muslims sought to conclude a peace which the Franks rejected, but proposed a truce on the condition of the payment of many thousand dínárs. A truce was therefore concluded which they afterwards broke—may the Lord confound them.†

During the same a dark storm swept over old Cairo which prevented people breathing and a man could not even see his hand, and sand fell upon the people and they believed their destruction was upon them. After a short time it cleared a little and then turned yellow and this went on from the afternoon till past sunset. A bloody battle also took place this year between the Franks‡ and Ibn Táshifín ruler of Spain in which the Muslims were victorious, and they slew and made captive and plundered to an extent which cannot be described and the bravest of the Franks fell.

* Ibn Ath. Weil writes the name incorrectly Sháhdurr. See Yaḳúṭ.

† This pious wish is not echoed by Ibn Athír who does not state in terms that the truce was broken. Its duration was limited to the harvest time. The Crusaders after this, plundered a fleet of merchant ships conveying a rich cargo from Egypt but it is not stated whether this was done during the truce. The silence of the Arab historian speaks in acquittal of the Frank. Aleppo purchased this truce at 32,000 dínárs besides horses and garments, Tyre contributed 7,000, Shayzar 4,000, and Ḥamát 2,000.

‡ Under Alfonso of Toledo according to the Kámil.

A. H. 507. In the year 507, Maudúd governor of Mosal advanced with an army
A. D. 1113. against the Frankish king of Jerusalem* (*Baldwin*) and a terrible engagement took place between them. Shortly after Maudúd returned to Damascus, and one day while he was reading the Friday prayers, lo! a Báṭini sprung upon him and stabbed him and he died on the spot. The Frankish king upon this wrote to the governor of Damascus,† a letter which runs as follows: "Verily a people that slays its chief, on a festival day in the temple of Him whom they worship, the Lord must necessarily destroy."

In the year 511 a great flood swept over Sinjár‡ and its fortifications and a great number of people were destroyed. The flood carried away the gate of the city several parasangs, and it lay hidden under the soil which the stream took with it, and it was discovered two years after. A little child escaped safely in its cot which the flood carried away. The cot lodged in an olive tree. The child afterwards lived and grew to manhood.

In the same year died the Sulṭán Muḥammad who was succeeded by his son Maḥmúd at the age of fourteen.

In the year 512 died the Caliph al Mustadhir bi'lláh on the 16th Rabíi' II.§ He reigned 25 years. Ibn Uḳayl the Ḥanbalite Shaykh washed his body and his son al Mustarshid read the prayers over him. Shortly after his death died his grandmother Arjawán the mother of al Muḳtadi. Ad Ḍahabi says that no other Caliph is known whose grandmother outlived him but this one. She saw her son a Caliph, her grandson and her great-grandson.

The following verses are by al Mustadhir—

"The warmth of love dissolved in my heart what was frozen
On the day thou didst stretch out thy hand in farewell.
How can I tread the path of patience while verily
I behold the way through the defiles of love are various?
If I break my plighted troth, O my delight!
In time to come, may I never behold thee again."

* Godfrey of Bouillon was succeeded in the government of Jerusalem by the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin. Baldwin was defeated in this battle (*30th June* 1113) which took place near Tiberias, with great loss.

† The Atábak Tughtakín, who it is conjectured instigated the deed, the fruits of which he enjoyed.

‡ Near Mosal.

§ The text has 23 Rabíi' I, and so also the MS., but this must be an error as as Suyúṭi himself admits that the Caliph's son al Mustárshid succeeded *on the death* of his father in *Rabíi' II*. Both Ibn u'l Athír and Ibn Khaldún give the date to be the middle of Rabíi' II. The former specifies it with exactitude, namely, the 16th of that month (*8th August* 1118) and gives the duration of his reign at 24 years 3 months and 11 days, with which Abu'l Fida exactly accords.

The following is by Ṣárim al Baṭáiḥi— A. H. 512. A. D. 1118.

" I dwelt with Mustadhir the son of Muḳtadi
Bi'lláh, the son of al Káim, the son of al Ḳádir,
Under his protection. I hope of the bounty of his hands
That he will be a guardian to my family.
May my abode be with him in my advancing years
And may he obtain from my praise, verses of world-wide fame."

Al Mustadhir wrote an order thereupon giving him the choice of receiving a present and departing, or remaining with him with a yearly stipend. As Silafi narrates that Abu'l Khaṭṭáb-b-i'l Jarráḥ said to him. " I was praying with al Mustadhir in the Ramadhán, and I read as follows: 'Verily thy son hath been called a thief.' (Kur. XII), a reading which I had from al Kasái, and when I came to the concluding benediction, he said, 'This reading is a good one because it clears the children of the prophets from having spoken falsely.' "*

AL MUSTARSHID BI'LLÁH.

Al Mustarshid bi'lláh (*Taking God for a Guide*) Abu Manṣúr al Fadḥl-b-u'l Mustadhir was born in Rabíi' I, in the year 485 and was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in Rabíi' II, 512. He was a man of high resolves and great courage, spirit, intelligence and of awe-inspiring presence. He assumed the affairs of the Caliphate and administered them in an admirable manner. He revived its ancient customs, and put life into its bones, strengthening the pillars of the law and ornamenting its sleeves. He personally undertook the direction of hostilities and marched on several occasions to Ḥillah and Mosal and the road to Khurásán, until the last march he undertook when his army was defeated near Ḥamadán and he was taken prisoner to Aḍarbiján. He heard traditions from Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Bayyán, and A'bdu'l Wahab-b-Hibbat i'lláh as Sabti. Muḥammad b-Omar-b-Makki al Ahwazí, and his Wazír A'li-b-Ṭirád *az Zaynabi* and Isma'íl-b-Ṭáhir al Mausilí, related them on his authority. This is mentioned by Ibn u's Sama'áni.†

* The ordinary reading is—'thy son hath committed theft' by a change of the diacritical points. The passage refers to the finding of the cup in Benjamin's sack and Reuben addressing his brethren, refuses to return to Egypt without Benjamin and tells the rest to say the above words to Jacob.

† The Háfidh Abu Saa'd surnamed Táj u'l Islám a Shafi'íte doctor born 466, (1074) died 510 (1116). A list of his works is given by Ibn Khall.

A. H. 512. Ibn u's Ṣaláḥ notices him in the classes of the Sháfi'ítes and let that
A. D. 1118. be sufficient for thee *as a testimony of his merit* and he says that he it was for whom Abu Bakr as Sháshi composed his work the U'mdah *fi Farún u's Sháfiyah* (*the Pillar on the derivative institutes of the Shafi'í doctrine*) on jurisprudence, the book being known by his surname, for al Mustarshid* had at that time the title of Umdat u'ddunya wa'd dín *(Pillar in spirituals and temporals)*. As Subki† also speaks of him in his classification of the Shafi'íte doctors and says that in the beginning of his reign, he was devout and wore hair-cloth and used to retire alone into a room to pray; that he was born on Wednesday the 18th of Shaa'bán in the year 486 and that his father included him in the khuṭbah as his heir and engraved his name on the coinage in Rabíi' I, 488.

He wrote a beautiful hand which none of the Caliphs before him equalled. He used to correct his secretaries and rectify the errors in their documents. As for his nobility of mind, awe-inspiring presence, his courage and intrepidity, they were as clear as the sun. His reign continued to be troubled by many dissessions and enemies. He used to march in person to put them down until his final expedition to Irák when he was defeated, taken prisoner and suffered martyrdom.

Ad Ḍahabi says that Sulṭán Maḥmúd son of Muḥammad Malak Shah died in 525 and was succeeded by his son Daúd. His uncle Masa'úd son of Muḥammad opposed him and an engagement took place, but after a short time they made peace on the condition of an equal partition, each of them retaining sovereign authority. Masa'úd was named Sulṭán in the khuṭbah at Baghdad and Daúd as his successor, and they both received robes of honour. Afterwards an estrangement occurred between the Caliph and Masa'úd and the Caliph marched against him. The two armies met, but the greater part of the Caliph's troops played false and Masa'úd was victorious and took him and his suite prisoners and confined them in a fort near Ḥamadán. When the people of Baghdad heard this, they filled the streets in a state of commotion, having dust upon their heads, and wept and lamented and the women came forth with uncovered faces mourning the Caliph, and they abstained from public prayers and the reading of the khuṭbah.

Ibn u'l Jauzi says that Baghdad was convulsed by frequent earthquakes, continuing five or six times each day, and the people fell to sup-

* See Haji Khalifah under عمدة

† Abu Nasr A'bd'ul Wahháb surnamed the crown of religion, chief Ḳáḍhi of Damascus. His work on the Shafi'íte doctors was in three parts called at Ṭabaḳát al Kubra (*the greater*) al Wusta (*the medium*) and al Sughra (*the less*). He was born at Cairo, A. H. 728 (1327-8), and died of the plague at Damascus, A. H. 771 (1369-70) De Slane, I. K.

plicating the Lord. Sulṭán Sinjar* thereupon wrote to his nephew Masa'úd, A. H. 525.
saying, "As soon as my son, the Redresser of Spirituals and Temporals, A. D. 1131.
is informed of this letter, let him present himself before the Caliph, and kiss the ground before him and ask his pardon and forgiveness and make the humblest supplications for his indulgence, for verily signs from the heavens and the earth have appeared to us, the like of which we are unable to listen to, much less witness, such as hurricanes, lightnings and earthquakes, and their continuance for twenty days, together with dissensions in the army and confusion in the provinces, for verily I fear for myself before the Lord. And the appearance of his signs and the abstention of the people from praying in the mosques and the discontinuance of the khuṭbah *are things* I am not able to bear, therefore I conjure thee by Allah to mend thy affairs and restore the Caliph to his residence of honour and carry before him the housings of State as hath been our custom and the custom of our ancestors." And Masa'úd did all that was commanded him and kissed the ground before the Caliph and stood before him asking pardon. Sinjár subsequently sent another messenger accompanied by an armed force, urging Masa'úd to restore the Caliph to his capital. With this force were seventeen Isma'ilites and it is said that Masa'úd was ignorant of their presence, but others affirm that it was he who secretly introduced them. They attacked the Caliph in his tent and treacherously slew him and murdered with him a number of his attendants. The troops were not aware of their presence until they had effected their purpose, when they captured them and put them to death under the curse of God. The Sulṭán Masa'úd publicly mourned him and affected grief for this, and there was lamentation and weeping, and when the news reached Baghdad the people felt it sorely and they went forth bare foot rending their garments, the women with dishevelled hair, beating their breasts and lamenting over him, for al Mustarshid was much beloved among them for his bravery and justice and for his goodness towards them. The assassination of al Mustarshid took place at Marághah* on Thursday the 16th of Du'l Kaa'dah 529, (27*th August* 1134).

* Sixth Sulṭán of the elder branch of the Saljúks. He was son of Malak Sháh. He governed Khurásán for 20 years under his brothers Barkyarúḳ and Muḥammad, to whose possessions he succeeded, after forcing Sulṭán Masa'úd to acknowledge his paramount authority. He conquered Transoxiana and compelled tribute from the Ghaznevide kings. He was taken prisoner by the Ghuz a Turkish tribe and remained with them for five years. He effected his escape, but died in 552 when on the point of recovering his kingdom. See D. Herbelot art. Sangiar. Gibbon, Cap. LIX and Ibn Khall.

† In Aḍarbíján. Accounts vary as to the exact date of the Caliph's death.

A. H. 529. The following is by him—

A. D. 1134.

"I am he, ruddy of visage, sought for in battle,
Who can conquer the world without opposition.
My horsemen shall sweep over the Roman empire
And my glittering sword shall be wielded in the furthest ends of China."

The following also are among his lines written during imprisonment—

"It is not strange that lions should be wounded
By dogs of enemies, human beings and brutes.
For the javelin of Wahshi made Ḥamzah drink of death
And A'li was slain by the sword of Ibn Muljam."

By him also are these verses when he was defeated and counselled to fly, but refused and held his ground till he was captured :

"They said, 'dost thou stand while
The enemy surround thee, and fly not ?'
I answered them, 'the man who will not be counselled
By admonition, deceiveth himself ;
May I never acquire good while I live
And may Fortune never avert evil from me,
If I have ever thought that other
Than God can profit or injure me.'"

Ad Ḍahabi says that he preached to the people on the festival of Adḥḥa and said, "God is great while the stars move in their orbits and the light breaks in the East, and the sun rises and the heavens cover the earth. God is great, while the clouds shed rain, and the mirage gleams, and what is sought is successfully accomplished, and the returning wanderer is glad as he returns—" and he spoke a long discourse and then sat down. Again he rose and preached and said—O God, be beneficent to me in my posterity and aid me in what Thou hast given me to rule and inspire me with thanks for Thy benefits and give me Thy grace and help me." When he had pronounced this and was about to descend, Abu'l Mudhaffar the Hashimite advanced to him and recited as follows :

"The peace of God be upon thee thou best of those who have ascended
The pulpit and whose standards victory attends!
And most excellent of those who, bearing rule,
Art an Imám to thy people and benefitest them universally by thy virtuous conduct !
Best of men in the world in the east and west,
And he whose ancestor was he for whom the rain came upon earth !*
Verily, thy discourse and true eloquence which would soften a stone

* The Muḥammadans ascribe the creation of the earth and all its blessings, to their prophet's advent and that they were for his sake alone, brought into existence.

Hath bedecked our ears with ear-rings. A. H. 529.
Thou hast filled all hearts with dread, A. D. 1134.
And verily the whole city hath trembled with the fear of its threatening
Thou hast added by it to the glory and nobility of the descendants of Adnán,*
And by it amongst men is renown for thee won.
Thou art the chief of the A'bbás
In whom the lowly and the wise glory.
Unto God we owe the age in which thou art our Imám,
And unto Him the faith of which thou art to us the chief.
Mayst thou continue reigning through time
While age succeeds to age possessing thee!
Mayest thou be present at this happy festival with our good wishes
And thy prayers and sacrifice exalt us in honor."

His Wazír Jalálu'ddín al Ḥasan-b-A'li-b-Ṣadaḳah thus praises him—

" I have found men as water in sweetness and delicacy,
But the prince of the Faithful is its perfect purity.
I figured to myself the personification of Wisdom,
And verily the prince of the Faithful is its likeness.
And were it not for religion and the divine law and a sense of piety
I would say in reference to him, may his glory be exalted."†

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, a cloud ascended and rained down fire upon the city of Mosal, through which many houses and places in the city were burnt. In the same year the sovereign of Egypt al A'mir bi Aḥkámi'lláh Manṣúr was slain and left no issue. His nephew al Ḥáfidh, A'bdu'l Majíd-b-Muhammad-b-i'l Muntaṣir succeeded him. During the same also, flying scorpions with two stings made their appearance in Baghdad, and men were in fear of them for verily they killed a number of children.

Of persons of distinction who died during his reign were Shamsu'l Aimmat Abu'l Fadhl the Ḥanafite Imám, Abúr Raffá-b-Uḳayl al Ḥanbali, the chief Ḳádhi Abu'l Ḥasan al Damagháni, Ibn Bulaymah‡ the Ḳuran reader, at Tughraí author of the Lámyat u'l A'jam,§ Abú Ali as Ṣadafi

* The Ḳuraysh.

† An expression applied to God alone.

‡ I can find no trace of such a name in any work I have consulted and do not know its true pronunciation.

§ This has been repeatedly published in Europe and has been edited by Pocock. This poet was Wazír to the Sulṭán Masa'úd and was put to death by Mahmúd's Wazír (after the former Sulṭán had been defeated near Hamadan by his brother Mahmúd) on the suspicion or accusation of being an atheist (*A. H.* 513, *or* 14). Tughrái signifies a tughra writer, the tughra being a flourish at the beginning of official papers over the word B'ism'illah and containing the titles of the prince. See Ibn Khall.

A. H. 529. the Háfidh, Abú Naşr al Kushayri, Ibn u'l Kattáa' the philologer, Muhí
A. D. 1134. u's Sunnat al Baghawí (*al Farrá*), Ibu u'l Fihám the Kurán reader, al Harírí author of the Makámát, al Maidáni author of the Amthál (*Proverbs*),* Abu'l Walíd-b-Rushd al Máliki, the Imám Abu Bakr of Tortosa, Abu'l Hajjáj of Saragossa, Ibn u's Sayyid of Badajos *the grammarian and philologist*, Abu Ali al Fáriki of the Sha'fiites, Ibu u'l Taráwah the grammarian, Ibn u'l Bádish *the grammarian*, Dháfir al Haddád the poet, A'bdu'l Gháfir al Fárisi and others.

AR RÁSHID BI'LLÁH.

Ar Ráshid bi'lláh (*Directed aright by God*) Abu Jaa'far Manşúr son of al Mustarshid was born in the year 502. His mother was a slave concubine. It was said that there was an obstruction at his birth. The physicians were consulted and they recommended the enlargement of the passage with a golden instrument which was done and proved beneficial. His father introduced his name in the khutbah as his heir in the year 513, and he was acknowledged Caliph on the assassination of his father in Du'l Kaa'dah 529. He was eloquent, versed in literature and a poet; brave, beneficent, generous, of a virtuous disposition, choosing justice and hating iniquity. When Sultán Masa'úd returned to Baghdad the Caliph departed for Mosal. The Kádhis, the principal men and the learned were then summoned *by Masa'úd* and they drew up an indictment containing the evidence of certain people on the tyranny of ar Ráshid, his confiscation of property, shedding of blood and wine drinking and the jurists were asked whether the doer of these things was deserving of the supreme administration and whether, should his guilt be established, it were lawful for the Sultán for the time being, to depose him and substitute for him one more worthy. They gave sentence on the lawfulness of his deposition, and the Kádhi of the city, Ibn u'l Karkhi pronounced his deposal. And they swore allegiance to his uncle Muhammad the son of al Mustadhir who was surnamed al Muktafi li'amri'lláh (*Following the commands of God*). This occurred on the 16th† Du'l Kaa'dah 530 (16*th August* 1135). When the news of his deposition reached ar Ráshid, he set out from Mosal for the provinces of Adarbiján with his adherents, and they levied a sum of money from Marághah and acted there with great injustice and passed to Hamadán where they committed violence and slew a number of people and crucified others and shaved off the beards of some of the learned.

* A Latin translation of which has been published by Professor Freytag of Bonn.

† 18th Ibn Ath.

Subsequently they advanced on Ispahan and laid siege to it and ravaged the villages. Ar Ráshid fell ill of a grevous sickness* outside Ispahan and some Persians who were in his service as chamber attendants, went in to him and slew him with knives, but were afterwards themselves all put to death. This took place on the 16th† of Ramadhan 532. Al I'mád‡ Kátib says that ar Ráshid possessed the beauty of Joseph and the liberality of Hátim. A. H. 530. A. D. 1135.

Ibn u'l Jauzi observes—"according to as Şúli the general opinion is that every sixth Caliph was deposed. I have looked into this statement and observed it with wonder." I remark that I have continued the rest of his observations in the introduction. (Page 18).

The mantle and sceptre were not taken from ar Ráshid till he was assassinated when they were brought after his death to al Muktafi.

AL MUKTAFI LI'AMRI'LLÁH.

Al Muktafi li'amri'lláh Abu A'bdu'llah Muhammad the son of al Mustadhir bi'lláh was born on the 22nd Rabíi' 489. His mother was a Nubian. He was acknowledged Caliph on the deposal of his nephew, at the age of forty. The reason of his being surnamed al Muktafi was that, six days before his elevation to the Caliphate, he dreamt that he saw the Apostle of God saying to him, "This authority shall come to thee, therefore follow the commandments of God." He therefore received the title of "the follower of the commandments of God." Sultán Masa'úd after he had dealt even-handed justice and set Baghdad in order, next took the

* Neither Ibn Khaldún nor Abu'l Fida mention his illness. This vague account of ar Ráshid's movements after leaving Mosal may be supplemented by Weil's (pp. 238 and 9, Vol. III), narrative taken from Ibn Ath. and Ibn Khaldún, and Reiske's Latin version of Abu'l Fida, Vol. III, p. 477.

† Ibn Ath. and Abu'l Fida, have 25th Ibn Khaldún, 15th.

‡ Abú A'bdu'llah Muhammad Imám u'ddín (*pillar of religion*) Kátib al Ispahani (*the scribe of Ispahan*) was a Sha'fiíte doctor and author of many poems and epistles. He was honoured with the friendship of Saladin and served him as Secretary of State till that monarch's death, (A. H., 589-1193) which reduced him to ruin and deprived him of all influence. He was born 519 (1125) and died at Damascus 597 (1201). A list of his works will be found in Ibn Khall—the principal being the Kharídat u'l Kaşr wa Jaridat u'l A'sr (*virgin of the palace and volume or palm branch of the age*) containing an account of the poets between the years 500 and 572, in 10 vols. of which De Slane speaks slightingly and apparently with much reason. He has also written a history of the Saljuk dynasty, the conquest of Jerusalem and a historical and autobiographical work entitled the "Syrian Lightning."



A. H. 532. A. D. 1138.

whole of the cattle and furniture and gold, and curtains and pavilions that were in the palace of the Caliph and left in the stables of the Caliph but four horses and eight mules* for the conveyance of water *from the Tigris.* It was therefore said that al Muktafi was acknowledged Caliph on the condition of his possessing neither a horse nor travelling furniture.

In the year 531 Sultán Masa'úd seized all the possessions of the Caliph and left him nothing but his personal estate and he sent his Wazír to demand of the Caliph one hundred thousand dínárs. Al Muktafi replied, "I have never known anything stranger than thy conduct. Thou knowest that al Mustarshid went to thee with all his wealth and what followed, followed; next ar Ráshid ruled and acted as he acted and departed and took what remained,† and nothing was left but the furniture, the whole of which thou hast seized, and turned to thy use in the mint and thou hast possessed thyself of inheritances and the proceeds of the poll tax. For what reason then should I give thee this money? Nothing remains but that I should quit the palace and deliver it up, for I have vowed to God that I would not take a grain's worth from the Muslims unjustly." The Sultán then abandoned his demands on the Caliph and turned to taxing the property of the people and he imposed fines on the merchants, and the people suffered severely through this. Subsequently in Jumáda I the estates of the Caliph and his domains and inheritances were restored to his control. During this year the new moon was looked for on the night of the 30th Ramadhán, but it was not seen, and the people of Baghdad entered upon morning, fasting in completion of the term. On the following day they looked again for the new moon but did not see it though the sky was bright and clear, the like of which has not been heard of in history.

In the year 533 there was a great earthquake at Khubzah,‡ felt for a distance of ten parasangs and multitudes perished, after which Khubzah was swallowed up, and black water rose in the place where the town had stood. During the same the nobles took possession of the revenues of the provinces and Sultán Masa'úd was helpless, nothing being left him but the name of power. The supremacy of Sultán Sinjar also declined for the Lord is the humbler of tyrants, but the Caliph al Muktafi became powerful:

* The version of Ibn Ath. is very different. The Sultán sent to the Caliph informing him of the settlement of certain personal estates for his maintenance. He replied that he had eighty mules in his palace for the conveyance of water from the Tigris and that the Sultán should see to the necessities of the person who drank this water. It was therefore agreed that he should receive the same allowance as al Mustadhir.

† Read تَبَقَّي.

‡ This is a fort near Mecca according to Yakút, but Ibn Ath. and Abu'l Fida speak only of the effects of this earthquake in Syria and especially at Aleppo.

his influence increased and his authority grew great, and this was the beginning of the restoration of the A'bbaside power, for which, praise be to God. A. H. 533. A.D.1138-9.

In the year 541 Sulṭán Masa'úd arrived at Baghdad and set up a mint, but the Caliph imprisoned the coiner who occasioned the establishment of the mint, whereupon Masa'úd arrested the chamberlain of the Caliph, who was greatly incensed and closed the principal mosque and the other mosques for three days. Upon this the chamberlain was released whereon the coiner was set free and the affair ended peaceably.

During the same Ibn u'l A'bbádi* held his discourses. On one occasion Masa'úd was present and the preacher addressed himself to the mention of the tax on sales, and what the people had undergone and he said, "O Lord of the world! thou givest in one night to a musician as much as this that thou takest from the Muslims, wherefore bestow on me that musician and give him to me and make of him a thank-offering to God for what He hath bestowed upon thee." And he consented and proclamation was made in the city of its remission, and placards were sent round, preceded by drums and trumpets, on which the remission of the tax was inscribed, and they were nailed up *on the doors of the mosques*† and there remained until an Náṣirli díni'lláh commanded the placards to be pulled down, saying, "we have no need of Persian memorials."

In the year 543 the Franks‡ besieged Damascus, but Nuru'ddín Maḥmúd-b-Zinki governor of Aleppo and his brother *Sayfu'ddin* Ghāzi lord of Mosal advanced to its relief. The Muslims were victorious, praise be to God, and the Franks were routed. Nuru'ddín continued the war with the Franks and recovered what they had taken of the cities of the Muslims.

In the year 544 died the sovereign of Egypt al Ḥáfidh li díni'lláh (*Protector of the religion of God*) and his son ad Dháfir Isma'íl succeeded him. During the same a great earthquake occurred and Baghdad was convulsed about ten times, and a mountain in Ḥulwan was shattered by it. In the year 545 it rained blood in Yaman and the earth was sprinkled with blood and its traces were left upon the garments of the people.

* Ibn Ath. states that he was a preacher who came as an envoy from Sulṭán Sinjar. So great was the influence of his discourses that not only the court, but the common people left their occupations and went eagerly to hear him.

† So Ibn Ath. who places this in the year 533, and does not state that it was in consequence of al A'bbadi's intervention.

‡ "Under the king of Germany"—writes Abu'l Fida. This was Conrad III. See Reiske's note to this passage. Conrad marched with St. Louis of France and Baldwin "sed re infecta domum redierunt, seditione inter obsidentes exorta." "The fruitless siege of Damascus," says Gibbon, "was the final effort of the second crusade." See his LIX Chapter.

A. H. 547. In the year 547 Sultán Masa'úd died. Ibn Hubayrah who was the
A. D. 1152. Wazír of al Muktafi relates that when the followers of Masa'úd behaved arrogantly towards al Muktafi and treated him with disrespect, and he was not powerful enough to proceed from undisguised enmity into open war, it was decided to pray for the curse of God upon Masa'úd for a whole month as the prophet called down curses during a month upon Ri'l and Dakwán.* Whereupon he and the Caliph secretly, each one in his place, began to pray at daybreak from the night of the 29th Jumada I and this continued every night. And when the month was completed Masa'úd died upon his throne,† not a day beyond the month and not a day under it. The army agreed upon the elevation to the Sultánate of Malak Shah,‡ and Khásbek§ undertook the administration in his name, but he afterwards arrested Malak Shah and sent for his brother Muhammad from Khuzistán who arrived and the Sultanate was resigned to him. At this juncture the Caliph assumed the supreme administration and his commands were universally obeyed, and he removed the professors whom the Sultán had appointed to the Nidhamíyah College. It was reported to him, also that the district of Wásit was in a state of anarchy whereupon he marched at the head of his army and set the provinces in order and entered Hillah and Kúfah and returned to Baghdad confirmed in power and victorious and the city was decorated *for his entry*. In the year 548 the Ghuzz|| rose up against Sultán Sinjar and took him prisoner and treated him with contumely and overran his dominions, but left the khutbah in his name. He remained in their power a shadow without reality and he wept for himself over his nominal authority and his stipend was as much as that of one of his own grooms.

* Ril and Dakwán were two tribes descended from Sulaym, who put to death seventy of the Auxiliaries whom Muhammad had sent at their request to aid them against one of the hostile tribes. These 70 were termed Kurrá and were apparently in the service of Muhammad as catechists and expounders of the Kurán: when they reached Bír Maúnah, they were met by the Banu Ri'l and Dakwán and treacherously slain. Two other tribes, that of U'sayyah and Lahyán were associated in this murderous deed and in the curse of Muhammad. The story and ascriptions will be found in the Sahíh of Bukhári, pp. 585-6.

† The more prosaic narrative of Ibn Ath. makes him die of a fever which carried him off in a week. Ibn Khall, states the cause of his death to have been an attack of vomiting and a flow of liquid from the mouth, apparently caused by the intemperate life he led. In I. K.'s life of Ibn Hubayrah there is no mention of this circumstance.

‡ Nephew of Masa'úd.

§ Of Turkoman origin who as a boy entered the service of Masa'úd and rose to pre-eminence over the other Emirs. He was afterwards put to death by Muhammad for conspiring to obtain the Sultánate for himself. Abu'l Fida. Ibn Ath.

|| A Turkoman horde consisting of about 40,000 families, on the banks of the Oxus between Balkh and Bukhára. Weil; see also Abu'l Fida.

In the year 549 the sovereign of Egypt ad Dháfir billáh al U'baydi was slain at Cairo and was succeeded by his son al Fáiz I'sa a little child, and the affairs of the Egyptians fell into a ruinous state. Upon this al Muktafi wrote a diploma of investiture for Nuru'ddín-b-Zinki* and entrusted to him the government of Egypt, and ordered him to march thither. He was at the time engaged in hostilities with the Franks, pushing on vigorously the holy war, for he had captured Damascus in the month of Ṣafar of this year, and had taken possession of a number of forts and strongholds of the Byzantines by the sword and by treaty. His dominions increased and his fame spread, and al Muktafi sent him the investiture of authority and commanded him to proceed to Egypt and gave him the title of al Malik al A'ádil (*the Just King)*. The power of al Muktafi now reached its zenith: his authority was established, he was victorious over his foes and he determined to march for the provinces in rebellion against his government, and his affairs continued in prosperity and success till he died on Saturday night, the 2nd Rabíi' I, 555 (12*th March* 1160). A. H. 549. A. D. 1154.

Ad Ḍahabi days that al Muktafi was one of the most eminent of the Caliphs, learned, well-read, brave, forbearing, of easy disposition, supreme in the qualities of a prince, worthy of the Imámate, matchless among Imáms, no order however insignificant, being issued in his administration except under his transcript. He wrote out during his Caliphate three-fourths of the Kurán. He heard traditions from his master Abu'l Barakáh-b-Abi'l Faraj-b-u's Sunni.†

Ibn u's Sama'áni states that, with his brother al Mustarshid, he heard traditions from Jaz-b-A'rafah on the authority of Kásim-b-Bayyán. Traditions are related on his authority by Abú Manṣúr al Jawáliki‡ the philologer his Imám, Ibn Hubayrah his Wazír and others.

Al Muktafi gave a new gate to the kaa'bah and made a coffin of cornelian for his own burial.

He had a praiseworthy disposition, his reign was deserving of commendation, *as he* occupied himself with religion, learning, virtue, good counsel, and administration of the State. He restored the *defaced* memorials of the

* His character and conquests are sketched by Gibbon in his 59th chapter.

† This is apparently the same person as Abu'l Barakah-b-u'l Anbári whose life is given by Ibn Khall. The dates and circumstances of both, accord, the surname is somewhat different, Ibn Khall writing Abu'l Wafa for Abu'l Faraj. He was a philologist and grammarian of repute and studied at the Nidhamíyah the Sha'fiíte jurisprudence. He was born in 513 (1119) and died at Baghdad in 577 (1181).

‡ Born 466 (1073) died 525 (1134). Jawaliki signifies a maker and seller of mats. Relative adjectives of this form are rare being derived from the plural of the noun and not from the singular. The life of this great scholar may be consulted in Ibn Khall.

A. H. 555. Imámate and re-established the *ancient* customs of the Caliphate and ap-
A. D. 1160. plied himself personally to public affairs and more than once headed military expeditions, and his reign was long protracted.

Abú Ṭálib A'bdúr Raḥmán-b-Muḥammad-b-A'bdi's Samíi' al Háshimi in his work on the excellencies of the A'bbasides, says that the reign of al Muḳtafi was distinguished for justice and notable for good works. Before his accession to the Caliphate, he was of pious conduct. In the beginning of his reign he applied himself to religious exercises and the transcription of scientific works, and reading the Ḳurán. And there was never seen since al Mua'tasim, a Caliph who combined such beneficence, gentleness of manner and kindness of heart as his, with his intrepidity, firmness and bravery, together with the sobriety, piety and devotion that particularly characterized him. His armies were likewise victorious wherever they advanced. Ibn u'l Jauzi observes that from the days of al Muḳtafi, Baghdad and Irák returned under the power of the Caliphs and no contending rival was left to dispute them, while before that period from the reign of al Muḳtadir to his time the supreme authority was in the hands of royal tyrants under whom nothing but the nominal direction of the Caliphate remained to the Caliphs.

Among the Sulṭáns of his time were Sulṭán Sinjar lord of Khurasán, and Sulṭán Nuru'ddín Maḥmúd sovereign of Syria.

He was liberal, munificent, a lover of traditions and of the hearing of them, diligent *in the acquisition of* knowledge and revering its professors.

Ibn u's Sama'áni relates a tradition through al Muḳtafi with ascription to the Apostle of God that he said,—"the nobles will increase but in violence and the people in covetousness, and the day of resurrection will come *finding* only the wicked among mankind, *left*."

When al Muḳtafi sent for the Imám Abú Manṣúr al Jawálíḳi the grammarian, in order to make him his chaplain to read the prayers before him, *the latter* said nothing more to him on entering than—"To the prince of the Faithful, greeting and the mercy of God." Ibn u't Talmíḍ* a Chris-

* His name was Hibat u'llah-b-Abi Ghanáim, and he was reputed the first physician of the age. The Kátib I'mád u'ddin calls him the Galen and Hippocrates of his day, which in Oriental imagery may not mean much, but what is more to the purpose, the sweetness of his disposition, his judgment, his elevated sentiments, his powerful intellect, his modesty of deportment and his charity are praised by his enemies who wonder that with his extraordinary intelligence, he should allow himself to be deprived of the blessings of Islamism. This is disinterested and sincere eulogy. He died at Baghdad in 560, (1164-5) at the age of nearly 100 and Ibn Khall relates that all the inhabitants of Baghdad, whether dwelling on one side of the river or the other attended his funeral to *the church* which sufficiently disposes of A'bdu'l Latif's statement (*autobiography, see De Slane's extract*) that he died a Muslim.

tian physician was standing by, and said, "This is not the way of saluting the prince of the Faithful, Shaykh!" Ibn u'l Jawáliḳi paid no attention to him, but said, "Prince of the Faithful, my salutation is, that enjoined by prophetical tradition," and he repeated the tradition and added, "Prince of the Faithful! if any one were to swear that no kind of knowledge can enter into the heart of a Christain or a Jew in a proper manner, he would not be obliged to make expiation for perjury, for God hath put a seal upon their hearts* and the seal of God is not broken but by faith." Al Muḳtafi answered, "thou hast spoken truly and done well." Ibn u'l Talmíḍ with all his extensive erudition *remained silent* as if bridled with a stone. A. H. 555. A. D. 1160.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muḳtafi were Ibn u'l Islam Abrash the grammarian, Yúnus-b-Mughíth, Jamál u'l Islám-b-u'l Muslim as Sha'fií, Abú'l Ḳásim al Ispahání, author of the Targhíb (*Instigation*), Ibn Barraján, al Mázari al Máliki author of the Mu'lim *bi fawáid kitáb Muslim* (*indicator of the instructive passages in the book of Muslim*), az Zamakshari, ar Rusháṭi author of the Ansáb (*Genealogies*), al Jawalíḳi the Caliph's Imám, Ibn A'tiyah author of the Commentary, Abús Sa'ádat-b-u's Shajari, the Imám Abú Bakr-b-u'l A'rabi, Náṣiḥu'ddín al Arraјáni the poet, the Ḳádhi Iyádh, the Ḥáfidh Abú'l Walid-b-ul Dabbágh, Abu'l Asaa'd Hibbat u'r Raḥmán al Ḳushayri, Ibn A'lám al Furs the Ḳurán reader, ar Raffá the poet, as Shahrastani author of the Milal wa'n Niḥal (*Sects and Religions*), al Ḳaysaráni the poet, Muḥammad-b-Yahya the disciple of al Ghazzáli, Abu'l Fadhl-b-Náṣir the Ḥáfidh, Abu'l Karam as Shahrozúri the Ḳurán reader, al Wáwá the poet,† Ibn u'l Khall the Sha'fiíte Imám and others.

AL MUSTANJID BI'LLÁH.

Al Mustanjid bi'lláh (*Seeking assistance in God*) Abú'l Mudhaffar the son of al Muḳtafi was born in 518. His mother was a Georgian slave concubine called Ṭáús (*Peacock*). His father caused his name to be read in the khuṭbah as his heir in the year 547 and he was acknowledged Caliph on the day of his father's death. He was distinguished for justice and clemency. He remitted the taxes to a large extent, so that he left Iráḳ without any taxation. He was severe upon all promoters of disorder. He imprisoned for a long time a man who used to bring calumnies against

* ختم الله على قلوبهم (Kur. II).

† Of Aleppo—another of the name, called ad Dimishḳi (*of Damascus*) died in the reign of Ḳádir-bi'llah.

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A. H. 555. people *before the Magistrate.* A person presented himself before the
A. D. 1160. Caliph and offered him ten thousand dínárs for his release; he replied, "I will give thee ten thousand dínárs wouldst thou but show me another like him that I may imprision him and avert his mischief from the people."

Ibn u'l Jauzi says that al Mustanjid was distinguished for his penetrating intellect, sound judgment, powerful understanding and eminent merit. He wrote excellent verse and eloquent prose, and was skilful in the use of astronomical instruments such as the astrolabe and the like. Of his verses are the following:

"She reproached me for my greyness which is venerable,
Would she had reproached me with what is dishonor.
If my forelocks are becoming white *what then?*
For the moons are the glory of the night."

And on a miser—

"A miser lit in his house
A candle as a respect towards us on his part.
Not a tear fell from its eyes
But a tear fell also from his."

And on Ibn Hubayrah his Wazír, whose administration of the affairs of the Muslims he had witnessed with admiration.

"Two merits are transparently clear that characterize and abound in thee,
By mention of which thou shalt be remembered to the day of resurrection,
Thy presence while the world is needing thy help,
And thy bounty, while beneficence is repudiated by men.
Abú Yahya,* if Jaa'far sought thy place
And Yahya, both Jaa'far and Yahya would refrain from taking it.
Nor have I seen any one purposing to do thee harm, O Abú Mudhaffar
But thou dost overcome him."

He died on the 8th† of Rabíi' II 566 (22*nd December* 1170) and it was during the first year of his Caliphate that al Fáiz sovereign of Egypt died and was succeeded by al A'ádhidu'ddíni'lláh (*Aider of the religion of God*) the last of the U'baydite Caliphs.

In the year 562 Nuru'ddín despatched the Emir Asadu'ddín Shírkúh at the head of two thousand horse to Egypt. He encamped at al Jazírah‡

* Abú Yahya and Abú Mudhaffar are both surnames of Ibn Hubayrah. Yahya and Jaa'far are the two Barmecides, father and son, famed for their generosity and misfortunes in the time of Harún ar Rashíd.

† All the other authorities agree in the date being the 9th.

‡ A quarter of Fusṭáṭ, so called because when the Nile is full, it is surrounded by water and cut off from the rest of the town.

and besieged Cairo for about two months. Its governor (*Sháwar*) applied to the Franks for assisstance who marched from Damietta to his aid whereon Asadu'ddin retired to Upper Egypt. Afterwards a battle took place (*at Bábayn*) between him and the Egyptians (*and Franks*) where he gained the victory despite the fewness* of his troops and the numerical superiority of the enemy and thousands of the Franks were slain. Asadu'ddín then collected the tribute of Upper Egypt while the Franks marched against Alexandria which had been taken by Ṣalaḥu'ddín (*Saladin*) Yusuf-b-Ayúb nephew of Asadu'ddín, and besieged it for four months. Asadu'ddín set out against them whereon they raised the siege† and he returned to Syria. A. H. 562. A.D.1166-7. Saladin

In the year 564 the Franks marched into Egypt with a large army, captured Bilbays and laid siege to Cairo, but its governor set fire to it in fear of them and wrote to Núru'ddín to solicit his aid, whereon Asadu'ddín arrived with his troops and the Franks abandoned Cairo on hearing of his approach,‡ and Asadu'ddín entered it. Al A'ádhid sovereign of Egypt appointed him to the office of Wazír and bestowed upon him a robe of honor. Asadu'ddín did not long survive, dying after sixty-five days. A'ádhid appointed his nephew Ṣaláḥu'ddín in his place and entrusted him with administration of affairs and gave him the title of al Malik an Náṣir and Ṣalaḥu'ddín conducted his government in the ablest manner.

Among personal accounts of al Mustanjid, ad Ḍahabi relates that from the time he fell ill,§ an intense redness continued to appear in the sky and its reflection was observed upon the walls.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were ad Daylami author of the Musnad u'l Firdaus, al I'mráni of the Sháfi'íte school author of the Bayán ("*Elucidation of the secondary points of law,*" *in ten volumes*), Ibn u'l Bazri the Sháfi'íte doctor of the people of al Jazirat-*b-Omar*,|| the

* "Jacobus a Vitriaco gives the king of Jerusalem no more than 374 knights. Both the Franks and Moslems report superior numbers of the enemy, a difference which may be solved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians." *Decline and Fall*, LIX. Gibbon praises the masterly evolutions of Shirkúh throughout the campaign.

† A peace was concluded on the terms of a payment of money to be made to Shirkúh for the cost of the war, and that he in turn should surrender Alexandria to the Egyptians and evacuate Egypt with the Franks.

‡ This expedition was led by Amaury king of Jerusalem in violation of the treaty above mentioned. "Amaury, says," Gibbon, "retired with the shame and reproach that always adhere to unsuccessful injustice."

§ His prefect of the palace Aḍhud u'ddín and the Emir Ḳaymáz concerted his death with his physician. He was ordered a hot bath and being carried into the room the doors were locked on him till he died.

|| A town three day's journey above Mosal.

A. H. 566. A. D. 1170. Wazír-b-Hubayrah, the Shaykh A'bdu'lkádir al Jíli, the Imám Abú Sa'íd as Sama'ání, Abú'n Najíb as Suhrawardi, Abú'l Hasan-b-Hudayl the Kuran reader and others.

AL MUSTADHÍ BI'AMRI'LLÁH.

Al Mustadhí bi'amri'lláh (*Seeking light from the command of God*) al Hasan Abú Muhammad son of al Mustanjid bi'lláh was born in the year 536. His mother was an Armenian slave concubine named Ghadhdha (*Delicate*). He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father.

Ibn u'l Jauzi says that he issued a proclamation remitting the taxation and removing tyrannical exactions, and he displayed a justice and generosity, the like of which we never before witnessed in our lives. He distributed large sums of money among the Hashimites and the descendants of Ali and the learned, and upon colleges and on Ribáts.* He was ever prodigal of wealth, holding it in no esteem ; forbearing, sedate and compassionate. When he assumed the Caliphate, he bestowed robes of honor upon the officials of state and others and the Master Tailor of the Stores relates that he distributed 1300 tunics of silk. His name was read in the khutbah, in the pulpits of Baghdad and the usual largesses were bestowed. He named Rúh-b-u'l Hadíthi to the office of Kádhi and bestowed commands upon seventeen Mamlúks.

The following is by Hays Bays† on him—

"O Imám of good guidance, thou art raised upon the summit of munificence
With wealth and silver and gold.
Thou grantest lives and security of person and dost lavish provinces
Within the space of an hour of a day.
For what then shall praise be given thee, who verily
Hath exceeded the beneficence of seas and showers ;

* The Ribats says De Slane—(*Life of Nasr-us-ddaulat*) were fortified barracks along the frontiers. At an early period there were not less than 10,000 in Transoxiana alone. Travellers on arriving at a Ribát found every accomodation gratis. These establishments were supported by the government and their revenues were increased by private gifts. Military service in a Ribát was considered as an act of religion. For further particulars, reference is made to Ibn Haukal (extracts) in the Geography of Abu'l Fida, pp. 235-487, of the Arabic Text.

† Abu'l Fawáris Saa'd a celebrated poet and member of the tribe of Tamím. He was a Sha'fiíte doctor, but his profession of jurisprudence was mastered by his passion for literature and poetry, and he was eminent for his knowledge of the various dialects of the desert Arabs. Seeing some people in a commotion, he asked what had caused the disturbance (*hays bays*) and he thus received the nickname. He died A. H. 574 (1179). Ibn Khall.

Verily thou art a standing miracle,
Confounding intellects and imaginations.
Thy noble nature has been fashioned of power and liberality,
Of water and of fire!"

A. H. 566.
A. D. 1170.

Ibn u'l Jauzi says, "al Mustadhí kept retired from the people at large and never rode save accompanied by his suite and none but Ḳaymáz* entered his presence. During his Caliphate the dynasty of the House of U'bayd passed away, and his name was read in the khuṭbah in Egypt and engraved on the coinage. On the arrival of the messenger of these good tidings, the markets were closed in Baghdad and triumphal cupolas were erected. I composed at the same time a work which I entitled the conquest of Egypt." These are the words of al Jauzi. Ad Ḍahabi states that during his reign, heresy declined in Baghdad and was subverted and the people lived in security, and great prosperity was enjoyed during his Caliphate. The khuṭbah was read for him in Yaman and Barḳah and Túzar† and Cairo as far Uswán (*Syene*) and kings submitted to him, and that in the year 567. The kátib al I'mád says that in 567 the Sulṭán Ṣaláḥ u'ddin-b-Ayub demanded the full submission *of the people* in the great mosque of old Cairo and that was by the establishment of the khuṭbah on the first Friday *of the month of Muḥarram*‡ for the House of A'bbás. Thus heresy was destroyed and orthodoxy flourished and the khuṭbah was read for the House of Abbás on the second Friday in Cairo. This was followed by the death of al A'ádhid on the 10th of Muḥarram. Ṣaláḥ u'ddín took possession of the palace with all the treasures§ and valuables it contained, *which were so vast* that the sale of them over and above what Ṣaláḥ u'ddín had taken for himself, continued during ten years. Sulṭán Núr u'ddín despatched Shiháb u'ddín al Mudhahhar, son of the most learned Sharaf u'ddín‖-b-Abi U'ṣrún to Baghdad with the good

* The Emir Ḳutbu'ddín Ḳaymáz who shared with Adḥud u'ddín in the murder of al Mustanjid. Ibn u'l Athír says that they raised al Mustadhí to the Caliphate on the condition of his appointing Adḥud u'ddín his Wazir and Ḳaymáz the general of his troops. His tyrannies and exactions caused a revolt of the people instigated by the Caliph and he fled from the city while the populace plundered his palace. He died before reaching Mosal from the hardships he had to undergo in his flight. A. H. 570. Ibn Ath.

† Tuzar is about ten parasangs from Neftah on the Shatt Kabír. North-western Africa.

‡ Ibn Ath.

§ Among these, one curiosity, a drum, will provoke the incredulity or the envy of physicians. Its wonderful virtues are described in Reiske's Latin version of Abulfida.

‖ He was a learned Sháfi'íte doctor who taught publicly at Aleppo and Mosal. He was much esteemed by Nuru'ddin Mahmúd-b-Zinki by whom he was appointed professor of several colleges and finally Ḳádhi of Damascus. Born at Mosal 492 (1099), died at Damascus 585 (1189). Ibn Khall.



A. H. 567. A.D.1171-2. news and ordered me to draw up a public announcement of it to be read in all the provinces of Islám. I accordingly indited a joyful proclamation beginning thus: "Praise be to God, the Exalter of Truth and its Revealer—the Destroyer of Falsehood and its Disabler." It contained also the following, "and there is not left in those provinces a pulpit but the khuṭbah is appointed *to be read* therein for our lord the Imám al Mustadhí bi'-amri'llah, prince of the Faithful, and the mosques for the Friday prayers have been re-established and the temples of heresy destroyed"—and so the Kátib goes on till he says: "Long have the past generations gone over them, and they have remained two hundred and eight years* harassed by the pretentious claim of vain dissemblers, filled with a crowd of devils; but the Lord gave us possession of those countries and established our authority in the land and placed in our power as we had hoped for, the extirpation of impiety and heresy and directed us unto one whom we have constituted our delegate in establishing the A'bbaside authority in that place and bringing to destruction therein pretenders and heresiarchs."

There is a poem by al I'mád on this in which are the following verses—

"Verily we have read the khuṭbah in Cairo for al Mustadhí,
The Vicegerent of the Chosen One, the Imám of the age
And by his victory we have brought down the arm of the Aider (*al A'áḍhid*)
And yet the Impotent who dwelt in the palace.
And we have left the pretender seeking his own destruction
In ignominy under the grave stone and its confining.

In answer to the joyful tidings the Caliph sent robes of honor and presents to Núru'ddín and Ṣaláḥ u'ddín, and standards and banners to the preachers of Cairo. He bestowed upon the Kátib al I'mád a robe of honor and a hundred dínárs, upon which he wrote another poem in which was the following:

They have given victory in Egypt unto the summoner of the guides unto truth.
And taken revenge on the suspected son of the Jew.†

Ibn u'l Athír narrates that the occasion of the establishment of the khuṭbah for the A'bbasides in Cairo was this, that when Ṣaláḥ u'ddín was firmly settled in power and the authority of al A'áḍhid had declined, Núr

* The duration of the U'baydite dynasty according to Ibn Ath. from the time of al Mahdi's first appearance at Sijilmásah in A. H. 296 (908-9) to the death of al A'áḍhid was about 272 years and a month. The text of the Kámil is here in error. The Upsala edition gives 299, for A. H. 296. Abulf has rightly 296. Of this period, 208 years represent the term of their rule in Egypt.

† U'baydu'llah, see page 3.

u'ddín wrote to him commanding him to establish it, but he excused himself for fear of an insurrection of the Egyptians, but Núru'ddín would not listen to his words and sent to him insisting upon it. And it came to pass that al A'ádhid fell sick whereon Saláh u'ddín took counsel of the nobles, some of whom approved while others among them were afraid. But it happened that a Persian known as al Amír al A'álim had just then arrived in Cairo and when he perceived their hesitation, he declared that he would be the first to begin it. When therefore the first Friday of Muharram came round, he mounted the pulpit before the preacher and offered up a prayer for al Mustadhí and no one showed any disapprobation. Wherefore when it was the second Friday, Saláh u'ddín commanded the preachers to discontinue the khutbah for al A'ádhid, and this was done without any opposition.* This occurred while al A'ádhid was dangerously ill. He died on the 10th of Muharram.

A. H. 567.
A.D. 1171-2.

Abbasid become again Caliph in Egypt

In the year 569, Núru'ddín sent presents and gifts to the Caliph, among them a striped wild ass, very savage and streaked as with rays and the people went forth to see the sight. And among them was a resident of the A'ttábi quarter of Baghdad of much pretension but thick-witted and without merit and some one called out, "If indeed we have been sent a wild ass streaked with rays *(a'ttábi)*, we possess an ass of the Attábi quarter."

In the same year hail-stones fell in I'rak as big as oranges and destroyed houses and killed a great number of cattle, and the Tigris rose so high that Bagdhad was flooded and the Friday prayers were held outside the walls. The Euphrates rose in the same way and villages and fields were laid waste and the people turned in supplication to the Lord. And it was extraordinary, that while this was the state of the flood, the fields adjacent to the Dujayl (*a branch of the Tigris*) were ruined by drought.

In this year died Sultán Núru'ddín sovereign of Damascus, and his son al Malik as Sálih Isma'íl being but a child, the Franks took to ravaging the coasts but they were conciliated by sums of money and a peace was concluded with them. During this year a faction among the U'baydites and their partisans sought to establish and restore the pretensions of the family of al A'ádhid, and some of Saláhu'ddín's nobles approved their design, but Saláh u'ddín being informed of this, crucified them between the two palaces *(al Kasrayn)*.

In the year 572, Saláh u'ddín ordered the building of the great wall surrounding the old town of Misr and Cairo and deputed the Emir Bahá u'ddín Karákúsh to superintend its erection. Ibn u'l Athír says that its circumference was 29,300 Háshimi cubits. During the same he gave

* Literally—"and two goats did not fight for it with their horns."

A. H. 572. orders for the erection of the fort on the hill Mukaṭṭam,* the same that
A. D. 1176. became afterwards the royal palace, but it was not finished until the reign of al Malik al Kámil nephew of Ṣaláḥ u'ddín, who was the first that resided in it. In the same year also, he built the mausoleum† of the Imám as Sháfi'í.

In the year 574, a mighty wind swept over Baghdad at midnight and columns as of fire appeared in all quarters of the heavens, and the people prayed to God in exceeding supplication. In the year 575 died the Caliph al Mustadhí at the end of Shawwal having covenanted for the succession of his son Aḥmad.‡

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Mustadhí were Ibn u'l Khashsháb the grammarian, Abú Nizár al Ḥasan-b-Ṣáfi the prince of grammarians (*Malik u'n Nuhát*), the Ḥáfidh Abu'l A'lá al Ḥamadáni, Násiḥ u'ddín-b-u'd Dahhán the grammarian, the great Ḥáfidh Abu'l Kásim-b-A'sákir of the Shafi'í school, al Hayṣ Bayṣ the poet, the Ḥáfidh Abú Bakr-b-Khayr and others.

AN NAṢIR LI DÍN I'LLÁH.

An Náṣir li dín i'lláh (*Defender of the religion of God*) Aḥmad Abu A'bbás the son of Mustadhí was born on Monday the 10th Rajab 553 His mother being a Turkish woman named Zumurrad (*Emerald*). He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in the beginning of Ḍu'l Kaa'dah 575. A number of Traditionists among whom were Abu'l Ḥusayn A'bdu'l Hakk al Yusufí, Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-A'sákir al Baṭáiḥí and Shuhdah,§ licensed him to declare traditions, and he granted licenses to others who used to relate traditions on his authority during his lifetime vying with each other therein, desiring vain-glory more than *correctness of* ascriptions.

* This citadel was also enclosed within the rampart. Ibn Ath. Abulf.

† This fact is not in accordance with Ibn Ath. and Abulf who state that he built a college for the Sháfi'íte doctors *over* the burial place of the Sháfi'íte Imám, at Karáfah—the Père la Chaise of Cairo.

‡ The other authorities—Ibn Ath. Abulf, Ibn Khaldún, place his death in Ḍu'l Kaa'dah—the two former naming the 2nd day of the month (31*st March* 1180).

§ Shuhdah-d of Abu Naṣr Aḥmad-b-i'l Faraj surnamed the "glory of women," and al Kátibah (*the female scribe*). She ranked among the first scholars of the age and instructed a great number in traditions which she had received from the highest authorities. She died at Baghdad 574 (1178) and was interred outside the Abraz gate. Her husband, whom she survived, was Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad-b-Yahya ad Durayni, a man of rank and the favourite of the Caliph al Muktafi. Ibn Khall.

Aḍ Ḍahabi says that no one ruled the Caliphate for a longer period than he, for he governed it forty-seven years, and the period of his life continued full of glory and splendour, *occupied* in the extirpation of enemies and the subjugation of princes. He found no oppression, nor did any rebel rise against him but he exterminated them, and no opponent but he overthrew him and whosoever thought to do him evil, the Lord confounded him with contumely. And with the prosperity of his undertakings, he was most vigilant in the good administration of his kingdom, nothing being concealed from him regarding his subjects, great or small. His spies kept him informed of both the public and private circumstances of monarchs, and he was a master of ingenious artifice and subtil cunning and device which noue could fathom. He would bring about reconciliation between hostile princes without their perceiving *his intervention*, and sow discord between sovereigns in alliance, without their knowledge. When the envoy of the ruler of Mazandarán came to Baghdad, a letter reached him every morning *mentioning* what he had done the *preceding* night, and he used every effort at concealment, yet the letter regularly arrived. He made an assignation with a woman one night who introduced herself by a secret door. The letter reached him in the morning containing the following. "Over ye was a coverlet upon which was a design of elephants." He was much astonished and quitted Baghdad not doubting but that the Caliph was acquainted with invisible things; for the Imámíyahs* believe that the Imám preserved inviolate from sin, knows what is in the pregnant womb and behind walls. And the ambassador of Khwarazm Sháh once arrived with a secret message and a sealed letter, but he was told to return, as it was known what he had brought, and he returned, believing that they had a knowledge of the invisible. Ad Ḍahabi says that it was reported of an Náṣir that he was ministered to by the genii. When (*Muḥammad*) Khwarazm Sháh had conquered Khurásán and Transoxiana and behaved with great arrogance and haughtiness, and had led great monarchs captive, and destroyed many peoples and abolished the khuṭbah for the House of A'bbás throughout his dominions, and arrived at Ḥamadán on his march to Baghdad, a snow-storm continued to fall on them during twenty days, overtaking them out of its proper season. One of his confidants thereon suggested to him that this was *occasioned* by the anger of God for his march against the House of the Caliphate, and he heard *at the same time* that the Turkish tribes had gathered together against him and were eager to invade his dominions on account of his distance from them. This was

A. H. 575.
A. D. 1180.

* "One of the exorbitant sects of the Shee'ah who asserted that Ali was expressly appointed by Muḥammad to be his successor." Lane, art. ام I may add that they do not acknowledge the Imámate except in the posterity of 'Ali. For them a *visible* Imám no longer exists. See Sale's Prelim. Discourse.

60

A. H. 575. the cause of his return and an Náṣir was quit of his evil designs without a
A. D. 1180. battle.*

An Náṣir was one who when he furnished food, gave sufficient to satisfy, and when he struck, struck hard, and there were occasions when he gave as gives one who fears no poverty. And *once* there arrived a man with a parrot that could repeat, "Say God is one" (Ḳur. CXII), a present to the Caliph from India. In the morning it was found dead and the man arose early in great consternation, when there arrived a footman *(from the Caliph)* asking for the parrot. The man wept and said that it had died in the night. The other replied, "verily we know that—bring the dead bird," and added, "How much didst thou think the Caliph would have given thee?" He answered, "Five hundred dínárs." The other said, "Here are five hundred dínárs! Take them, for verily the Caliph hath sent them to thee, for he knew all about thee since thou didst set out from India."

When Ṣadr Jahán† set out for Baghdad with a number of jurisconsults, his people said to one of them, as he departed from his house in Samarḳand mounted upon a fine mare, "if thou wouldst leave it with us, *it would be well* lest it be taken from thee at Baghdad." He replied "the Caliph himself could not take it from me." The Caliph, however, gave orders to a certain sharp fellow to set on him when he entered Baghdad and take it from him and escape in the crowd, which he did. The jurisconsult made a complaint but received no redress. When they returned from the pilgrimage, the Caliph bestowed a robe of honor upon Ṣadr Jahán and his suite and presented a robe of honor likewise upon the jurisconsult and his mare was presented to him bearing a golden saddle and a collar, and he was told that the Caliph had not taken his mare, but that a furnace-heater had done so, upon which he fell down in a swoon. The Caliph lavished munificent gifts‡ upon them.

Al Muwaffak *u'd din* A'bdu'l Laṭíf§ says that an Náṣir filled all hearts with dread and terror; and the people of India and Egypt feared him, as feared him the inhabitants of Baghdad. He gave new life to the majesty of the Caliphate which had perished at the death of al Mua'taṣim and which expired again at his death. The very princes and nobles of Egypt and Syria, when the conversation turned on him in their private conferences,

* This invasion of Muḥammad Khwarazm Sháh took place in 614 (1217). Weil states that an Náṣir sent an embassy to Changiz Khán and sought his aid against Muḥammad, p. 382, Vol. III. Ibn Athír alludes to the report and adds that any misdeed would pale beside the enormity of such a crime.

† This title is usually given to the Ḳádhi al Ḳudhát or Chief Judge of any monarch. I cannot ascertain who is here referred to.

‡ The Arabic must here be corrupt. The text is unintelligible. The MS. has مكرماتهم perhaps for بكراماتهم

§ The author of the monograph on Egypt, translated by De Sacy.

would lower their voices in fear and reverence. Once a merchant arrived in Baghdad with some gold-embroidered goods* from Damietta and he was questioned about them, but he denied having them. He was then given particulars about them, as to their number, colours and kinds, but he continued denying the more until he was told among other tokens *by which he was known*, was that he had revenged himself upon a Turkish slave of his and had taken him secretly to the sea coast at Damietta and had there slain and buried him. Of this no one had known. A. H. 575. A. D. 1180.

Ibn u'n Najjár† says that Sulṭáns were abased before an Náṣir, and those who had opposed him submitted to him. The proud and the rebellious were cast down before him, and tyrants were subdued by his sword; his foes declined and his allies multiplied, and he overran many countries and conquered provinces as none of the Caliphs and sovereigns that preceded him had done, and his name was read in the khuṭbah in the provinces of Spain and in the cities of China. He was the sternest Caliph of the House of A'bbás and the very mountains were rent in awe of him. He was of a good disposition, well-proportioned, endowed with mental and bodily excellence, fluent of speech and eloquent in expression. His rescripts were incisive and his words carried weight. His reign was a beauty spot in the face of the age and a pearl in the crown of glory. Ibn Wáṣil says that an Náṣir was hardy, brave, of good judgment, and strong intellect, subtil and ingenious. He had spies in Irák and the whole of the adjacent countries, who kept him informed of circumstances the most trifling, even to mentioning that a man in Baghdad had given a feast and had washed his hands before his guests. This fact the spy reported to an Náṣir who wrote in reply thereto, "bad manners in the host and officiousness in the news writer." He adds, "with all this, he was of vicious disposition towards his subjects, inclined to oppression and violence so that the people emigrated from their provinces and he seized their goods and property.

He would do things of a contradictory character. He was a Shi'íte, favouring the sect of the Imámites, opposing in this his ancestral *traditions*, so that one day Ibn u'l Jauzi was asked in his presence who was the best of men after the apostle of God. He replied, "the best of them after him was he whose daughter married the other (*or he who had married the daughter of the other*),‡ for he dared not distinctly mention Abu Bakr.

* I read with the MS. متاع. The word قناع is in the singular and is therefore here inadmissible.

† The Ḥáfidh Abú Abdi'llah Muḥammad surnamed Ibn u'n Najjár was born at Baghdad 578 A. H., (1183). He was a master of tradition and of the seven manners of reading the Ḳurán. He spent 27 years in travelling, and noting down whatever information he could collect. He died in 643 (1245) at Baghdad. The best known of his works is the supplement in 16 Vols. to Abu Bakr al Baghdadi's History of Baghdad. De Slane, I. K.

‡ The double meaning cannot be expressed in English by one phrase. This

A. H. 575. A. D. 1180.

Ibn u'l Athír observes that an Náṣir was of wicked disposition and that Irák was ruined during his reign by the taxes he levied and his seizure of goods and property. He would do a thing and then its contrary. He devoted himself to shooting with the cross-bow and in twirling pigeons.* Al Muwaffaḳ A'bdu'l Laṭíf says that in the midst of his administrative duties he occupied himself with the relation of traditions, and he appointed licentiates with sanction to repeat them on his authority and to spread them abroad, settling allowances on them. He also indited permissive letters to princes and learned men *to the same effect*, and he made a compilation of seventy traditions, and on arriving at Aleppo caused it to be heard by the people. Ad Ḍahabi states that an Náṣir licensed a number of the learned and they related traditions on his authority, among them being Ibn Sakkínah, Ibn u'l Akhdhar, Ibn u'l Damaghâni and others.

Abu'l Mudhaffar grandson of Ibn u'l Jauzi and others relate that the eyesight of an Náṣir began to grow weak towards the end of his life: others say that it went altogether, but none of his subjects were aware of this even to his Wazír and his own household, for he had a slave girl whom he had himself taught to write and she used to write a hand like his and indite the royal rescripts. Shamsu'ddín al Jauzi says that the water which an Náṣir used to drink was brought on beasts of burden from a distance of seven parasangs above Baghdad. It was then boiled seven times, once each day, and aftewards kept in vessels for seven days more and then he would drink it: he died after having been given frequent soporifics to drink. He had been subjected to an operation and gravel was extracted from which he expired† on Sunday the last day of Ramadhán in the year 622 (*6th October* 1225).

Among his pleasantries, *it is related* that a servant of his named Yumn (*Felicity*) wrote him a letter full of reproach whereon he penned the following—

"He who possesseth Yumn is fortunate,
He for whom a price has been paid, is of value."‡

reply satisfied both parties, for as Ibn Khall says in his life of Ibn u'l Jauzi, the Sunnis maintained that he meant Abu Bakr whose daughter married Muḥammad, while the Shii'as insisted that 'Ali was intended because Fátima, Muḥammad's daughter, was married to him.

* Ibn Ath. does not mention the words—يعوى الحمام but speaks of his fondness for carrier pigeons المناسيب. The expression of Ibn Khaldún is اللعب بالحمام

† According to Ibn Ath. he died of dysentery.

‡ I presume that I have misunderstood the sense, for I can make no pleasantry out of it.

When he assumed the Caliphate, he despatched to Sulṭán Ṣaláḥ u'ddín a robe of honour and the investiture of his dignity and the Sulṭán wrote him a letter which ran as follows : " Thy servant, praise be to God, reckoneth *for himself* priority of merit in Islám, for the House of A'bbás was not *so* prospered by the early deeds of Abú Muslim, for he aided and then concealed, nor by the later services of Toghril Bek, for he defended but afterwards kept under restraint, whereas thy servant hath extirpated those who would contend for the mantle of the Caliphate and hath made the death-rattle to be swallowed, the water of which the Lord hath stored up for inpouring within his sword. And he brought down the lying names *of pretenders to the Caliphate* riding aloft on the pulpits, and was exalted by the assistance of Ibrahím and he demolished the concealed idols by his visible sword." Among events of his reign was a mandate which in 577 an Náṣir* sent rebuking Sulṭán Ṣaláḥ u'ddín for adopting the title of al Malik an Náṣir, knowing that the Caliph had chosen this name for himself. A: H 575. A. D. 1180.

In the year 580 the Caliph constituted the tomb of Músa al Kádhim† a sanctuary for those who took refuge therein, and many people fled to it and disturbances arose.

In the year 581 there was born at al A'lth,† a child with a forehead a span and four fingers long and but one ear. During the same, news arrived that the khuṭbah was read for an Náṣir in the chief towns of Mauritania. In the year 582 six of the planets were in conjunction in Libra and the astronomers announced a general devastation in all the provinces through a hurricane of wind. The people began to dig caves in the boundaries and to make them secure, closing their entrances against the wind; and they carried thither water and provisions and took up their abode there in expectation of the night on which they had announced a hurricane *to take place,* like the hurricane *which destroyed the tribe* of A'ád,‡ which was to be the night of the 9th Jumáda II. Nothing, however, occurred therein, and not even a breeze blew, so that candles were lighted and the wind had not sufficient force to extinguish them. The poets commemorated this event. Among the verses written on it were the following by Abú'l Ghanáim§ Muḥammad-b-u'l Mua'llim—

* The text is in error. The words "al Malik" are not in the MS.

The son of Jaa'far as Ṣádiḳ and 5th in descent from A'li-b Abi Ṭalib, called al Kádhim or the Meek. He was one of the twelve Imáms and famous for his holiness of life and his charity. He was born at Medína, A. H. 129 (746-7) and died at Baghdad in 183 or 186. His tomb is in the Shúnízi cemetery on the west side of the river. Ibn Khall.

† A village on the Tigris betweo U'ḳbara and Samarra.

‡ See Sale's Prelim. Discourse, p. 5.

§ He was a native of Wáṣiṭ and known generally by the appellation of Ibn u'l Mua'llim (*son of the preceptor*) He was born in 501 (1108) and died in 592 (1196) at

A. H. 582.
A. D. 1186.

"Tell Abu'l Fadhl the words of one who confesseth :
Jumáda hath passed and Rajab hath come.
Yet no hurricane hath happened as they announced,
Nor hath a comet appeared.
No, indeed—nor hath the sun been darkened, nor
Hath a cone appeared bearing on its point flaming fires.
One hath announced this who knoweth not
What will happen to himself, and this is strange.
Verily the falsehood of the astronomers hath become apparent,
And in every assertion, they make—how they lie!"

In the year 583, it came to pass that the first day of the year happened to be the first of the days of the week* and the first day of the solar year and the first according to the years of the Persians, and the sun and moon were in the first of the signs of the Zodiac (*Aries*)—and this was one of the most extraordinary coincidences.

During the same, many conquests were made. Sulṭán Ṣaláḥu'ddín took many of the Syrian towns that had been in the hands of the Franks, the most important of which was Jerusalem, it having continued in the possession of the Franks ninety-one years. The Sulṭán effaced the memorials which the Franks had set up, and destroyed the churches they had introduced, and on the site of one of the churches he founded a college for the Sha'fiites—May the Lord reward him with blessings from Islám! But he did not destroy the church of the resurrection following the example of O'mar who did not injure it when he took Jerusalem. Muḥammad-b-Asaa'd an Nassábah (*the genealogist*) says regarding this—

"Hast thou seen in a dream what I behold with my eyes
Jerusalem captured and the Franks routed.
And Kumámah swept of the defilement
By the removal of which it has been purified and by its own decline,
And their kings bound with thongs,†
And never before was one of their kings seen captive.
The aid of the Lord hath come and victory,
Which the apostle promised—therefore glorify God and ask for pardon.
O Joseph‡ witness to the truth! thou by conquering it
Art its *second* O'mar, the glory of the most pure Imám"

the village of Hurth ten parasangs from Wásiṭ. His poetry is chiefly amatory and were considered so touching that they were sung by the Rifái dervishes at their concerts for the purpose of exciting the soul to mystic rapture. Ibn Khall.

* Ibn Ath. says that it fell on a Saturday. He adds to the coincidences that the first day of the Christian year fell likewise at the same time.

† Guy of Lusignan.

‡ Saladin had the same name as the patriarch. Farúḳ (*the distinguisher between right and wrong*) was the surname of 'Omar.

Among remarkable occurrences *is to be noted* that Ibn Barraján* says in his Commentary on "Alif, La'm, Mím the Greeks have been overcome: (Kur. XXX) that Jerusalem will remain in the hands of the Greeks until the year 583: they will then be overcome and it will be captured and become the house of Islám to the end of time" taken from a calculation of the verse—and so it came to pass. A. H. 583. A. D. 1187.

Abu Shámah† observes that this prophecy of Ibn Barraján is the one of the most remarkable that has occurred, for Ibn Barraján died some time before the event, and the precise date of his death is known.

In the year 589 died Sultán Saláhu'ddín and the messenger *announcing the news* arrived in Baghdad with the Sultán's coat of mail, his charger and one dínár and thirty-six dirhams,‡ which was all the property he left. Egypt fell to his son I'mádu'ddín Othmán al Malik 'al A'zíz, Damascus to his son al Malik al Afdhal Nuru'ddín A'li, and Aleppo to to his son al Malik al Dháhir Ghiyáthu'ddin Gházi.

In the year 590 died Sultán Toghril Bek Sháh, son of Arslan, son of Toghril Bek, son of Muhammad, son of Malak Sháh, the last of the Saljukian sovereigns.

Ad Dahabi says that they were twenty and odd princes in number, the first being Toghril Bek, the one who restored al Káim to Baghdad, and the duration of their sovereignty was one hundred and sixty years.

In the year 592 a dark storm blew at Mecca and swept over the whole country, and a reddish sand fell upon the people and a portion of the Rukn al Yamáni§ (*the south-eastern portion of the kaa'bah*) fell down. During the same|| Khwarazm Sháh fitted out an army, crossed the Oxus at the head of 50,000 men and sent to the Caliph demanding the Sultánate

* The author of a commentary on the Kurán which he explains after the mystic system of the Súfis. He died in the city of Morocco A. H. 531 (1141-2). Ibn Khall, (*art. Muhi u'ddín-b-uz Zaki*) adds that from the time he met with the verse, and learnt Ibn Barraján's account of it, he searched for the commentary and found the passage written marginally in a different hand from that of the text and is ignorant whether or no it be an interpolation He also found a cabalistic calculation made from the words "a few years" in the verse of the Kurán—which runs: "The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land, but after their defeat they shall overcome within a few years." See also Sale's Kurán.

† Abu'l Kásim A'bdu'r Rahman, surnamed Shiháb u'ddín and called Abu Shámah from a mole on his left temple. He was born at Damascus A. H. 599 (1202). He was a jurisconsult, a grammarian, a traditionist and an historian. He has left two *abridgments* of the history of Damascus, one in 15, the other in 5 Vols. besides the biographies of Nur-u'ddín and Saladin, and several other works on theology and grammar. De Slane, I. K.

‡ Ibn Ath. says forty. Ibn Khall on the authority of Ibn Shaddad, forty-seven.

§ See Burton's Mecca, p. 162.

|| This is inaccurate. The invasion of Khwarazm Sháh occurred in 614 (1217).

A. H. 592. and the restoration of the Sulṭán's palace to its former state of *splendour*,
A. D. 1196. and *threatening* that he himself would march to Baghdad, and that the Caliph would be subject to him as were the Saljukian princes. On this the Caliph demolished the Sulṭán's palace and sent back his envoy without a reply, after which the Lord sufficiently met his misdeeds as has already gone before.

In the year 593 a huge meteor fell and a terrible sound was heard at its fall, and houses and edifices were convulsed, and the people called to the Lord for help and burst into public supplications, conceiving that it was one of the signs of the day of resurrection.

In the year 595 al Malik al A'zíz died in Egypt, and his son al Manṣúr succeeded him, but al Malik al A'ádil Sayfu'ddín Abu Bakr* the son of Ayúb attacked and made himself master of it and was eventually succeeded by his son al Malik al Kámil.

In the year 596, the Nile delayed its rise in Egypt, thus causing it great damage, it not reaching thirteen cubits in height,† and there was a great dearth so that people eat carrion and men, and this living on human beings became notorious and public, and the strangest stories are told regarding it. They proceeded to such an extent that they dug open the graves and eat the corpses and the people of Egypt "dispersed with a complete dispersion." (Kur. XXXIV). Death from starvation increased so enormously that no one could walk in the streets without his foot or his glance falling upon the dead or the dying. The people of the villages utterly perished, so that if a traveller passed through a village, he would not see a single soul‡ and would find all the houses open and the inhabitants dead. Indeed ad Ḍahabi recounts stories regarding this that make the flesh creep at hearing them. He says that the streets were strewn with dead bodies, and their flesh was the prey of carrion birds and wild beasts, and persons of good birth together with their children were sold for a few dirhams, and this state of things continued till the middle of the year 598.

* This prince conspired with al Malik al A'zíz whose name was Othmán and wrested Damascus from al Malik al Afḍhal whose name was A'li. The latter wrote to the Caliph a letter of complaint beginning, "My lord! Abu Bakr and his companion Othmán have forcibly taken possession of the right of A'li. Behold the fortune of this name, how it experiences in our day what it met with in the past." The Caliph's witty reply may be found in Abulf, and his translator.

† The fluctuations of the Nile's rise may be léarnt from the 1st Chap. Book II, of A'bdu'l Latif's Monograph of Egypt: 18 cubits is the height it must reach to fully satisfy the requirements of the country. Any height less than 16 cubits must result in famine more or less severe according to the fall. The 2nd Chapter contains the horrible details of the picture but faintly sketched by as Suyúṭí. The Egyptian cubit is 22 inches and its measure together with the normal height of the Nile's rise, has remained unaltered since the days of Herodotus. Gib. C. XXVIII.

‡ Literally, "one blowing fire into flame."

In the year 597 a great earthquake occurred in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, and many houses and forts were destroyed and a village in the dependency of Buşra* was swallowed up. At the close of Muharram in the year 599, the stars were in great commotion and sped like a flight of locusts and this continued till morning. The people were panic-stricken and cried out to the Most High, and the like of this was never seen save at the birth of the Apostle of God. A. H. 597. A. D. 1200.

In the year 600 the Franks made a raid from Rosetta up the Nile against Fuwwah, and plundered and ravaged and returned. In 601 the Franks† took Constantinople and expelled the Byzantines in whose possession it had been before the rise of Islám and it remained under the Franks until the year 660. (*25th July*, 1261) when the Byzantines‡ again recovered it from them.

In the same year, a woman in Kaţuftá§ gave birth to child with two heads, two arms and four legs, but it did not live.

In the year 606 was the beginning of the Tartar ascendancy, and a narration of their history will presently follow.

In 615, the Franks captured the chain fort at Damietta. Abu Shámah says that this fort was the key of Egypt. It was a lofty tower in the middle of the Nile and opposite to it on the east side was Damietta and on the west the mainland of the Delta; and on each side was a chain, one of them extending across the Nile to Damietta and the other across the Nile to the mainland, obstructing the passage of ships from the ocean. In the year 616, the Franks captured Damietta (*5th November*, 1219) after several engagements and a prolonged investment and al Malik al Kamil (*Sovereign of Egypt*) was too weak to offer them any resistance. They introduced their innovations therein and converted the principal mosque into a church. Al Malik al Kámil then laid the foundations of a city at the branching of the two waters,|| and named it Manşúrah and strengthened it with ramparts and entered it with his army.

In this year the chief Kádhi Ruknu'ddin ad Dháhir entered into a

* There are two places of this name in Yakúţ. One in Syria near Damascus, the other a village near Baghdad close to U'kbara.

† Under Dandolo.

‡ In the reign of Michael Paleologus; see for the whole of this period the 40th, 41st and 42nd chapters of Gibbon.

§ So the MS. Yakúţ gives the name and describes the locality—an extensive quarter on the western side of Baghdád, قطفتا as written in the text is not to be found in Yakúţ.

|| The Nile is joined to Lake Menzaleh by the canal of Ashmún which terminates at Manşúrah.

A. H. 616. correspondence with al Kámil, and al Malik al Mua'dhdham* *I'sa* prince
A. D. 1219. of Damascus had a personal ill-feeling against him, whereupon he sent him a parcel in which was a jacket and a halter and commanded him to wear it before the people in his judicial court. He dared not refuse, but after a short time, he rose and went to his house and kept to his room and died after a few months of rage, and cast forth a portion of his liver, and the people sorely grieved at this. It happened that al Malik al Mua'dhdham sent after this to as Sharaf*u'ddín*-b-U'nayn† a present of wine and a striped garment, at a time when he affected an abstinent life, and said, "Praise God for this" upon which he wrote in reply, saying,

"O al Malik al Mua'dhdham the custom
That thou hast introduced shall continue for ages:
The princes after thee will follow thy way,
Giving robes of honor to Ḳáḍhis and presents to the devout."

In the year 618, praise be to God, Damietta was recovered from the Franks, and in 621 the School of Tradition al Kámilíyah, was founded at Cairo between the two palaces, and Abu'l Khaṭṭáb‡-b-Diḥyah was appointed professor. The Kaa'bah had up to this time been covered with white brocade since the days of al Mámún, but an Náṣir covered it with green brocade and subsequently with black, and so it has continued up to this day.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of an Náṣir were, the

* Al Malik al A'ádil during his lifetime partitioned his dominions among his sons. To al Malik al Kámil Muḥammad he gave Egypt; al Mua'dhdham had Damascus, Jerusalem, Tiberias, and other places; part of Mesopotamia, Mayyafarikín, Khilát, &c. were given to al Malik al Ashraf, and the remainder among two other sons Shihab-u'ddín Ghází and Arslán Sháh. These princes lived, says Ibn Ath., in great concord and were as if moved by one spirit, (p. 230) a statement difficult to reconcile with facts. See Ibn Ath., p. 274 and after—Weil, p. 448.—I do not feel assured that I have correctly apprehended the sense of this passage. Ad Dháhir can scarcely be another surname of Ruknu'ddín, yet I can give it no other sense.

† "With him," says Ibn Khall, "closed the series of our great poets, his equal has never since appeared." His predilection for satire caused his expulsion from Damascus by Saladin, his poem "Scissors of reputations" having irritated the chief men at Damascus against whom it was directed. His travels extended to India and Transoxiana and he returned to Damascus when al Malik al A'ádil took possession of it after Saladin's death, in 592 (1195) and he died there in A. H. 640 (1033).

‡ He was a native of Valencia and surnamed Ḍu'n Nasabayn (*of the double pedigree*) being descended from Dihyah of the tribe of Kalb a companion of Muḥammad on one side, and from al Ḥusayn on the other. He was born in A. H. 544 (1150) and died at Cairo 633 (1235). The principal cities of Spain and of north Africa, as well Syria and Khurasán were visited by him for the sake of collecting traditions of which he was considered a perfect master and attained to the dignity of a Ḥáfidh. Ibn Khall.

Ḥáfidh Abú Ṭáhir as Silafi, Abu'l Ḥasan-b-u'l Ḳaṣṣár the philologist, al A. H. 622.
Kámil Abu'l Barakát al Anbári, the Shaykh Aḥmad-b-u'r Rifáa'i, Ibn A. D. 1225.
Bashkúál, Yunus, father of the Bani Yunus of the Sha'fiíte school, Abú Bakr-b-Ṭáhir al Aḥdab (*Humpbacked*) the grammarian, Abu'l Faḍhl father of ar Ráfa'i, Ibn Malakún, the grammarian, A'bdu'l Ḥaḳk of Seville, author of the Aḥkám (*Judgments*), Abu Zayd as Suhayli author of the ar Rauḍh al Unuf (*Untrodden meadows*), the Ḥáfidh Abú Músa al Madíni, Ibn Barri the philologist, the Ḥáfidh Abú Bakr al Ḥárimi, as Sharaf-b-Abi U'srún, Abu'l Ḳásim al Bukhári al Othmáni,* author of the al Jámi' al Kabír (*the great Comprehender*) one of the most eminent of the Ḥanafites, an Najm al Habúsháni known as as Ṣaláḥ, Abu'l Ḳásim-b-Fírrah as Sháṭibi author of the Kasídah,† Fakhru'ddín Abú Shujáa' Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-Shu'a'yb-b-u'd Dahhán, doctor of the law of Inheritance, the first who made a table of Inheritances after the diagram of a pulpit‡ Burhán al Marghínáni author of the Hidáyah, of the Ḥanafite School, Ḳádḥikhán author of the Fatáwa (*decisions*) of the same school. A'bdur Raḥim-b-Ḥajún, the devotee of Upper Egypt, Abu'l Walíd-b-Rashíd, author of the Philosophical Sciences, Abu Bakr-b-Zuhr the physician, al Jamál-b-Fadḥlán of the Sháfi'ite school, al Ḳádḥi al Fádḥil the master of Composition and epistolary style, Shiháb at Ṭúsi, Abu'l Faraj-b-u'l Jauzi, al I'mád the Secretary, Ibn Adḥímah the Ḳurán reader, the Ḥáfidh A'bdu'l Ghani al Muḳaddasi author of the U'mdah (*Column*), ar Ruknu'*ddín* at Ṭáúsi author of the *Ṭariḳat u'l* Khiláf (*System of Controversy*), Shamím al Ḥilli, Abu Ḍarr al Khashini the grammarian, the Imám Fakhru'ddín ar Rázi, Abu'l Sa'ádát Ibn u'l Athír author of the Jámi' u'l Uṣúl *fiahádith ir Rasúl* (*Combiner of the fundamentary Treatises on the Apostolic Traditions*) and the Niháyah fi'l Gharíb (*The extreme or obscure terms in tradition*), al I'mád-b-Yunus author of the Sharḥ al Wajíz (*the Epitomized commentary*), as Sharaf§ author of the Tanbíh (*Admonition*), the Ḥáfidh Abu'l Ḥasan-b-u'l Mufadḥ-dḥal, Abú Muḥammad-b-Hawti'llah, and his brother Sulaymán, the Ḥáfidh A'bdu'l Ḳádir ar Ruháwi, the devotee Abu'l Ḥasan-b i'l Ṣabbágh Biḳna, al Wajíh-b-u'd Dahhán the grammarian, Taḳkiu'ddín-b-u'l Muḳtariḥ, Abu'l Yumn al Kindi the grammarian, al Ma'ín al Ḥájiri author of the

* Al A'ttábi. MS.

† On the Ḳurán readings called Hirz u'l Amáni wa Wajh u'l Taháni (*wishes accomplished and open congratulations*).

‡ That is showing the family relations and their shares of inheritance by a diagram of steps, which would give it the appearance of a pulpit.

§ More correctly, author of the commentary on the Tanbíh a work on jurisprudence by Abú Isháḳ as Shirázi. His more famous father, Kamálu'ddín Yunus died in the reign of al Mustanṣir, 17 years later.

A. H. 622. Kifáyah (*Sufficiency*) of the Shafi'íte school, al Rukn al A'mídi author of
A. D. 1225. the Ṭaríḳat bi'l Khiláf, Abu'l Baḳá al U'kbari author of the I'ráb (*science of literal inflections*), Ibn Abi Uṣaybah the physician, A'bdu'r Raḥim-b-u's Sama'ání, Najmu'ddín al Kabari Ibn Abi Ṣayf al Yamani, Muwaffaḳ-uddín-b-Ḳadámah al Hanbali, Fakhru'ddín-b-A'sákir and others.

AD DHÁHIR BI'AMRI'LLÁH.

Ad Dháhir bi'amri'lláh (*Pre-eminent by the decree of God*) Abú Naṣr Muḥammad son of an Náṣir li díni'lláh was born in the year 371. His father took the covenant for him as his heir and he succeeded to the Caliphate on his father's death, at the age of fifty-two. They said to him *on his accession*—"dost thou not rejoice ?" He replied, "Verily the harvest is blighted." They said, "May God prosper thy days." He answered, "What can a man earn who opens his shop only late in the afternoon." He was beneficent towards his subjects, reduced taxation, checked abuses and distributed large sums of money. (*Abu Shámah.*)

Ibn u'l Athír says in the Kámil, "When ad Dháhir acceded to power, he displayed such justice and benevolence as to recall the administration of the two 'Omars, and if it were said that none like unto him, governed the Caliphate since 'Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, the speaker would say truly, for he restored an immense amount of property that had been unjustly taken, and goods confiscated in the time of his father and before it, and remitted all taxes in the towns and ordered a return to the former taxation throughout the whole of I'ráḳ and the discontinuance of what his father had recently imposed ; all this being an amount beyond computation. As an instance of this, the town of Ba'kúba was originally assessed at ten thousand dínárs, and when an Náṣir became Caliph, he levied from it during the year, eighty thousand dínárs, but ad Dháhir restored its original assessment on the appeal of the people. And when the old tax was again levied in the districts, a deputation obtained audience and represented that the greater number of the trees on their properties had withered and were ruined, whereupon he ordered that no tax should be levied except upon a sound (date) tree."* As an illustration of his justice, the Treasury scales exceeded just measure by half a kíráṭ (*two grains*) in a mithḳal (*twenty grains*) and they accepted payments according to this standard but issued them according to the scale of weights in use in the Provinces.

* This quotation, is not exactly literal—portions of it are so, while the rest after the author's fashion, is an abridgment of the original, in his own style. The sense is however fairly given.

Upon this a mandate was despatched to the prime minister, beginning "Woe be unto those who give short measure" (Kur. LXXXIII) and it continued "We have heard such and such *reports :* let the Treasury scales be re-altered to what is customary in the mercantile transactions of the people." They wrote to him to the effect that a great disparity would result, which from the returns of the past year, they had calculated would amount to 35,000 dínárs. He returned a reply, rejecting the suggestions of his correspondent and adding, "let it be discontinued though the disparity be 350,000 dínárs." As another instance of his justice, the Superintendent of the finance registers returned from Wásiṭ with more than 100,000 dínárs obtained by oppression; he restored it all to the owners thereof. He released those who were in prison and sent ten thousand dínárs to the Ḳádhi to pay it in satisfaction for those who were in distress,* and he distributed on the night of the festival of Sacrifice (10*th Du'l Ḥijjah*) ten thousand dínárs among the learned and the devout. It was said to him on one occasion that no one had ever given scarce a portion of the sums that he had lavished, he replied, "I opened my shop late in the afternoon; suffer me then to do good,—for how much longer have I to live?" There were found in a room of his palace, thousands of letters all of which were sealed. He was asked why he did not open them, he answered, "I have no need of them; they are all accusations *of informers.*" The whole of this is *taken* from Ibn u'l Athír.

A. H. 622.
A. D. 1225.

Sibṭ-b-u'l Jauzi relates that once when he entered the Treasury, an attendant said to him, "This used to be full in the time of thy father." He replied, "the Treasury is not made to be kept full, but to be emptied and distributed for pious purposes, for verily to accumulate is the occupation of a trader." Ibn Wáṣil says that he displayed justice and diminished taxation and appeared much in public which his father rarely did. He died on the 13th Rajab,† 623 (10*th July,* 1226); his reign having been nine months and some days in duration. He was licensed by his father to recite traditions. Abu Ṣaliḥ Naṣr-b-Abdi'r Razzáḳ-b-i'l Shaykh A'bdil Ḳádir al Jíli recited them on his authority. An eclipse of the moon occurred twice in the year in which he died. Naṣru'llah-b-i'l Athír‡ arrived on an embassy from the governor of Mosal with a letter of condolence *to his successor* which began thus:

* That is, for those who were imprisoned for debt. Ibn Ath. expresses the sense with greater clearness.

† Ibn u'l Ath. 14.

‡ Better known as Dhiáu'ddín Ibn u'l Athír—born in 558 (1163) died at Baghdad 637 (1239-40). He entered the service of Saladin whose prime minister, he became. He ended his days as a writer of despatches under Naṣru'ddín Maḥmúd, governor of Mosal. Ibn Khall.

A. H. 623. "Why should not day and night plead excuse when the calamity they
A. D. 1226. have brought about is so great?—and why should not the sun and moon be eclipsed when the third *luminary* has disappeared?

"How desolate is the world, once so gladsome
And what solitude for those in it through one scene of death."

And he is our lord and master the Imám ad Dháhir prince of the Faithful whose reign was a mercy unto both worlds.

AL MUSTANṢIR BI'LLÁH.

Al Mustanṣir bi'llah (*Seeking assistance in God*) Abu Jaa'far Manṣúr the son of ad Dháhir bi amri'lláh was born in the month of Ṣafar 588, his mother being a Turkish slave. According to Ibn un Najjár, he was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in Rajab 623. He dealt justly with his subjects and was equitable in his decisions and sought the society of men of wisdom and piety, and founded mosques and Ribáṭs and colleges and hospitals. He set up the beacon of religion, extirpated the refractory, promulgated laws, restrained dissensions and brought his people under the most admirable regulations. He undertook religious wars with the utmost devotion and assembled armies for the defence of Islám, guarded the frontiers and captured many fortresses.

Al Muwaffaḳ A'bdu'l Laṭíf says, "When Abú Jaa'far was acknowledged Caliph, he pursued an excellent course of conduct, re-established the ways of kindliness that had been effaced, set up the beacon of religion and the watch tower of Islám and won all hearts to the love of him, and all tongues to his praise, and the most captious found in him no reproach. His grandfather an Náṣir courted his society and used to call him the Ḳádhi from his right judgment and intelligence, and repugnance to all vice that he met with." The Ḥáfidh Zakiu'ddin A'bdu'l Adhím al Mundiri* observes that all Mustanṣir was zealous in good works and earnest in the advancement of virtue of which many brilliant instances *are recorded* of him. He founded the Mustanṣiríyah college and settled good stipends on men of learning.

Ibn Wáṣil says that al Mustanṣir built on the eastern bank of the Tigris a college than which none more beautiful or more extensively endowed was ever constructed upon the face of the earth. He appointed

* A renowned jurist and traditionist. He was born in Egypt in 581 (1185) and became Shaykh of the Kámilíyah School of Tradition founded at Cairo by al Malik al Kamil in 622. Ibn Khallikán was one of his pupils. He died in 656 (1258). De Slane, I. K.

four professors for the four orthodox doctrinal schools,* and built within it a hospital and provided a kitchen for the use of the jurisconsults and large cooling jars for cool drinking water and furnished their apartments with mats and carpets, olive oil, paper, ink and the like and over and above, a monthly stipend of a dínár for each jurist. Further he provided for them a Ḥammám, the like of which had never been done before. He enlisted a large army such as his father and grandfather had never organized before him, and he was withal of a lofty spirit, brave and of great intrepidity. The Tartars invaded his dominions, but his forces encountered them and the Tartars suffered a complete rout. He had a brother called al Khafáji of great courage who used to say that were he in supreme authority, he would cross the Oxus at the head of an army, wrest the provinces from the Tartars and root them out. When al Mustanṣir died, the Chief Secretary and High Steward were averse to the investiture of al Khafáji through fear of him, wherefore they set up the son of al Mustanṣir Abu Aḥmad on account of his mildness of character and weakness of understanding, in order that the government might remain in their hands, "that God might accomplish the thing which was *decreed to be* done" (Kur. VIII) regarding the destruction of the Muslims during his reign and the Tartar domination—for we belong to God and unto Him do we return. A. H. 623. A. D. 1226.

Ad Ḍahabi says that the aggregate of the endowments of the Mustanṣiríyah college reached yearly over 70,000 mithḳáls (*dínárs*). The building was begun in the year 625 and completed in 631. Books were sent to it to the number of one hundred and sixty camel-loads of valuable works. The complement of its jurists of the four doctrinal schools was 248. There were four lecturers, and a professor of tradition, of grammar, of medicine, and of the law of inheritance. It was further provided with bread, cooked flesh-meat, sweetmeats and fruit. The Caliph also placed thirty orphans on the foundation and endowed it to an extent that surpasses description. Ad Ḍahabi here enumerates the villages and lands settled on it and adds that it was opened on *the first* Thursday of Rajab, the Ḳádḥis, professors and nobles, and all the state officials being present, and it was a "day whereon men *were* assembled," (Kur. XI).

Among events in the reign of al Mustanṣir in 618, al Malik al Ashraf lord of Damascus ordered the building of a college of Traditions *called* al Ashrafíyah which was completed in the year 630.

In the year 632 al Mustanṣir gave orders for the coinage of silver dirhams to be used instead of chips of gold. The Wazir held an audience and summoned the governors, merchants and money-changers: leather mats were spread out and the dirhams placed upon them and the Wazír

* Of Málik, as Sháfi'í, Ḥanbal, and Abu Ḥanífah.



A. H. 632. said, "Our master, the prince of the Faithful hath prescribed your employ-
A. D. 1234. ment of these dirhams instead of gold chippings, out of kindness to you and to free you from illicit usurious traffic." Upon this they broke out in benedictions *upon him.* They were then circulated in I'rák and their currency fixed at ten for the dínár.

Al Muwaffaḳ Abu'l Ma'áli al Ḳásim-b-Abi'l Ḥadíd* said *with regard to this*—

"May we never lose thy excellent judgment among us.
Thou hast removed us far from unjust standards of measure,
Thou hast prescribed the use of silver so that we have become familiar with it
Which was never familiar to us before.
Not for hoarding *wealth* was thy prohibition against deviation†
But for a right course and for positive certitude."

In the year 635 the office of Ḳáḍhi at Damascus was held by Shamsu'ddín Aḥmad al Júni. He was the first Ḳáḍhi who established stations for witnesses in the city, for before that time, the people had to attend the houses of witnesses to obtain their testimony. During the same, died the two brothers, the Sulṭáns, al Ashraf prince of Damascus and two months after him al Kámil sovereign of Egypt. Ḳulamah‡ the son of al Kámil assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and was surnamed al A'ádil, but he was subsequently deposed and his brother *al Malik* as Ṣáliḥ Ayyúb Najm-u'ddin usurped the government.

In the year 637 Shaykh I'zzu'ddin§-b-A'bdi's Sallám held the office of public preacher at Damascus. He preached a discourse free from all heretical tendency. He abolished the use of the gilded standards and set up in their place black and white ones and only a single caller to prayer chanted before him. During the same Rasúl u'l Amín Nuru'ddin O'mar-b-A'li-b-Rasúli't Turkománi who had possessed himself of Yaman visited the

* He was a jurisconsult and a man of letters and ability; born at al Madáin in 590 and died at Baghdad in 656 (1258) soon after the taking of that city by the Tartars. He was the brother of Abu Hámid 'Izzu'ddin al Madáini who wrote a refutation of Dhiáuddín Ibn u'l Athír's work called the Current Proverb. See life of this latter in Ibn Khall.

† For the various meanings of عدل and صرف on the tradition لايقبل منه صرف ولا عدل. See Lane, art.

‡ His name was Sayfu'ddin Abu Bakr. I have nowhere met the name in the text.

§ He afterwards (638) repaired to Misr, fearing the revenge of al Malik as Ṣáliḥ Isma'íl of Damascus whom he had reviled for surrendering two forts to the Franks on condition of their aiding him against his nephew as Ṣáliḥ Ayúb of Egypt. The latter made him Ḳáḍhi of Miṣr which, says Abu'l Fida, he reluctantly accepted. For an instance of his thaumaturgy, see Reiske's note, p. 711.

Caliph to obtain the investiture of the Sultanate of Yaman after the death of al Malik al Masa'úd* son of al Malik al Kámil, and this sovereignty continued in his house till the year 865. A. H. 637. A. D. 1239.

In 639, *al Malik* as Ṣáliḥ sovereign of Egypt founded the college which is between the two palaces and the fort at Raudhah, but this fort was destroyed by his slaves in 651.

In the year 640, on Friday the 10th of Jumada II, (*5th December*, 1242) died al Mustanṣir. The poets composed elegies on him and among them Ṣafiu'ddín A'bdu'llah-b-Jamíl. As an instance of the virtues of al Mustanśir, al Wajíh al Ḳayrawáni praised him in a poem in which he said—

"Hadst thou been present on the day of Sakífah†
Thou wouldst have been the foremost—the God-fearing Imám."

Whereupon some one in his presence exclaimed, "Thou hast erred for verily al A'bbás the ancestor of the prince of the Faithful was then present, and none but Abu Bakr could have been the foremost." Al Mustanṣir assented to this speech and rewarded the speaker thereof with a robe of honor and commanded al Wajíh to be banished who as ad Ḍahabi relates, departed for Egypt. Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mustanṣir were the Imám Abu'l Ḳásim ar Rafi'í, al Jamál al Miṣri, Ibn Maghrúz the grammarian, Yaḳúṭ al Ḥamawi, as Sukáki author of the Miftáḥ (*key*), the Ḥáfidh Abú'l Ḥasan-b-u'l Ḳaṭṭán, Yaḥya-b-Mu'tí author of the grammatical treatise the Alifíyah (*consisting of* 1000 *verses*) al Muwaffaḳ A'bdu'l Latíf al Baghdádi, the Ḥáfidh Abú Bakr-b-Nuḳtah, the Ḥáfidh I'zzu'ddín A'li-b-u'l Athír, author of the History (*Kámil*), the Ansáb,‡ and the Asadu'l Ghábah (*Lion of the forest*)

* He had been sent to Yaman by his grandfather al Malik al A'ádil I. in 611 (1225) and entered Mecca the same year where the khuṭbah was read in his name. He retained his government under his father al Kámil's supremacy and died at Mecca in 626 (1229). For the fortunes of the Rasu'l dynasty in Yaman, consult Abulf, p. 524 Vol. 4 and 126, Vol. 5, Weil, 203. I am indebted to the courtesy and erudition of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole for the following note. "Rasúl was an envoy of the 'Abbási Caliph, who adopted the name of his office (Rasúl) and was Governor of Mecca about 620 A. H. His son Núruddín Omar-b-Rasúl is the founder of the dynasty of the Beni Rasúl who governed Yemen from the death of its last Ayyúbi ruler (al Malik al Masa'úd) to the subversion of the dynasty by the Beni Táhir in 853 A. H. The dynasty ruled at Zebíd in the Tchámah and coins of two of the kings struck at Aden, are in the British Museum. There is a special history of the Rasúliyah at the India Office, by El Khazraji, and an account of them in Ibn-Ed. Deyba (B. M. MS.) and Johannsen's Historia Yamanœ."

† See page 42, note ‡.

‡ This was an abridgment in 3 Vols. of Abú Saa'd as Samáni's Ansáb (explanation *of patronymics and other relative adjectives*). The Asad u'l Ghabáh fi Maa'rifat is Sihabáh contains notices of 7500 of the companions, supplementing the omissions of his predecessors and correcting their errors. Ḥáji Khalífah.

A. H. 640. Ibn U'tbi the poet, as Sayf al A'midi, Ibn Fadhlán, Omar-b-il Fáridh
A. D. 1242. author of the Táíiyah* *fi't Tasawwuf*, as Shiháb as Suhrawardí author of the A'wárif u'l Ma'árif *(the divine cognitions in degrees of spiritual knowledge)* al Baha-b-Shaddád, Abu'l A'bbás al A'ufi author of the Maulid a'n Nabawí (*the prophetical nativity*), the learned Abu'l Khaṭṭáb-b-Diḥyah and his brother Abu O'mar, the Ḥáfidh Abu'r Rabía'h-b-Sálim† author of the Iktifa *bi Magházi'l Muṣṭafa wa'l Khulafá al Thaláthah* (*a sufficient account of the Military expeditions of the Chosen and the three Caliphs*), Ibn u'l Shawá the poet, the Ḥáfidh Zakiu'ddín al Barzáli, al Jamál al Haṣíri‡ the Ḥanafite Shaykh, as Shams al Júni, al Ḥarráni, the Ḥáfidh Abu A'bdu'llah az Zaini, Abu'l Baraḳát-b-u'l Mustawfi, ad Dhíau'ddín-b-i'l Athír author of the Mathal al Sáir (*the current Proverb*) Ibn A'rabí author of the Fuṣúṣ *u'l Ḥikam* (*the Bezels of words of wisdom*), Kamál-u'ddin-b-Yunus the commentator§ on the Tanbíh (*Admonition, of Abu Isḥáḳ as Shirázi*) and others.

AL MUSTA'ṢIM BI'LLÁH.

Al Musta'ṣim bi'lláh (*Seeking protection with God*) Abu Aḥmad A'bdu'llah son of Mustanṣir bi'lláh, last of the Caliphs of the two I'ráḳs was born in the year 609, his mother being a slave concubine called Hájir. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father. Al Muwayyad‖ at Ṭúsi granted him authority as a licentiate of traditions through Ibn un Najjár, and so likewise did Abu Rúḥ al Harawi and a number of others. Traditions were repeated on his authority and license by an Najm al Bádarái, as Sharf ad Dimyáṭi. Ad Dimyáṭi has taken from his special narration forty traditions which I have seen in his handwriting. He was generous, mild of temper, of good disposition, and exemplary virtue. The Shayhh Kuṭbu'ddín says, that he was orthodox in religion, conforming to its precepts like his father and grandfather, but not their

* This is a poem in the letter Tá on the doctrines of the Súfis. The text and MS are in error in writing the word تائيه

† Háji Khalífah states him to be the son of Músa.

‡ So called from a quarter in Bukhára where mats (haṣír) are made in which he must have resided. See Ibn Khall's life of al A'mídi Rukn'uddín: the MS. writes the word correctly. The printed text is in error.

§ The Commentator was rather his son Sharafu'ddín who died in the reign of an Násir. See note §, p. 483.

‖ This traditionist's family originally came from Ṭús, but he fixed his residence at Naysabúr. He was considered the most authoritative traditionist of his time, and students flocked to him from all quarters. Ibn Khall himself was a licentiate of this master, born 524 (1130) died 617 (1220). Ibn Khall.

equal in vigilance, firmness of purpose and loftiness of soul. Al Mustanṣir had a brother known as al Khafáji of great bravery and valour, who used to say that if God would put him in possession of supreme power, he would cross the Oxus at the head of an army, wrest the country from the Tartars and exterminate them. But when al Mustanṣir died, the Chief Secretary and High Steward and the principal nobility did not approve the assumption of the government by al Khafáji for they feared him, wherefore they chose al Musta'ṣim on account of his lenity and meekness, in order that the real power might rest with them. They accordingly set him in authority. Al Musta'ṣim placed his dependence upon his Wazír Muwayyadu'ddín al A'lkami the heretic (*Shiite*) who ruined the country and played with the Caliphate as he willed. He carried on a secret correspondence with the Tartars, counselled with them and urged them to march into Iraḳ, to take possession of Baghdad and put an end to the A'bbaside dynasty, in order that he might set up a Caliph of the posterity of A'li. Whatever information regarding them arrived, he concealed from the Caliph but kept the Tartars informed of the Caliph's movements until events happened as they subsequently did.

A. H. 640.
A. D. 1242.

In the year 647 of his reign the Franks* took Damietta. The Sulṭán al Malik as Ṣáliḥ (*Ayyúb*) was at the time ill, and he died on the night of the 15th of Shaa'bán. His wife Umm Khalíl, called Shajar u'd Durr (*Spray of Pearl*) concealed his death and summoned his son Turán Sháh al Malik al Muadhdham who arrived, but it was not long before he was assassinated, in Muḥarram of the year 648. His father's dependents assaulted and slew him and they raised up his father's wife Shajar u'd Durr and the Turks swore allegiance to her and to her chief minister I'zzzu'ddin Aybak the Turkoman. She began by bestowing robes of honor and rich presents upon the principal nobles and appointed 'Izzu'ddín to the Sultanate in Rabíi' II, and he received the title of al Mu'izz. Subsequently he withdrew from the dignity† and the troops swore allegiance to al Malik al Ashraf son of Ṣalaḥu'ddín Yusuf-b-i'l Masa'úd-b-i'l Kámil, a boy of eight and I'zzu'ddín remained as his guardian (*atábek*). They were both included in the khuṭbah and their names stamped upon the coinage.

In this year Damietta was recovered from the Franks. In the year 652 a fire appeared in the land of Aden and its sparks at night flew out towards the sea and a vast *column of* smoke arose from it by day. During the same, al Mui'zz set aside the nominal authority of al Malik al Ashraf and assumed the Sulṭánate. In the year 654 appeared the fire in the prophetical city of Medina. Abu Shámah relates that

* Under St. Louis of France in the 6th Crusade, 1249.

† It was thought expedient that an Ayyúbite should, at least in name, hold the regal office.

A. H. 654. he received letters from Medina with the following. "On Tuesday
A. D. 1256. night, the 3rd Jumáda II, a mighty rushing sound was heard followed by a great earthquake which continued at short intervals till the 5th of the month when a huge fire appeared in al Ḥarrah* near Ḳuraydhah; we saw it from our houses in Medina as if it were close upon us, and there flowed from it rivers *of fire* towards Wadi Shaṭaṭ† like the rush of a flood. We ascended *our houses* to see it, when lo! the hills ran with torrents of flame and they continued thus, and in the same way flames appeared like unto mountains from which sparks flew like a vast edifice so that the light of them could be seen throughout both Mecca and the desert. And all the people assembled at the holy tomb, praying for mercy and repentant, and this continued for more than a month. Ad Ḍahabi observes that the mention of this fire comes down in an uninterrupted tradition and it is this which the Chosen One predicted where he said, "the last day shall not be, until a fire riseth out of Ḥijáz which shall light up the necks of the camels in Buṣra;"‡ and verily more than one of those who were at Buṣra during *that* night have mentioned *this fire* and *that* the necks of the camels were visible by its light.

In the year 655, perished al Mu'izz Aybak Sulṭán of Egypt. He was murdered by his wife Shajar u'd Durr and they raised to the Sulṭánate in succession to him, his son al Malik al Manṣúr and during this the Tartars were spreading over the provinces, their enormities increasing and their flame kindling; the Caliph and the people heedless of what was intended regarding them, and the Wazír al A'lḳamí§ seeking the destruction of the A'bbáside dynasty and its transmission to the posperity of A'li and corresponding secretly with the Tartars, while al Musta'ṣim, absorbed in his pleasures had no knowledge of events nor interest in the public welfare. His father al Mustanṣir had largely increased his army and withal, had pacified the Tartars with gifts, made peace with and conciliated them, whereas al Musta'ṣim when he came to power, being destitute of understanding and administrative ability, was counselled by his Wazír to disband the greater part of his troops, since his object would be attained by treating the Tartars with generosity and courtesy, and this he accordingly did. The Wazír subsequently entered into a correspondence with the Tartars, urged them to march upon the provinces and facilitated their

* The Banu Ḳuraydhah lived near Khaybar and al Ḥarrah is probably Harrat u'n Nár, which is adjacent to Khaybar.

† This name is not given in Yaḳúṭ and I am uncertain as to the correctness of the text here. The MS. is manifestly corrupt. See a notice of this eruption in Burton's Mecca, page, 4.

‡ Near Harwán in Palestine.

§ Muayyadu'ddín-b-u'l A'lkami. Abulf.

purpose. He proposed himself as their governor to which they agreed A. H. 655.
and made preparations for their march upon Baghdad. A. D. 1257.

A brief notice of the Tartars.

Al Muwaffaḳ A'bdu'l Laṭif says in his account of the Tartars, that it is a narrative that absorbs all other narratives, a chronicle that supersedes all other chronicles, a history that causes all other histories to be forgotten, a misfortune that reduces to insignificance all other misfortunes, a calamity that involved the earth and filled it to its length and breadth. The language of this people is blended with that of India in the vicinity of which they dwell, and between them and Mecca is *a distance of* four months' journey. As compared with the Turks, they have broader faces, are fuller in the chest, leaner in the flanks, have smaller eyes, are tawny in colour, quick in movement both of body and mind. Accounts of other nations reach them, but no information respecting them penetrates to other countries, and it is scarcely possible that a spy can settle among them for a foreigner does not resemble them in appearance. When they purpose setting out in a certain direction, they conceal their design and execute it with sudden rapidity, so that the people of a city know nothing of them till they enter it, nor an army until they are in the midst of it: thus unto people the means of circumventing them are confounded and the ways of escape straitened. Their women fight as well as the men. Their principal weapons are arrows, and their food, any flesh-meat they can get, and there is no exception or quarter in their massacre, for they slay men, women and children. Their aim was the destruction of the human race and the ruin of the world, not the desire of dominion or plunder.

Another author observes that the country of the Tartars borders on the confines of China: that they dwell in deserts and are notorious for their malignity and perfidy. The occasion of their rise was as follows: The country of China is of vast extent, its circuit occupying a six months' journey. It is composed of six principalities and they have a sovereign chief who governs the whole six. He is the great Ḳán who resides at Ṭamgháj and is like the Caliph of the Muslims. The Sulṭán of one of these principalities was Dosh Khán who had married the paternal aunt of Jingiz Khán. After the death of her husband, Jingiz Khán went on a visit to her, and he was accompanied by Kashlú Khán and she informed them that the prince *her husband* had left no heir and suggested to her nephew that he should succeed him. Upon this Jingiz Khán assumed the government

A. H. 655. and was joined by the Moguls. He then despatched presents to the great
A. D. 1257. Ḳán, who foaming with rage, ordered the tails of the horses that had been presented to him, to be cut off and that they should be driven away, and he put to death the envoys, because the Tartars had no previous title to possession, they being but nomad wanderers in China. When Jingiz Khán and his friend Kashlú Khán heard this, they vowed revenge, declared war against the Ḳán and a vast number of Tartars mustered round them. The Ḳán, aware of their power and malice, sent to conciliate them, affecting at the same to warn and threaten them. This, however, availed nothing, whereon he marched to encounter them and they advanced to meet him. A great battle took place and they defeated the Ḳán and took possession of his dominions. Their excesses were prodigious and the country remained subject to Jingiz Khán and Kashlú Khán in common. They next marched against the country of Sháḳún on the confines of China and took possession of it. Kashlú Khán soon after died and his son succeeded him, but Jingiz Khán held him of no account and attacked and seized him and assumed sole authority. The Tartars submitted to him and acknowledged his sway. They paid him divine honours and carried their devotion to the greatest extreme.

After this, their first irruption was in 606 from their own territories towards Farghánah and the Turkish dominions. Upon this Khwarazm Sháh Muḥammad-b-Tukush lord of Khurasán—he, who had overthrown kings and conquered their territories and had marched against the Caliph (*an Náṣir*) but unsuccessfully as has already gone before—ordered the inhabitants of Farghánah and Shásh and Kásán and similar prosperous and flourishing towns, to quit them and to pass into Samarḳand and other places. He then laid them all waste lest the Tartars should take possession of them as he knew he was unable to stand against them. The Tartars continued plundering and roving until the year 615 when Jingiz Khán sent an embassy and presents to Khwarazm Sháh and the envoy spoke as follows: "The great Ḳán greets thee and says to thee that the magnitude of thy power and the lofty dominion to which thou hast attained and the extent of thy authority over the nations is not unknown to him, and that he considers an alliance with thee among necessary obligations and that thou art to him like the most honoured of his children—further, that it is not hidden from thee that he has conquered China and thou knowest his dominions, that they are rich in soldiers and horses and mines of gold and of silver and a sufficiency of other things: if therefore thou seest fit to unite in friendship with him and to suffer the traders to proceed, in order that thou mayest learn the mutual interests of both countries, thou wilt act accordingly." And Khawárazm Sháh answered him according to his desire and Jingiz Khán was glad, and things

remained on this peaceful footing until traders arrived from his dominions. A. H. 655.
At that time the maternal uncle of Khawárazm Sháh was in the govern- A. D. 1257.
ment of Transoxiana with twenty thousand horsemen, and he coveted the goods of the traders and wrote to Khawárazm Sháh, saying that these men had come in the disguise of traders, but that their design was no other than to spy, and he asked permission to act in their regard. Khawárazm Sháh gave him sanction to keep a watch on them, whereupon he seized them and confiscated their property. Upon this the envoys of Jingiz Khán arrived before Khawárazm Sháh, saying *on the part of their master*, "Verily thou didst give thy safe-conduct to the traders and hast played false, and perfidy is a base action and in a Muslim prince especially base; but if thou assertest that what thy uncle hath done, hath been done without thy permission, then deliver him up to us, otherwise thou wilt behold from me that which thou knowest of me in such a matter." The fear that seized upon Khawárazm Sháh was such as to disturb his judgment, and he affected hardiness and ordered the envoys to be put to death and they were put to death. Alas! for a deed which causing the blood of Muslims to be shed unavenged, drew from every side a torrent of blood.

Then Jingiz Khán went forth against him and Khawarzm Sháh crossed the Oxus to Nisabúr and thence passed on to the castle of Ḥamadán in fear of the Tartars. But the enemy surrounded him and slew all that were with him and he escaped alone and betook himself to an island in the *Caspian Sea*. There he fell ill of a pleurisy and died alone and abandoned and *his corpse* was shrouded in the bedding* he had with him. This occurred in the year 617 and the Tartars took possession of the whole of the dominions of Khawarzm Sháh.

Sibṭ u'l Jauzi says that the Tartars first appeared in Transoxiana in the year 615. They took Bukhára and Samarkand and slew the inhabitants and besieged Khawarzm Sháh. After this they crossed the river (*Oxus*) but Khawarzm Sháh had overthrown the princes of the cities of Khurasán, and the Tartars found none to oppose them. They therefore marched rapidly over the country slaying and taking prisoners and pressed onwards till they reached Ḥamadán and Ḳazwín in the same year.

Ibn u'l Athir says in his Kámil that the invasion of the Tartars was one of the greatest of calamities and the most terrible of visitations which fell upon the world in general and the Muslims in particular, the like of which *succeeding* ages have failed to bring forth; for if one were to say that the world, since God created it to the present time, was never so afflicted, one would speak truly, for history has nothing which approaches it. The utmost that historians have to mention is the treatment of

* The MS. omits the word فراش

A. H. 655. Jerusalem and the children of Israel by Nabuchadnezzar, but what is
A. D. 1257. Jerusalem compared with what these accursed wretches destroyed of the cities of Islám, and what are the children of Israel in comparison with those whom the Tartars slew? This was a calamity of which the sparks flew far and wide and its misery was universal, flying over the earth like a cloud driven before the wind—for a horde issued forth from the confines of China and attacked the cities of Turkístán such as Káshghar and the territory of Shághraḳ,* from thence to Bukhára and Samarḳand which they captured, exterminating their inhabitants. Then a body of them pass on to Khurásán, finishing by destroying, plundering, slaying and devastating it, and thence to Rái and Ḥamadan and to the borders of Iráḳ. Next they march to Aḍarbiján and its dependencies ravaging and laying them waste—*all* in less than the space of one year—an event the like of which has never been heard. From Aḍarbiján they passed to Darband Sharwan,† subjugated its territory and crossed over to Allán and al Lalkaz, slaughtering and making prisoners. Thence they marched to the plains of Ḳafjáḳ‡ the people *whereof* were more numerous than the Turks and slew those who opposed them; the rest fled and the Tartars took possession of the country. Another band passed on to Ghazni and its dependencies and to Sijistán (*Drangiana*) and to Kirman (*Carmania*) and did there what those had done and indeed worse. Such as this has never before been heard of, for Alexander who made himself master of the world did not do so with such rapidity, for he conquered it in about ten years and moreover he did not massacre and was content with submission. But these subjugated the greater part of the habitable globe, its fairest and most fertile regions, in about a year, and none remained in the provinces which they had not assaulted, save such as were tremblingly awaiting their coming. Moreover they were not dependent upon the transport of corn nor on supplies reaching them for they had with them their sheep and oxen and horses, the flesh of which they eat and nothing else. As for their horses, they dig up the ground with their hoofs and eat the roots of plants and know nothing of barley. As for their belief, they worship the sun at his rising and deem nothing unlawful. They eat the flesh of all animals and *even* of men: they do not recognize marriage, for a woman is visited by more than one man.

* This name is not in Yaḳúṭ. He, however, gives Ságharj (صاغرج) a place five parasangs from Samarḳand.

† This is a town in the vicinity of Darband built by Anushirwán from whom it takes the name. Allán and al Lalkaz are mentioned by Yáḳúṭ as adjacent.

‡ "The Dasht-i-Kipzac or plain of Kipzak," says Gibbon, "extends on either side of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Borysthenes and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks." For the rise and progress of the Tartars, see his LXIVth chapter.

In the beginning of the year 656, the Tartars, 200,000 in number led by Hulákú, reached Baghdad; the army of the Caliph advanced to meet them but was defeated, and they entered the city on the 10th of Muḥarram. The Wazír—may God confound him—counselled al Musta'ṣim to conciliate them, and said, "I will go forth to them myself to arrange *the terms* of peace;" and he set forth and secured from them the safety of his own person and returned to the Caliph, and said, "The monarch desires to marry his daughter to thy son the Emir Abu Bakr, and he will confirm thee in the office of Caliph as he has suffered the lord of ar Rúm* to retain his sovereignty, and he seeketh nothing but thy submission to him as thy ancestors submitted to the Saljuk princes, and he will then depart with his army. Let then, my lord, consent to this, for verily thus will the blood of the Muslims be spared, and afterwards thou canst do what thou wilt, but it is advisable that thou go forth to him." Then the Caliph set out at the head of all the nobles and he was made to alight at a tent. The Wazír entered *the city* and summoned the jurists and principal men to witness the negotiation and they all came forth from Baghdad and their heads were struck off, and thus company after company came out and were decapitated until all the learned and the nobles, the chamberlains and principal men were put to death. Then a bridge was thrown across and the sword was let loose in Baghdad, and the massacre continued for about forty days till the number of the slain was more than a million souls and none escaped but those who hid themselves in wells and subterraneous canals. The Caliph was trampled to death. Ad Ḍahabi says, "I do not think that he was buried and there were slain with him a number of his children and uncles, and some were imprisoned, and it was a calamity such as had never befallen Islám." What the Wazír sought, however, was not fulfilled, for he tasted of ignominy and contempt from the Tartars and he did not long survive this event. The poets wrote elegies on Baghdad and its inhabitants and the words of Sibṭ at Ta'áwiḍí† are applicable *to the Wazír*—

A. H. 656.
A. D. 1258.

* Sahib u'r Rúm. In Abulf, the expression is Sultán ur Rúm, which Reiske translates Romaniœ domino—I understand the Sulṭán of Iconium to be here meant. This dynasty opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms. The Byzantine capital escaped the universal destruction though Hulákú threatened to march against it with 400,000 men, but he was diverted by the conquest of Baghdad and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars. See Gibbon, LXIVth Cap. Michael Paleologus was taken prisoner by the Tartars after the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks, which the Oriental writers place in 655 (1257) and the European in 1261), and their general Noga married Maria his natural daughter and "guarded the dominions of his friend and father." Ibid.

† Abu'l Fath Muḥammad surnamed at Ta'áwiḍí (*a writer of amulets*). He was

A. H. 656.
A. D. 1258.

" It perished and the people with it, and their mansions
Are desolate through the continuance of our lord the Wazir."

And another of them says:

" People of Islám, weep and mourn,
For grief of what hath befallen al Musta'ṣim.
The ministerial authority before his time
Was in the hands of Ibn u'l Furát, and then passed to Ibn u'l A'lḳami."

At the last khuṭbah preached at Baghdad the preacher opened it thus—" Praise be to God who hath overturned in death eminent lives and hath commanded the destruction of the people of this house. This—while the sword continues therein."

There is a well-known poem by Taḳiu'ddín-b-A'li Yusr on Baghdad and it is as follows—

" *Harrowing* are the tales of Baghdad for him who weeps.
Why remainest thou when thy friends have departed?
Approach not Baghdad, ye pilgrims
For in this guarded enclosure and abode there are no dwellers.
The crown of the Caliphate, the sojourn of spring, where are honoured
Its memorials—verily desolation hath effaced it.
In this abode there are marks of the wasting that hath come upon it,
And traces of tears upon its ruins.
O fire of my heart, *sprung* of the fire from the tumult of war
That flamed over her—a whirlwind hath swept over this dwelling place.
The cross hath been raised high over her pulpits
And he whom the belt* girdeth rules over her.
How many a chaste matron have the Turks forcibly made captive
Fenced by other veils than that *of modesty?*
And how many moons *of beauty* were eclipsed in their full
From which to their fulness they shall never return?
And how many a treasure hath become dispersed
Through plunder, which the infidels have captured?

born at Baghdad in 519 (1125) and died there in 584 (1188). He was a clerk in the fief office at Baghdad, and towards the close of his life became blind. His poetry which is much admired by Ibn Khall, he himself collected into a Diwán.

* The "Zunnár" was a waist-belt worn by the Eastern Christians and the non-Muslim subjects, introduced by an ordinance of the Caliph al Mutawakkil (A. D. 859) to distinguish them from the Muslims.

A. H. 656.
A. D. 1258.

And how many penalties were laid by the sword
On the necks *of men* through which their sins are put away ?
Nay, I say that the captive was dishonoured by their dragging
Him to the shedding of *his* blood by the terrible foe."

And when Huláku had completed the massacre of the Caliph and the inhabitants of Baghdad, and had appointed a governor over I'rák (and Ibn u'l A'lkami had recommended them to set up a Caliph of the posterity of A'li, to which they would not consent and cast him aside, and he remained with them in the position of one of their slaves and died of grief—may God not have mercy upon him nor pardon him), he sent a letter to an Náṣir,* lord of Damascus, as follows: " The Sulṭán al Malik an Náṣir—may his life be prolonged—is aware that when we set out for I'rák and their forces opposed us, we slew them with the sword of God. Then the chiefs of the city and its notables came forth to us, but the issue of their speech was the cause of the destruction of lives meriting destruction. But as to the governor of the city, verily he came forth to serve us and entered under our obedience, and we asked him regarding certain things wherein he deceived us and deserved death, for his falsehood was manifest 'and they shall find that which they have wrought, present *before their eyes*,' (Ḳur. XVIII). Answer the lord of the earth and speak not of thy impregnable fortresses and thy valiant armies: and verily we have heard that a part of the army hath taken refuge with thee in flight and sought an asylum at thy threshold—

'Where is a place of refuge ? there is no asylum for the fugitive,
For ours are the two plains, the earth and the sea.'

Therefore on the instant of thy informing thyself of our letter, make the summits of the Syrian fortresses *level with* the earth and their length as their breadth, and peace *be to thee*." Then he sent him a second letter saying, " To al Malik an Náṣir—now, verily, we have taken Baghdad and destroyed its kingdom and its monarch. He had indeed been avaricious of his wealth and undesirous *of the maintenance* of his troops *hoping* that his kingdom would continue in that manner, and verily his fame spread and his power increased until his moon was eclipsed at its full.

'When a thing reacheth its prime, its decline begins,
Expect decay when fulness is announced.'

* Al Malik an Náṣir Abu'l Mudhaffar Yusuf surnamed Ṣalaḥu'ddín, son of al Malik al A'zíz son of az Dháhir son of Saladin, born 627 (1230). He succeeded to Damascus and Syria on the death of his father but expelled by the Tartars, he lost his life at the hands of Huláku in 1259. See Abulf. p. 621. The full text of this letter which was written by the learned Naṣíru'ddín and addressed to an Náṣir and the princes of Syria will be found in Wassáf, p. 43, followed by their haughty and insulting reply.



A. H. 656. But we seek for increase during the march of ages. 'Be not there-
A. D. 1258. fore as those who have forgotten God and whom he has caused to forget their own souls' (Ḳur. LIX), and show what is in thy mind, whether abstention from good offices or the furtherance of courtesy, and answer the summons of the lord of the earth, that thou mayest be secure from his wrath and enjoy his benefits, and be liberal with him of thy wealth and thy troops and delay not our messengers." Again he sent him a third letter, saying, "Now, we are the army of the Lord. By us He avengeth Himself of those who are insolent and vain, and who are rebellious and haughty and do not submit to the commands of God, and who if they are reprehended, become enraged, and if remonstrated with, continue ***stubborn.*** And, verily, we have overthrown cities and destroyed the inhabitants and have slain women and children. O ye who are left! ye are about to attain to those who have passed away. O ye who are heedless! ye are being driven towards them—for we are the army of destruction, not the army of dominion. Our purpose is vengeance and our kingdom is beyond the desire *of men.* Our guest is not injured and our justice throughout our dominions is known far and wide, and where is there an asylum from our swords?

'Where is there a place of refuge? there is no asylum to the fugitive,
For ours are the two plains, the earth and the sea.
Lions are submissive to our power and have fallen
In my grasp, princes and Caliphs.'

We are about to set forth against ye and it is for ye to flee and for us to pursue:

'Laila shall soon know what debt is to be paid,
And how importunate a creditor is her creditor.'

We have destroyed cities and made orphans of the children and extirpated the inhabitants, and have made them taste of affliction, and we have made their great ones little and their nobles captive. Ye think that ye can escape and be delivered from us, but ye shall shortly know to what ye are tending, and verily he is rendered excused who hath admonished."

Thus began the year 657 and the world without a Caliph. During this the Tartars descended upon Ámida. The sovereign of Egypt ***at this time*** was al Manṣúr A'li-b-i'l Mu'izz, (*A'ybak*) a boy, and his tutor was the Emir Sayfu'ddín Ḳoṭuz* al Mu'izzi a slave of his father, and the Ṣáḥib Kamálu'ddín al A'dím† sent a messenger to them asking for aid against

* The text is in error in this name. The MS. is correct.

† Omar-b-Aḥmad Chief Ḳádhi of Aleppo, born A. H. 588 (1192) and died at Cairo 660 (1261-2). He had been driven from Aleppo by the invasion of the Tartars. He wrote a biographical Dictionary mentioning the remarkable men who had been in

the Tartars. Upon this Ḳoṭuz assembled the nobles and principal men and there was present the Shaykh I'zzu'ddín-b-A'bdi's Sallám who was celebrated for his oratory, and the Shaykh said; "Since the enemy has overrun the provinces, it is incumbent upon the whole commonwealth to oppose them, and it is lawful to take from the people what they can afford of their substance on the condition that the public treasury be first exhausted, and that ye should sell what ye possess of girdles *of price* and furniture and content yourselves each of you, with horse and arms, so that ye and the commonalty be on an equal footing; for to take the substance of the people and to leave wealth and, *costly* furniture in the hands of the army, can never be." A few days after this, Ḳoṭuz seized upon al Manṣúr, the son of his master, and said, "This is but a boy and the times are critical. It is necessary that a man of spirit should arise to carry on the war against the infidels." Ḳoṭuz obtained the supreme authority and was surnamed al Mudhaffar.

A. H. 657.
A. D. 1259.

The year 658 now began, and the age still without a Caliph. During this the Tartars crossed the Euphrates and reached Aleppo and put it to the sword and then arrived at Damascus. In the month of Shaa'bán the Egyptians marched into Syria to oppose the Tartars, and al Mudhaffar sent on with his forces and his picked troops* Ruknu'ddín Baybars al Banduḳdári. They and the Tartars met at A'in Jálút† and a battle took place on Friday the 15th Ramadhán. The Tartars were utterly routed and the Muslims were victorious, praise be to God.

The Tartars were slain with a great carnage and they fled precipitately and the people pursued them with eagerness, seizing and plundering them. A letter from al Mudhaffar with the *news of the* victory arrived at Damascus and the people were elate with joy. Shortly after, al Mudhaffar entered Damascus triumphant and victorious, and the people hailed him with great affection. Baybars pursued the Tartars to the territory of Aleppo and drove them from the provinces. The Sulṭán Ḳoṭuz had promised him *the government of* Aleppo, but afterwards retracted it which Baybars took to heart, and this was the cause of their estrange-

that city. His life is given by De Sacy in the Biographie Universelle and by Freytag in his Selecta ex Historia Halebi. De Slane, I. K.

* I presume this to be the meaning of شاليش which I have not met elsewhere and am ignorant of its derivation. The word جاليش occurs in the Maurad u'l Latáfat, p. 89 (*edition Cantab. Carlyle*), translated by Carlyle "milites," but he confesses (note 70), that it is conjecture. He adds, "in vita Saladini a Boheddino, sæpe occurrit verbum جاليش quod reddit Schultens per *Sagittarios.* The reading of the text is perhaps an error for جاليش though the MS. agrees. Were it not for the authority of Schultens, I should suspect Carlyle's reading, as his edition is extremely faulty.

† A town below Nazareth in Palestine.

A. H. 658. A. D. 1259-60. ment. The Sultán had intended to set out for Aleppo in order to sweep from the provinces all traces of the Tartars, but hearing that Baybars was alienated from him and was conspiring against him, he changed his mind and returned to Egypt. He had, however, resolved upon the overthrow of Baybars and he divulged it to one of his confidants and Baybars became acquainted with it. They set out for Egypt, each being on their guard against the other, till Baybars conspired with some of the nobles to slay al Mudhaffar, and they assassinated him on the way, on the 16th Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah, and Baybars assumed the government and received the title of al Malik al Ḳáhir. He entered Cairo and removed from the people the tyrannous exactions imposed upon them by al Mudhaffar. The Wazír Zayn u'l Millat wa'ddin (*Glory of the faith and of religion*) Ibn u'z Zubayr counselled him to change his title and said that no one who had borne it had prospered, for al Ḳáhir the son of al Mua'taḍhid had been so named, and he was subsequently deposed and blinded, and al Ḳáhir the son of the governor of Mosal had been poisoned. The Sulṭán therefore put away this surname and took the title of al Malik al Dháhir. Then began the year 659, and the age as before without a Caliph until the month of Rajab when the Caliphate was re-established in Egypt and al Mustanṣir was acknowledged as we shall hereafter relate. The period during which the Caliphate was in abeyance was three years and a half.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Musta'sim were the Ḥáfidh Taḳiu'ddin as Ṣarífíní, the Ḥáfidh Abu'l Ḳásim-b-u'l Ṭalísan,* Shams, u'l Aimmah al Kurdi, one of the most eminent of the Ḥanafites, the Shaykh Taḳiu'ddín-b-u's Ṣaláḥ, al A'lam *u'ddín* as Sakháwi, the Ḥáfidh Muhibbu'ddín-b-u'n Najjár the historian of Baghdad, Muntakhabu'ddín the commentator of the Mufaṣṣal *fi'l Naḥo* (*Detailed exposition of the science of grammar by Zamakhshari*), Ibn Ya'ísh the grammarian, Abu'l Ḥajjáj al Aḳsari the devotee, Abu A'li as Shalúbíni the grammarian, Ibn u'l Bayṭár author of the *Jámi* Mufridát *i'l Adwiyat wa'l Aghdíyat* (*comprehending materia medica and diet*), the learned Jamálu'ddín-b-u'l Ḥájib the Máliki Imám, Abu'l Ḥasan-b-u'l Dabbáj the grammarian, al Ḳifṭi author of the Memoir of Grammarians, Afdḥalu'ddín al Khúnji author of the Treatise on Logic, al Ardi author of (*hiatus in the MS.*) the Ḥáfidh Yusuf-b-Khalíl, al Bahá-b-Bintu'l Ḥamíri, al Jamál-b-Omrún† the grammarian, ar Ridḥa as Ṣagháni author of the U'báb *u'l Zákhir* (*the Surging Billow*) and others *works*, al Kamál *u'ddin* Abdu'l Wáḥid az Zamlakáni author of al Ma'áni wa'l bayán wa Ii'jáz u'l Ḳurán (*significations and exposition and the wondrous diction of the Ḳurán*), as Shams al Khusru

* More correctly I think Ṭaylsán.

† His life is given by Ibn Khall, who makes him the son of Omar son of Abu Bakr—I have not before met the name in the text with which the MS. accords.

Sháhi, al Majd *u'ddín*-b-Taymíyah, Yusuf Sibṭ Ibn ;'l Jauzi author of the Mirát u'z Zamán (*mirror of the age*), Ibn Baṭísh one of the most eminent of the Sháfii'tes, an Najm *u'ddín* al Bádarái, Ibn Abi'l Fadhl al Mursi (*Murcia*) author of the Commentary on the Ḳurán and others. A. H. 659. A. D. 1261.

Of those who died during the abeyance of the Caliphate were az Zaki A'bdu'l A'dhím al Mundiri, the Shaykh Abu'l Ḥasan, as Sháḍili the Shaykh of the Sháḍilites, Sha'lat the Ḳurán reader, al Fási the commentator of the Kasídat us Sháṭibiyah,* Ṣaa'du'ddín-b-u'l U'zza the poet, as Ṣa'rṣari the poet, Ibn u'l Abbár the historian of Spain and others.

AL MUSTANṢIR BI'LLÁH AḤMAD.

Al Mustanṣir bi'lláh Aḥmad Abú'l Ḳásim was the son of ad Dháhir bi'amri'lláh Abu Naṣr Muḥammad-b-u'n Náṣir li díni'lláh. Shaykh Ḳuṭb-u'ddín says that he was kept in imprisonment in Baghdad, but when the Tartars captured it, he was released and fled and proceeded to the west of I'rák. When Baybars assumed the Sulṭánate, he set out to visit him in the month of Rajab with ten of the Banu Muhárish.† The Sulṭán went forth to meet him with the Ḳádhis and officers of State. He rode through Cairo and subsequently certified his family descent through the Chief Ḳáḍhi Táju'ddín-b-Bint i'l Aa'zz and he was then acknowledged Caliph. The first who swore him allegiance was the Sulṭán ; next the Chief Ḳádhi Táju'ddín, then the Shaykh I'zzu'ddín-b-A'bdi's Sallám and lastly the nobles according to their degrees. This occurred on the 13th‡ Rajab, (12th May 1261) and his name was impressed on the coinage and read in the khuṭbah, and he received the surname of his brother and the people rejoiced. He rode in procession on the Friday bearing the black mantle, to the mosque in the citadel. He then mounted the pulpit and preached a discourse in which he extolled the nobility of the House of A'bbás, blessed the Caliph and the Muslims and prayed before the people. Next he proceeded to the ceremony of the bestowal on the Sulṭán of the robe of honor usually granted by the Caliph and the diploma of investiture. A pavilion was erected without the walls of Cairo and the Caliph and the Sulṭán rode to the pavilion on Monday, the 4th of Shaa'bán, and there were present the Ḳádhis, nobles and the prime minister. The Caliph with his own hand invested the Sulṭán with the dress of honor§ and collar. A

* Ḳasidat u's Shaṭibíyah. A poem on the Ḳurán readings by Ibn Fírruh as Sháṭibi (*native of Xativa*).

‡ According to Makrizi they were the Banu Mihna and to Nuwairi the Banu Khafájah. Weil, A'bbás Chal. in Eg. p. 24, Vol. I.

‡ 9th Rajab. Weil.

§ This consisted of a black gold embroidered turban, a violet mantle, a gold chain for the neck and golden buckles for the feet. Weil, p. 25.

A. H. 659. pulpit was erected and Fakhru'ddín-b-Luḳmán (*the Secretary of State*)
A. D. 1261. ascended it and read the diploma of investiture. Then the Sulṭán rode in his robe of honor and entered by the Báb u'n Naṣr (*Gate of Succour*). Cairo was gaily adorned and the High Marshal rode bearing before him the diploma while the nobles proceeded on foot.

The Sulṭán then appointed for the Caliph an Atábek and Comptrollers of the Household, a High Steward, a Treasurer, a Chamberlain and a Secretary and settled upon him a revenue, and a body of slaves, a hundred horses, thirty mules and ten full-grown camels and the like. Ad Ḍahabi says that no one ever ruled the Caliphate after his nephew save this Caliph and al Muḳtafi. The prince of Aleppo the Amír Shamsu'ddín Aḳúsh* set up *another* Caliph and gave him the title of al Ḥákim bi'-amri'lláh and the khuṭbah was read in his name which was also stamped on the coinage. Subsequently the Caliph al Mustanṣir set out for I'ráḳ accompanied by the Sulṭán who followed him till they arrived at Damascus.

The Sulṭán then furnished the Caliph and the three sons of the lord of Mosal† *for the expedition against Baghdad* and assigned him and them 1,000,000, dínárs in gold and 66,000 dirhams. The Caliph then set out with the eastern princes, *al Malik as Ṣáliḥ Isma'íl* lord of Mosal, *al Malik al Mudhaffar A'li*, lord of Syria, and *al Malik al Mujáhid* lord of Jazírat-*ibn. Omar*. The Aleppo Caliph al Ḥákim also joined him and submitted to him and entered under his obedience. He then advanced and took Hadíthah and Hít. Here the Tartar army‡ encountered him and a great number of Muslims were slain and the Caliph al Mustanṣir was missing. According to some he was slain, which was apparently the case; according to others he escaped and fled and lay concealed in the provinces. This occurred on the 3rd Muḥarram 660 (28*th November*, 1261). His Caliphate lasted less than six months and he was succeeded a year later by al Ḥákim, the same who was declared Caliph at Aleppo in al Mustanṣir's lifetime.

* He came of the Turkish tribe of Burli to which Baybars also belonged. Reiske writes the name Barli, Quatremere Berki, see Weil, p. 17.

† Badru'ddín Lúlú called al Maliḳ ar Raḥím. He submitted to Huláku after the taking of Baghdad. He died according to Abu'lf in 657. The names of his three sons are mentioned below. Ibn Khall, says (*Life of Arslán Sháh Nuru'ddín*) that he had been Mamlúk of al Malik al Ḳáhir son of Arslán Sháh and was lieutenant-governor of Mosal and declared himself independent in 630 (*July* 1233).

‡ Under Karabogha the Tartar governor of Baghdad.

A. H. 660.
A.D.1261-2.

AL ḤÁKIM BI'AMRI'LLÁH ABU'L A'BBÁS.

Al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh (*Ruling by the Command of God*) Abu'l A'bbás Aḥmad, son of Abu A'li al Ḥasan al Ḳubbi, son of Abu Bakr, son of the Caliph al Mustarshid, son of al Mustadhir bi'lláh, concealed himself at the time of the capture of Baghdad and escaped *the massacre.* He soon after left it accompained by a retinue and sought *the protection of* Ḥusayn-b-Faláḥ Emir of the Banu Khafájah and remained with him for some time. He then proceeded with the Arabs to Damascus and resided for a time with the Emir* I'sa-b-Muhanna. *Al Malik* an Náṣir lord of Damascus becoming informed of him, sent to invite him but the advance of the Tartars surprised him *and disconcerted his plans.* When, however, al Malik al Mudhaffar came to Damascus he sent the Emir Ḳilij al Baghdádi to summon him. He then joined him and swore allegiance to him and a number of the Arab chiefs set out to take service under him. With their aid he took A'ánah, Ḥadíthah, Hít and Anbár and engaged the Tartars and overthrew them. Subsquently A'láu'ddín Ṭaybars at that time lieutenant-governor of Damascus for† al Malik ad Dháhir *Baybars* wrote inviting him, upon which he set out for Damascus in the month of Ṣafar, and he sent him on to the Sulṭán, but al Mustanṣir bi'lláh having preceded him to Cairo by three days, he did not think it prudent to enter it for fear of being seized. He therefore returned to Aleppo, the prince of which and the nobles, among them A'bdu'l Ḥalím-b-Taymíyah, swore allegiance to him and he gathered a considerable force and marched to A'ánah. When al Mustanṣir returned, he met him at A'ánah and al Ḥákim acknowledged his authority and submitted to him. But when al Mustanṣir was no more, after the battle mentioned in his biography, al Ḥákim set out for Raḥbah and visited I'sa-b-Muhanna. At this time al Malik ad Dháhir Baybars wrote regarding him and summoned him and he went to Cairo with his son accompanied by a retinue. Al Malik ad Dháhir received him with all honor and they swore him allegiance as Caliph. His

* The Emír of the Arabs under the Caliphs, according to De Slane, appears to have filled the same functions as the Ghassanide princes did under the Greeks of the Lower Empire and the princes of Híra under the Persians. They were phylarchs or comptrollers of the nomadic tribes. After the defeat of the Tartars at A'in Jalút, Ḳoṭúz appointed al Malik al Ashraf Musa to Emessa, Palmyráh and Rahabah, gave the government of Hamát, Bárín and Maa'rah to al Malik al Mansúr, and Salamíyah to the Emir of the Arabs I'sa-b-Muhanna. Abulf, p. 596, anno, 658. Weil, p. 17.

† The text has و which is here certainly an error. The MS. omits the و and is not more intelligible. Read ل for و and the sense is as clear as the construction would be correct. In point of fact, Ṭaybars held Damascus for Baybars. See Abulf, p. 632.

A. H. 660. reign was long for his Caliphate extended over forty years. Al Malik ad
A.D.1261-2. Dháhir gave him as his residence the great Bastion in the Citadel and he preached frequently in the mosque of the Citadel. The Shaykh Ḳuṭbu'd-dín says that on Thursday the 8th Muḥarram of the year 661 (*22nd Nov.* 1262), the Sulṭán held a public audience and al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh went on horseback to the Great Hall in the Citadel on the hill and sat with the Sulṭán; this being after the verification of his descent, and the Sulṭán received him and acknowledged his authority over the Faithful. Then he advanced to the Sulṭán and invested him with the administration of affairs, after which the people, according to their degrees did him homage. The next day being Friday, he preached a discourse in which he made mention of the religious war and the Imámate and represented what had occurred to the dishonor of the Caliphate and he proceeded thus,—"But this Sulṭán al Malik ad Dháhir stood up in defence of the Imámate with but few adherents and scattered the hordes of the infidels after they had penetrated into the centre of the empire." The beginning of the discourse was, "Praise be to God who hath raised up a pillar and a defender for the House of A'bbás." He then wrote to the provinces announcing his call.

In this year and subsequently occurred successive arrivals of bodies of Tartars who had become Muslims, demanding asylum. They were given bread and a daily allowance and this was the beginning of the stay of their misdeeds.

In the year 662 was completed the Dháhiríyah College between the two palaces and the Chair of Sháfi'ite theology was held by at Taḳi *u'ddín*-b-Razín and the chair of Tradition by as Sharafu'ddín ad Dimiáṭi. During the same, Egypt was convulsed by a great earthquake.

In the year 663 the Muslim Sulṭán of Spain, Abu A'bdu'llah-b-u'l Aḥmar was victorious over the Franks and recovered from their hands thirty-two towns, among them Seville and Murcia. During the same, conflagrations were frequent in divers parts of Cairo and wrappers were found upon the roofs of the houses containing fire and sulphur. In the same, was excavated the Canal of Ashmún,* the Sulṭán himself and the nobles working at it. In the same, died Huláku the Tartar despot who was succeeded by his son Abagha. In this year the Sulṭán conferred the dignity of the Sulṭanate on his son al Malik as Sa'íd who was four years of age, and paraded him in state through the Citadel on the hill and bore the housings himself before his son, from the Bab u'l Sirr (*the Secret Gate*) to the Bab u's Silsilah (*the Chain Gate*) and then returned, while as Sa'íd rode to Cairo, the nobles walking before him. In this year also were re-appointed for the Egyptian territory, four Ḳádhis, one for each school of doctrine, and this was owing to the delay of the Ḳádhi Táju'ddín-b-

* Connecting lake Menzaleh with the Nile at Damietta.

Bint u'l Aa'zz in giving effect to the numerous decisions, so that affairs A. H. 663.
were at a stand still. To the care of the Shafi'ites was assigned the A. D. 1264.
administration of the property of orphans and the department of the public treasury. Subsequently the same *reform* was carried out at Damascus. In the month of Ramaḍhán the Sulṭán placed a restraint upon the Caliph and forbade his intercourse with the people, as his followers were in the habit of entering the city and talking of affairs of State.

In the year 665, the Sulṭán commanded the erection of a mosque at Ḥasaníyah* which was completed in 667 and a Ḥanafite preacher was there installed.

In the year 674 the Sulṭán sent an army against Núbah and Dunḳulah (*Dongola*) and was victorious. The king of Núbah was taken prisoner and sent to al Malik ad Dháhir and a tribute was laid on the people of Dunḳulah, praise be to God. The first expedition against Núbah, says ad Ḍahabi, was in the year 31 A. H. when it was attacked by A'bdu'l-lah-b-Abi Sarḥ at the head of 5000 horsemen; he did not conquer it but concluded a peace and returned. It was again invaded in the time of Hishám but unsuccessfully and again in the reign of al Manṣur. Tikn† az Zinki next invaded it; then Kafúr al Ikshídi: then Náṣiru'd Daulah-b-Ḥamdán, and finally Turán Sháh brother of Sulṭán Ṣaláḥu'ddín in 568, but it was never conquered until this year. Regarding this Ibn 'Abdi'z Dháhir says:

"This is a victory, the like of which I have not heard
Neither *from the testimony* of an eye-witness nor from the depositions *of others*."

In the year 676 died al Malik ad Dháhir at Damascus in the month of Muḥarram, and his son al Malik as Sa'íd Muḥammad assumed the sovereignty at the age of eighteen. During the same at Taḳi-b-Razín united the offices of Ḳádḥi of Miṣr (*old Cairo*) and Cairo, and before this time, the judicial office of Miṣr was separate from that of Cairo.

In 678 al Malik as Sa'íd was deposed and was sent to al Kark as Sulṭán of that place, but died the same year, and they placed in authority over Egypt his brother Badr u'ddín Salámish who was seven years of age. He was surnamed al Malik al A'ádil and the Emir Sayfu'ddín Ḳiláwun was appointed his Atábek, and the coinage was struck with his name on one side and the name of his Atábek on the reverse, and both were prayed for in the khuṭbah. In the month of Rajab, Salámish was deposed without resistance and Ḳilawun usurped the government under the title of al Malik al Manṣúr.

* A town to the east of Mosal between it and Jazirat-ibn Omar.
† I am doubtful about this pronunciation.

A. H. 679. A.D.1280-1. In the year 679 on the day of A'rafah (*9th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah*) large hail-stones fell in the Miṣr district and thunderbolts. In 680 the Tartar army reached Syria occasioning consternation. The Sulṭán marched out to engage them and a battle took place and great carnage ensued, but the victory remained with the Muslims—praise be to God.

In the year 688 the Sulṭán took Tripoli by the sword (*26th April*, 1289). It had been in the hands of the Christians from the year 503 up to this time, and had been first conquered in the reign of Mu'áwiyah. At Táju'ddín Ibn u'l Athír wrote a letter to the governor of Yaman announcing the good news in which he says:

"Of the Caliphs and sovereigns of those days, there was none but thought only of himself, absorbed in his festivals of pleasure, looking upon personal safety as a great good fortune, and who when mention of war was made before him, would ask only regarding the roads of flight. His desire was attained in his dignity, and he was content with the mint and the khuṭbah. Though their wealth were plundered and their dominions passed away, they troubled themselves not regarding what was wrested from them, and they were such as is described in the verse—

'If they fought, they were slain; if they attacked, they were routed;
If they waged war, they were despoiled; if they contended for victory, they were overcome.
Until the Lord brought forth one who defended His faith
And abased infidelity and its demons."

Some say that the meaning of Tripoli in the Greek tongue is 'three forts united.'"

In the year 689 died Sulṭán Ḳiláwun in the month of Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah, and his son al Malik al Ashraf Ṣaláḥu'ddín Khalíl assumed the sovereignty. He made manifest the authority of the Caliph which had been of no account in his father's days, so much so, that his father had never solicited of him the investiture of the Sulṭánate. The Caliph then preached to the people on Friday and alluded in his discourse to his having appointed al Malik al Ashraf to the supreme authority in Islám. And when he had ended his discourse, the Chief Ḳádhi Badru'ddín-b-Jamáa'ḥ, prayed before the people. The Caliph then preached a second time, proclaiming a religious war and spoke of Baghdad and urged its re-conquest.

In the year 691, the Sulṭán set out and invested Ḳa'lat u'r Rúm.*

In 693, the Sulṭán was assassinated at Tarújah† (*12th Muḥarram*, *17th December*, 1293), and his brother Muḥammad-b-u'l Manṣúr was placed

* A strong fortress to the west of the Euphrates opposite Bírah, between it and Sumaysát. It was taken after an investment of 33 days; the garrison consisting of Tartars and Armenians put to death, and the name of the fortress was changed to Ḳa'lat u'l Muslimím. Weil, p. 184.

† A village on the west bank of the Nile between Cairo and Alexandria.

upon the throne and surnamed al Malik an Náṣir, being at the time seven A. H. 693.
years of age ; but he was deposed in Muḥarram, 694 and Ketbogha al Manṣúri A. D. 1294.
was proclaimed Sulṭán and he assumed the title of al Malik al A'ádil (*1st December*, 1294). In this year Ḳázán-b-Arghún-b-Abagha-b-Hulákú, the Tartar monarch embraced Islám, at which the people rejoiced and the Muslim faith spread among his troops. In 696 while the Sulṭán was at Damascus, Lájín* usurped the government and the nobles swore allegiance to him, not two of them opposing him, and he was surnamed al Malik al Manṣúr, and this in the month of Ṣafar. The Caliph bestowed upon him the black dress of honour and drew out his diploma of investiture and *Lájín* despatched al A'ádil to Sarkhad as its governor. Lájín was assassinated in Jumáda II, 698,† and al Malik an Náṣir Muḥammad-b-i'l Manṣúr Ḳiláwun who had been banished to Kark was restored and invested with supreme authority by the Caliph. He transferred al A'ádil to the government of Ḥamát where he remained till he died in 702. In the year 701 the Caliph al Ḥákim died on Thursday night, 18th of Jumáda I, (*18th January* 1302). The afternoon prayer was read for him at the Horse Market under the Citadel, and his bier was attended by the principal officers of State, all of them on foot and he was buried near the tomb of as Sayyidah Nafísa.‡ He was the first of the Caliphs there interred, but it continued henceforward to be their place of burial. He had covenanted for the succession of the Caliphate to his son Abu'r Rabíi' Sulaymán.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Ḥákim were: As Shaykh I'zzu'ddín-b-A'bdí's Sallám, al A'lamu'ddín al Lúraḳi, Abu'l Ḳásim al Ḳabbári the ascetic, az Zaynu'ddín Khálid an Nábulusi, the Ḥáfidh Abu Bakr-b-Suddi, the Imám Abu Shámah, at Taju'ddín-b-Bint i'l Aa'zz, Abu Ḥasan-b-A'dlán, Majdu'ddín-b-Daḳíḳu'l I'íd,§ Abu'l Ḥasan-b-U'ṣfúr the grammarian, al Kamálu'ddín Sallár al Irbili, A'bdu'r Raḥím-b

* Ḥusámu'ddín Lájín originally a Mamlúk of Sulṭán al Malik al Manṣúr son of the first Mameluke Sulṭán Mu'izzu'ddín Aybak. He was purchased by Ḳiláwun under whom he quickly rose to be governor of Syria. The vicissitudes of these ephemeral reigns may be read in Weil's Gesch. des A'bbás, Caliph in Eg.

† According to Abulf, 11th Rabíi' II, (*16th January* 1299). So also Weil, on Makrizi's authority.

‡ She was the daughter of al Ḥasan-b-Zayd-b-Ḥasan-b-A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib. Her father was governor of Medína in the time of al Manṣúr, by whom he was imprisoned. Al Mahdi restored him to liberty and returned him the goods that had been confiscated from him. Nafísa was noted for her piety. When as Sháfi'i died, his corpse was brought to her house, the site of which is now occupied by her mausoleum between old and New Cairo. The place was called the Derb u's Sabáa', but the street fell into ruin and nothing remained in the time of Ibn Khall, save her funeral chapel and her tomb. Her husband was the son of Jaa'far as Ṣádik. She died in 208, (824). Consult Ibn Khall and Abu'l Mahásin: annales.

§ Reiske writes the name "Aid" but it is not easy to digest his pronunciation.

A. H. 701. Yunas author of the Ta'jíz *fi Mukhtaşar i'l Wajiz.* (*Infestation, an* A. D. 1302. *epitome of the Wajíz, on the derivative doctrines of as Shafi'i*), al Ķurţubi *Shamsu'ddín Maḥmúd* author of the Commentary on the Ķurán and the Tadkirat bi ahwal u'l Mauta wa Umúr u'l Akhirat (*Note on the condition of the dead and what concerns the life to come*), the Shaykh Jamál-u'ddín-b-Málik, and his son Badru'ddín, an Naşír at Ţusi chief of the philosophers, Khássah the Tartar, at Táju'ddín-b-i's Subáa'i, treasurer of the Mustanşiríyah College, al Burhán-b-Jamáa'h, an Najmu'ddín al Kátibí al Mantaķi, the Shaykh Muhyi'd'dín an Nawawi, as Şadru'ddín Sulayman the Ḥanafite Imám, at Táju'ddín-b-Muyassir the historian, al Kawáshi the Commentator, at Taķiu'ddín-b-Razín, Ibn Khallaķán author of the Wafayátu'l Aiyán (*deaths of eminent men*), Ibn Ayáz the grammarian, A'bdu'l Ḥalím-b-Taymíyah, Ibn Ju'wán, Náşiru'ddín-b-Munír, an Najm-b-u'l Bárizi, al Burhán an Nasafi author of the compositions on Controversy and Rhetoric, ar Ridḥa as Sháţibi the philologist, al Jamál as Sharíshi,* an Nafísí, the Shaykh of the phisicians, Abú'l Ḥusayn-b-í'r Rabíi' the grammarian, al Ispaháni *Shamsu'ddín Muḥammad* the Commentator on the Mahşúl *fi usúl i'l Fikh* (*Summa on the principles of jurisprudence by Fakhru'ddín ar Rázi*), al A'fíf at Tilmisáni the poet imputed heterodox, at Táj-b-u'l Firkáḥ, az Zaynu'ddín-b-Murḥil as Sháms al Júni, al I'zz-al Fárúķi, al Muḥibb at Ţabari, at Taķi-b-Bint u'l Aa'zz, ar Ridḥa al Ķusţanţíní, al Baha'u'ddín-b-u'n Naḥhás the grammarian, Yakúţ al Musta'şimi, master of the Khaţţ i Mansúb† and others.

AL MUSTAKFI BI'LLAH ABU'R RABI'I'.

Al Mustakfi bi'llah Abú'r Rabíi' Sulayman son of al Ḥákim bi'-amri'llah was born about the middle of Muḥarram, 684. He occupied himself little *about affairs.* He succeeded to the Caliphate according to the covenant of his father in Jumada I, 701. His name was read in the khuţbah in the chief towns of Egypt and Syria and the welcome news thereof penetrated to all the dependencies and dominions of Islám. The Caliphs used to reside at Kabsh but the Sulţán transferred them to the citadel and set apart a palace for them. In the year 702 the Tartars invaded Syria and the Sulţán accompanied by the Caliph marched to engage them. They were victorious and made a great slaughter among the Tartars and the rest fled. During the same Egypt and Syria were convulsed by a great earthquake and many lost their lives in the destruction *caused by it.*

* Not Sharbashi as in the text.

† See page 2, note †.

In the year 704 the Emír Baybars* al Jáshangír al Manṣúri, established stipends and lectures for the mosque of al Ḥákim and rebuilt it after its demolition by the earthquake, and he made the four Ḳádhis professors of jurisprudence. The lecturer on tradition was Saa'du'ddín al Ḥárithi, and on grammar Abu Ḥayyán. A. H. 704. A. D. 1304.

In the year 708, the Sulṭán al Malik an Náṣir Muhammad-b-Ḳiláwun set out with the intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca.† He therefore left Cairo in the month of Ramadhan (24th) the venerable (*7th March* 1309) and a number of the nobles accompanied him to take leave of him whom he sent back. On passing Kark he turned aside towards it and a bridge was erected for him. As he reached the middle of it, it broke. Those who were in front of him escaped. His horse leaped with him and he was saved but those who were behind to the number of fifty, fell, and four were killed. The greater number were *only* bruised *by their fall* in the moat beneath. The Sulṭán remained at Kark. Subsequently he wrote a letter to the Egyptian provinces containing his abdication. This was verified by the Ḳádhis of Egypt and then despatched to the Ḳádhis of Syria, and the Emir Ruknu'ddín Baybars al Jáshangír was acknowledged Sulṭán on the 23rd Shawwál (*5th April* 1309) and surnamed al Malik al Mudhaffar. The Caliph invested him and clothed him in the black mantle and circular turban, and the diploma of investiture was sent to Syria in a black satin bag and there published. It bore heading that it was from Sulaymán, and, in the name of God the most Clement, the most Merciful.

In the month of Rajab 709 al Malik an Náṣir returned, desirous of recovering his power. A number of the nobles favoured his undertaking and he entered Damascus in Shaa'bán and afterwards Cairo on the festival of al Fiṭr and went up into the citadel. Al Mudhaffar Baybars had already fled with some of his followers some days before his arrival, but he was subsequently captured and put to death in the same year. Al A'lá al Widáa'i says regarding the return of an Náṣir to power—

"Verily the fortune of al Malik an Náṣir
Hath basked in the sunshine.
He hath returned to the throne,
As Solomon returned into his."

During this year the Wazír recommended that the non-Muslim subjects should return to the wearing of white turbans as they were subjected to a payment to the revenue of 700,000 dínárs yearly, over and above the

* Comptoller of the Household to the Sulṭán and afterward raised to the throne under the title of al Malik al Mudhaffar.

† This was but an excuse to escape from the control of his minister Sayfu'ddín Sallár and that of Baybars. Weil, p. 276, Abulf, 208.

A. H. 709. poll tax, but the Shaykh Taḳiu'ddín-b-Taymíyah* rose up in strenuous
A. D. 1309. opposition and it was rejected—praise be to God. During the same, the Tartar monarch Khúband,† spread heresy throughout his dominions and commanded the preachers to mention no one in the khuṭbah but A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib and his two sons and the family of the prophet, and this continued until his death in the year 716. His son Abu Sa'íd succeeded him who reigned with justice and established the orthodox faith and the approval of *the rightful succession of* the two Shaykhs (*Abu Bakr and Omar*) followed by Othman and A'li in the khuṭbah, and many discords were thus appeased, praise be to God. He was one of the best of the Tartar monarchs and the most praiseworthy in his conduct. He continued *to reign* till he died in the year 736, and after this there was no union in the nation and they were scattered far and wide. In the year 717 the Nile rose to a great height such as was before unheard of and many towns were submerged by it and a great number of people. In the year 724 the Nile rose similarly and remained covering the earth for three months and a half, and the damage caused by it was greater than its benefits. In the year 728 were repaired the roofs of the Holy mosque at Mecca, and the gates and such of the outer portion as is contiguous to the gate of the Banu Shaybah.‡ In 730 the Friday prayers were held in the hall of the Sháfii'tes in the Ṣáliḥíyah College between the two palaces and this was the first time they were held there. During the same the mosque begun by *the Emir* Ḳauṣún§ outside the Zuwaylah Gate was completed and the khuṭbah preached therein in the presence of the Sulṭán and the nobles and the Chief Ḳáḍhi Jalálu'ddín al Ḳazwíni preached the discourse on that day. Fakhru'ddín-b-Shukar was subsequently confirmed in that post.

In the year 733 the Sulṭán prohibited shooting with bullets and *ordered* that the crossbows for it should not be sold, and forbade astrologers *to practice their profession*. During the same the Sulṭán caused to be made for the kaa'bah a door of ebony covered with silver plates the weight whereof was 35,300 *dirhams*|| and a fraction. He had the old taken up

* He persecuted the Christians with relentless hatred, perhaps in revenge for his own persecution by his co-religionists. Abulf. states that he was summoned from Damascus to Cairo in 705 and imprisoned for his unorthodox opinions in maintaining the corporeal form of the Godhead—a doctrine imputed to Ibn Ḥanbal. He was the author of a work entitled Masalat fi'l Kanáis (*The question of the Churches*) in which he asserts the right of the Muslims to demolish all Christian Churches and that they were justified in closing them in Cairo. See D'Herb., p. 576.

† Abulf. Kharbanda (خربندا).

‡ Now called the Báb u's Salam. Burtom III, p. 178.

§ He married the daughter of Sulṭán an Náṣir Muḥammad and became prime minister and virtually the ruler of the kingdom under the nominal sovereignty of al Malik al Ashraf A'láu'ddín Kujuk.

|| The weight is omitted in the Text and MS. it may possibly be ounces.

and the Banú Shaybah took possession of it with its plates. It bore upon it the name of the governor of Yaman. A. H. 733. A. D. 1332.

In the year 736, a misunderstanding occurred between the Caliph and the Sulṭán, and the latter arrested the Caliph and imprisoned him in a tower and forbade him intercourse with the people. Subsequently he banished him to Ḳús* in the month of Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, him and his children and household and allowed them what was sufficient for their maintenance, they being about one hundred souls—for we belong to God and unto Him do we return. Al Mustakfi remained at Ḳús till he died there in Shaa'bán in the year 740, (*5th February*, 1340) and was there buried, being upwards of fifty years of age.

Ibn Ḥajr al A'sḳaláni in his Durar u'l Káminah† (*Hidden Pearls*) says that he was accomplished, and generous, wrote an extremely fine hand, was brave, skilled at polo and at shooting with bullets. He conversed with learned and literary men and was munificent to them and affected their society. During the whole of his reign, he was prayed for upon the pulpits in the khuṭbah, even during his incarceration and the period of his residence at Ḳús. There was considerable goodwill at first between him and the Sulṭán, for he used to accompany the Sulṭán to the fields and play at ball with him, and they were like brothers. The reason of the misunderstanding between them was that a plaint was taken to him in which was the handwriting of the Caliph to the effect that the Sulṭán should attend the sessions of the holy law,‡ at which the Sulṭán was angry and the affair come to this pass that he banished him to Ḳús and appointed for him a continuance of his favours greater than he had enjoyed at Cairo.

Ibn Fadhli'llah in his biography from the Masálik *ul Absár* says that he was bold in action, and gentle in speech.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mustakfi were the chief Ḳadhi Taḳiu'ddín-b-Daḳíḳ u'l 'Ii'd, the Shaykh Zaynu'ddín al Fáriḳí the Sháfi'ite Shaykh, and the head of the School of Tradition over which he presided from the death of an Nawawi up to this time, Ṣadru'ddín-b-u'l Wakil presiding over it after him, as Sharf al Fazári, as Ṣadr-b-u'z Zarír-b-il Ḥásib, the Ḥáfidh Sharfu'ddín ad Dimiáṭi, ad Ḍhiyá§

* In Upper Egypt.

† Durar u'l Káminah fi A'iyán i'l miat it Tháminah (*Hidden Pearls or Worthies of the 8th Century*) a work alphabetically arranged in one large volume—which the author completed in 830 (1426). A compendium of it was written by As Suyúṭi and al Mubarrad—Ibn Hajr died in 852, (1448). Haj. Khall.

‡ According to Weil the Sulṭán learnt that the Caliph was frequently visited by a Mamlúḳ and a jurisconsult, and fearing a conspiracy he arrested the Caliph, imprisoned the Mamlúḳ and beat the other to death, p. 405.

§ The word dín must be understood after all these titles. Ḍhiyau'ddín, Light of religion. Shamsu'ddín, Sun of religion, &c.

A. H. 740. at Túsi, Commentator on the Ḥáwi al Ṣaghír (*the Lesser Collector on the*
A. D. 1340. *derivative principles of Shafi'ite jurisprudence by Kazwíni)*, as Shams as Sarúji of the Ḥanafite School, Commentator of the Hidáyah *fi'l* Furúu' *(Guide to the derivative principles of Ḥanafite jurisprudence by Burhán u'ddín A'li al Marghináni)*, the Imám Najmu'ddín-b-i'r Rifaa'h the Sháfi'ite Imám of his time, the Ḥáfidh Saa'du'ddín al Ḥárithi, al Fakhr an Núri the Traditionist of Mecca, ar Rashíd-b-u'l Mu'allim one of the most eminent of the Ḥanafites, as Ṣadr-b-u'l Wakíl the Shafi'ite Shaykh, al Kamál-b-u'l Sharíshi, at Táj at Tabrízi, al Fakhr-b-Bint. Abi Saa'd, as Shams-b-Abi'l I'zz the Ḥanafite Shaykh, ar Ridha at Ṭabari the Imám of Mecca, as Ṣafi Abu't Thaná, Maḥmúd al Urmawí, the Shaykh Núru'ddín al Bakri, al A'la bu'l A'ṭṭár the disciple of the Imám an Nawawi, as Shams al Ispaháni author of the Commentary on the Ḳurán and the Commentary on the Mukhtaṣar (*Epitome*) of Ibn u'l Ḥájib and the Commentary on the Tajríd *u'l Kalám* (*Exposition of Metaphysics by Naṣíruddín Abú Jaafar at Ṭúsi,*) and the like, at Taḳi the goldsmith the Ḳurán reader, the last of the Ḳurán reading Shaykhs, as Shiháb Maḥmúd the professor of the Art of Composition, al Jamál-b-Muṭahhar the Shii'te Shaykh, al Ḳamál-b-Ḳádhi Shuhbah, an Najm al Ḳumúli* author of the Jowahir u'l Baḥr *(Pearls of the Sea an epitome of his Bahr u'l Muhíṭ)*, al Kamál-b-u'l Zamlakáni the Shaykh Taḳi u'ddín-b-Taymíyah, Ibn Jibárah the Sháṭibite Shaykh, an Najm al Bálisi, Commentator on the Tanbíh *fi Furúu' u's Sháfi'íyah* (*The Summons, on the derivative principles of Sháfii'te jurisprudence by Abú Isháḳ Ibráhím as Shirázi*), al Burhán al Fazári the Sháfi'ite Shaykh, al A'lá al Ḳúnuwi Commentator on the Ḥáwi *u'l Sághír*, al Fakhr al Turkománi of the Ḥanafite School, Commentator of the Jámi' Kabír *of as Shaybáni*, al Malik al Muwayyad lord of Ḥamát author of several works, among them the metrical version of the Ḥáwi, the Shaykh Yaḳúṭ al A'rshi disciple of the Shaykh Abu'l A'bbás al Mursí, al Burhán al Ja'bari, al Badr-b-Jamáa'h, at Taj-b-Fákaháni, al Fatḥ-b-Sayyidi'n Nás, al Kuṭb al Halabi, az Zayn al Kináni the Ḳádhi Muhyi'ddín-b-Fadhli'llah, ar Rukn-b-u'l Ḳawai',† az Zayn-b-Murḥil, as Sharaf-b-u'l Bárizi al Jalál al Ḳazwíni and others.

* Haj. Khall. writes this word قملي and pronounces it Kamali. The town Kumúlah (قمولة) is in Upper Egypt to the west of the Nile. The text and MS. give the title of the work Jawahir *Wa'l* Baḥr which is inexact.

† MS. كوبح (Kawbah.)

A. H. 740.
A. D. 1340.

AL WÁTHIḲ BI'LLAH IBRAHÍM.

Al Wáthiḳ bi'llah Ibráhím was the son of the heir to the Caliphate al Mustamsik bi'llah Abu A'bdu'llah Muḥammad son of al Hákim bi'-amri'lláh Abu A'bbás Aḥmad. His grandfather al Ḥákim had covenanted for the succession for his son Muḥammad and gave him the title of al Mustamsik bi'lláh, but he died during his lifetime, whereupon he took the covenant for al Mustamsik's son, this Ibráhím, believing him to be worthy of the Caliphate, but he *afterwards* discovered him to be unfit for it, through his pursuit of pleasure and his association with low company. He therefore turned from him and named his own son—that is, the son of al Ḥákim—al Mustakfi, the uncle of Ibráhím. It was Ibráhím who was the cause of the misunderstanding between the Caliph al Mustakfi and the Sulṭán after they had been like brothers, by his having carried to him a slanderous tale regarding him, after which happened what followed.

Thus it came to pass that when al Mustakfi died at Ḳús, he named his own son Aḥmad for the succession but the Sulṭán disregarded this and acknowledged* this Ibráhím who was surnamed al Wáthík until when the Sulṭán was at the point of death he repented of what he had done, and deposed this Ibráhím, and acknowledged the heir Aḥmad who received the surname of al Ḥákim. This took place on the 1st† of Muḥarram 742. Ibn Ḥajr says that the people petitioned the Sulṭán regarding Ibráhím and described his evil life, but he paid no heed to this and desisted not until the people acknowledged him. The populace nicknamed him al Musta'ta bi'llah.‡ ✓

Ibn Fadhli'llah in the Masálik in the biographical notice of al Wáthiḳ says: "His grandfather named him for the succession, believing him to be virtuous and that he would respond loudly to him who called him to the Caliphate—but he grew up in dishonour, and inclined to nought, but the neglect of piety. He was led astray by sensualities, and did what he was not induced to do by his necessities. He associated with the mean and the base. His extravagance brought his reputation low—the evil of his conduct was disguised to him so that he thought it good—he was so blinded

* According to some authorities on the 6th, according to others the 14th Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah. Weil, p. 406.

† This must be the date of his assuming the surname, for the Sulṭán died 9 days earlier, *viz.*, the 21st Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 741 which is given by as Suyuti as the date on which al Haḳim was acknowledged. See his life, later.

‡ "Begging of the Lord." He received this nickname on account of the small stipend granted him—Makrízi places the allowance of al Ḥákim bi'amri'llah at 3560 dirhams a month and 19 Ardabbs of wheat and 10 of barley. Weil, p. 406.



A. H. 740. as[*] to think praiseworthy what was wicked. Pigeon-flying and the pur-
A. D. 1340. chase of rams for butting, and fighting-cocks seduced him—and his emulation in *possessing* fine-haired goats with long ears and the like of such things that degrade manliness and impair dignity,† this *all led him* into evil dealings, and purchasing goods not worth their price, and renting houses the hire of which he could not defray, and scheming for money wherewith to fill his hands, and abominations wherewith to fill his mouth, and things forbidden of which he eat and caused his family to partake, so that he became a mark for contempt and a prey to men of his time. And when al Mustakfi died at a time when the Sulṭán was in the height of his anger against him, and of his wrath which pressed upon him by reason of its excessive vehemence, he sent for this al Wáthiḳ the improvident, the witless, (save that he was not thereto compelled,—and he was one of those who had secretly defamed his uncle to the Sulṭán, and had fastened treacherous machinations round his brow like the binding of an amulet) and he presented himself before the Sulṭán and brought with him the covenant of his grandfather. The Sulṭán therefore undertook the covenant of allegiance to him notwithstanding its ambiguity and turned towards him the face of the Caliphate. And indeed the cancelling of this covenant and the annulling of this compact had already taken place. Then the Chief Ḳádhi Abu Omar-b-Jamáa'ḥ sought to turn the mind of the Sulṭán from introducing the name of al Wáthiḳ in the khuṭbah, but he would not do so. Au agreement at length was effected by omitting both claimants from the khuṭbah and being content therein with the name of the Sulṭán alone—so he went his way. Thus on the death of al Mustakfi the name of the Caliphate passed from the pulpits as if it had never risen over their summit, and the prayer for the Caliphs vacated the vaulted recesses of the mosques as if it had never reverberated at their gates or their flinty stones (Marwah.†) It was as though he were the last of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás and its symbols upon him were as garments of mourning, and were sheathed those swords of steel. This state of things continued until the Sulṭán was near his end, and death had knocked at his rock (Ṣafá†). Among his last injunctions was the restoration of authority to those to whom it belonged, and the carrying out of the covenant of al Mustakfi in favour of his son, and he said, " how hath the truth become

* The MS. has هدى for هذا of the printed edition, which is, I think, inadmissible in the sense of guiding to evil. The grammatical construction any way appears faulty.

† Ṣafa and Marwah are two small hills near Mecca, between which the Sa'i or Course of the U'mrah or Lesser Pilgrimage is made. One of the gates of the Prophet's mosque is termed the Ṣafa gate. The word signifies a rock or smooth stones. Marwah means a hard white flint. It is a small line in the lower slope of the Abu Kubays. Prayers are recited from these mounts by the pilgrims during the Sa'i; see Burton, p. 344.—*et seq.*

manifest" (Ḳur. XII). And he was moved towards those who were re- A. H. 740.
maining behind him and felt compassion, and Ibráhím was deposed* and A. D, 1340.
grew lean—for verily he had fed as flocks feed and covered his dishonour with the raiment of men of worth, till he grew fat and his body became swollen and he assumed the surname of al Wáthiḳ (*Firm in God*), and what was he to be the bearer of such a name, the fear of which had long penetrated into the hearts of men and the dread of it stretched to bursting, the places where the sides lie in sleep?† Go to! The eagles are not counted as their *painted* effigies, nor is the gnat, however long its proboscis, like an elephant; but verily the march of time brings to currency what is worthless and the cat by puffing itself out simulates the lion. Now verily he hath returned to the biting of his own hands and he who is despicable falls easily under contempt." This is the end of Ibn Fadhli'llah's words.

AL ḤÁKIM BI'AMRI'LLAH ABU'L A'BBÁS.

Al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Aḥmad was the son of al Mustakfi. His father when he died at Ḳús covenanted for his succession to the Caliphate but al Malik an Náṣir preferred to him his cousin Ibráhím on account of his personal feeling against al Mustakfi. Now the character of Ibráhím was depraved and the Chief Ḳádhi I'zzu'ddín-b-Jamaa'h exerted himself to the utmost to turn the Sulṭán from *appointing* him, but he would not yield. At length when he was at the point of death, he commended to the Emirs the restoration of the authority to the heir of al Mustakfi—his son Aḥmad, therefore when al Manṣur Abu Bakr the son of an Náṣir assumed the supreme power, he convened an assembly on the 21st Ḍu'l Ḥijjah 741 (*7th June*, 1341) and summoned the Caliph Ibráhím and the heir Aḥmad and the Ḳádhis and said, "Who by law is entitled to the Caliphate?" Ibn Jamáa'h replied, "Verily the Caliph al Mustakfi who died in the city of Ḳús bequeathed the Caliphate after him to his son Aḥmad and had it attested by forty witnesses in the city of Ḳús, and this was proved before me after its confirmation before my deputy in the city of Ḳús." The ~~Caliph~~ Sulṭán therefore deposed Ibráhím, and swore allegiance to Aḥmad and he was surnamed al Ḥákim bi'amri'llah after the title of his grandfather.

* I prefer taking this verb in the passive and would amend the pointing of the text.

† امنت هيبته العيوب MS.

A. H. 741. Ibn Faḍhli'llah says in his biography in the Masálik. "He was
A. D. 1341. the Imám of our age and the white cloud of our land of Egypt. He arose in wrath against his enemies and submerged *his well wishers* with the overflow of his munificence: through him affairs attained to their proper issue, and their intelligent apprehension was referred to him. He revived the usages of the Caliphate, and enjoined what was not in the power of any to disobey. He trod the ways of his ancestors that had been obliterated, and restored them by the glad aspects of his children, for verily they had been effaced. And he gathered together the sons of his father who had been long scattered; and he extended *his* assistance to them for fortune had been adverse, and he elevated his name upon the summits of the pulpits and verily a long time had elapsed and no such stars had arisen except in his firmament, and no such mists and streaming rain had gone forth save from his clouds. He was summoned after the death of the Sulṭán, and his authority and renown travelled abroad in universal allegiance and imperative submission. His father had appointed him by a prior covenant and committed its deposit unto men of trust. Subsequently al Malik al Manṣúr Abu Bakr the son of the *late* Sulṭán succeeded to power, and residences were assigned to him under the authority of the monarch."

Ibn Fadhli'llah continues, "verily I drew up for him the form of the covenant of allegiance which was as follows:

"In the name of God the most merciful. 'Verily they who swear fealty unto thee, swear fealty unto God' (Ḳur. XLVIII) &c. as far as His word 'great.'* This is a covenant of acceptance and a covenant of benefit and a voluntary agreement to which the congregation of the faithful testify and testifies to it the Most Merciful—a covenant the conditions of which are obligatory on the necks of men,† and which circles in its fulness and the entirety of its import, deserts and seas covered with highways—a covenant by which may God improve the condition of the people, and through its means grant them prosperity, and thus mutual harmony be promoted and gladness pass through the land, till the stars of the constellations press thronging upon the multitudinous commingling of the Galaxy. A covenant fortunate and of happy augury, glorious, comprising within it security both in spiritual and temporal matters; a covenant just and lawful, to be observed and guarded; a covenant to

* "The rest of the verse is: 'The hand of God is over their hands. Whoever shall violate his oath, will violate it to the hurt of his own soul, but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with God, He will surely give him a reward that is great.' "

† This sentence is slightly modified from the following in the Ḳurán XVII, كل انسان الزمنه طئره في عنقه The fate or actions of every man have we bound about his neck.

which all desires vie in attaining, and all hearts strive to gain, and upon A. H. 741.
which the scattered nations are agreed. A covenant over which the A. D. 1341.
clouds pour their plenteous rain and the full moon is resplendent. A covenant consented to by the church and the concourse of the faithful, and to stretch their hands towards which the church hath assembled. They therefore who hear God and obey, have acknowledged its legality and every man hath done his utmost towards its fulfilment. It hath obtained the consent of eyes and ears, and by its means Truth hath reached him who meriteth it, which the adversary hath acknowledged and *thus* dissension hath ceased. It is contained in 'a book distinctly written: those who approach near unto God are witnesses thereto.' (Ḳur. LXXXIII) and the most approximate *unto God* of the Imáms accept it. Praise be to God who hath rightly guided us unto this, for we should not have been so directed, were it not that the Lord led us thereto on account of His mercy upon us and upon the people.

And praise be to God, there have agreed upon this covenant unto us and unto the House of A'bbás, those who bind and loose, and the doctors of theological law in what relateth both unto matters of small and of great moment, the rulers in authority and governors, and those in places of dignity and power, the bearers of knowledge and of standards, the guardians of the sword and the pen, the chiefs of the sons of A'bd Manáf, the low in dignity and the high, the chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, the rulers of the sons of Háshim and the stainless remnant of the House of A'bbás, the chosen among the Imáms and the commonalty. A covenant, the pavilions of which are seen in the two Sacred Cities and whose standards float over the Two Straits.* Its blessings are known at A'rafát and confessed at Mina, and acknowledged on the day† of the Great Pilgrimage. It is sought between the *Yamáni* Corner‡ and Abraham's station *of prayer* and the *Black* Stone, and nought is desired through it save the glory of God. A covenant, the bond of which shall not be loosed nor its obligation rejected, compulsory and absolute, continuous§

* Mázimayn." One between Mecca and Mina; the other between Muzdalif and Mount A'rafát.

† When the day of A'rafát (9*th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah*) falls on a Friday. See Burton, p. 226, III.

‡ The Ruknu'l Yamani is the corner of the kaa'bah facing south—where there is a stone called Mustajábu'd Du'á "where prayer is granted" which pilgrims touch and ask pardon for their sins. The place of Abraham is a building south of the kaabah said to contain the stone upon which Abraham stood when he built the kaa'bah and which is believed to preserve the impression of his foot—but no pilgrim sees it as the frame holding it is always covered with red brocade. Burton's finances did not allow of his paying 5 dollars to enter the Makám Ibráhím and no European has ever entered it. See Vol. III, p. 177.

§ For دابثة read as in the MS. دائبة

A. H. 741. A. D. 1341. and everlasting, complete and universal, comprehensive and perfect, just and clear, ardours and yet rest giving.

And there is none distinguished in science or judicial decision, nor one to whom men turn for bounty or the ordering of decrees, nor the Imám of a mosque nor a preacher, nor one of authority in judgment who is consulted and who answereth, nor those who fill the mosques, and none whom their vaulted recesses gather together; nor one who laboureth in the solution of a point and faileth or hitteth it, nor a narrator of tradition nor a discourser on the ancient and the modern, nor one known for piety and virtue, nor the horsemen of war and strife, nor one who killeth with an arrow, pierceth with a spear, or striketh with a sword, nor who moveth on foot, or flieth on wings, mixeth with the people or sitteth in retirement, nor a concourse great or small, nor one the hoisting of whose standard riseth to Orion, nor whose contention in glory soareth above the stars of the Lesser Bear, nor the dweller in the desert or cultivated land, nor one who abideth, nor one who departeth, nor the first nor the last, nor who concealeth within, nor who divulgeth without, nor Arab nor barbarian, nor a pastor of camels or of sheep, nor one who is sedate, nor he who is hasty, nor the dweller in an abode in town or desert, nor the lord of columns, or of a wall, nor one who plungeth into stormy seas, deserts and barren wastes, nor one who betaketh himself frequently to the backs of steeds, nor who letteth his skirt trail in the dust, nor one upon whom the sun of day shineth and the stars of night, nor whom the sky covereth and the earth beareth up, and none whose names in their diversities distinguish, and who are raised in station, one above, another but he hath put his trust in this covenant, and hath assented to it and is secure by reason thereof, for God hath been gracious to him and guided him unto it, and hath acknowledged and attested it and cast down his eyes and dropped them abashed before it and extended his hands towards it in homage and his belief in submission, and acquiesced in it and approved it and gathered its commands upon himself and executed them, and entered under its obedience and acted according to its requirements. And justice hath been done among them in truth, and men say—Praise be to God, Lord of the genii and of mankind.

Now verily when the Lord made choice of His servant Sulayman Abu'r Rabíi' the Imám al Mustakfi bi'lláh prince of the Faithful, the Lord received him with honor and gave him in exchange for the Abode of Peace (*Baghdad*) the mansion of salvation, and transferred him with cleansed hands from testifying to the orthodox religion, to the vision of perfect peace, where He made him near unto Him and confirmed him at His side and preferred him on account of what he had sent before him of his desired works and fruits, and chose for him a company to be nigh him,

and placed him "with those unto whom God hath been gracious of the A. H. 741.
prophets and the sincere, and the martyrs and the righteous; and these A. D. 1341.
are the most excellent company" (Ḳur. IV). Great God for a day such as his! and were he to have no successor, "the earth would become too straight notwithstanding it is spacious" (Ḳur. IX). Every man shall be rewarded according to what he hath earned, and to every heart shall it be announced what it hath hoarded and gathered, for verily a flame hath been kindled, though it is within the ribs of the breast, and verily pulpit and throne will be in danger if there be not a virtuous successor to him, and of a truth, the governed and he who governs will be thrown into perplexity if thought doth not forecast the issue of affairs. And now there remaineth not of the family of A'bbás, nor in the House of al Mustarshid, nor in any other of the pontifical Houses, of the remnants of their sires and grandsires, and not one whom the latter times hath brought forth, for they are barren and without progeny, any to whom the people of Muḥammad may confide the bond of their designs and the secret of their purposes save one, and where is this one? By Allah! it is he who comprehendeth within himself the claims to the heritage of his stainless sires, the inheritance of his ancestors, and he is none other than one who hath wrapped about him the mantle of night and day, the heir of one who hath been borne to his Lord, the son of the Imám, proceeding from his loins, one whom all agree to be in these days, the wonder of mankind, the Incomparable, and thus the great exemplar in creation: and verily he is excellent in dignity, since are looped upon him the garments of the East and the West, who hath the mastery of the empire between the rising and the setting sun, who ascendeth to the level of the sky of this sublime eminence, the sole remnant of Imáms that have departed, a most excellent Caliph, in whom are centred the conditions of the Caliphate, conducting himself virtuously for the sake of God, while he is the heir of a House which shall retain the sovereignty till the day of doom, whose munificence puts the clouds to shame, whom his rival cannot withstand, nor his censurer deceive, who mounteth not the floor of a pulpit in the presence of the Sulṭán of his time, but he proclaimeth it to be by his order and riseth as there placed by him, who sitteth not upon the throne of the Caliphate but the Sulṭán knoweth that his Mustakfi* was not disappointed and his Ḥákim is not absent, the vicegerent of the Lord upon the earth and the successor of His apostle, his lieutenant and his descendant, the follower of his virtuous deeds and the heir to his knowledge, our lord and master, the servant of God and His friend, Abú'l A'bbás the Imám al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh prince of the Faith-

* These names of course include plays upon their meanings, which may be substituted for them.

A. H. 741. ful, may God strengthen the faith by his abiding, and make of his sword a
A. D. 1341. collar for *the necks of* the impious, and humble transgressors beneath his standards, and grant him assistance until the Day of Requital, and by his warring for the faith throw prostrate upon their faces* the troops of the rebellious, and make the earth seek his protection from those who follow not religion, and cause to return through his justice the days of his ancestors the orthodox Caliphs and the rightly guided Imáms, who judged with truth and by it were equitable, and acted in accordance with it,—and aid his allies, and ordain his power, and establish in all hearts the awe of his presence, and his majesty, and confirm him in life, and gather unto him his dominions. Wherefore when that prince passed to his Lord and beheld those who had gone before him, and was borne to the throne of Paradise from the chair of the Caliphate, and the age was without an Imám who might take up what remained of his *lustrous* day, and a Caliph who might overcome the increase of night by his splendours, and a successor of the prophet like unto him and to his fathers, (for the world, after the death of his ancestor, the seal of the Prophets, needed no other prophet to follow his footsteps, and he departed and left no successor, and nothing remained, since no text of the Ḳurán was found apposite to such an emergency but the assembly of the Faithful, and upon it rested the election to the Caliphate after the Apostle of God without dispute),—the public welfare demanded the gathering of an assembly firmly knit together on every side, and the bond of a covenant testified to by God and the angels, and the people gathered to it and "that was a day whereon all men *were* assembled and a day whereon witness *was* borne," (Ḳur. XI).

But there was present *thereat* one that heeded not who should succeed to the Caliphate after him, and did not consider who covenanted with him, and had stretched out his hand covetously for more beside it and had dissembled. But the people were unanimous in their voice and asked the blessing of God upon it and He bestowed it, and an oath was taken, strengthened by religious conviction and fortified by oaths, and compacts were made upon it and their faithful keeping proposed to all parties, so that every one present placed the collar of this charge upon his neck, and laid his hand upon the holy book and swore by the Lord and perfected his assent.

And none discarded it or made a reservation regarding it nor hesitated; and he who rejected it thoughtlessly, returned and renewed it. Verily every man who swore, purposed that the intention of his oath was the intention of one whom this allegiance bound, and the intention of one who pledged it his oath, and took upon himself the obligation of fidelity to it, by his responsibility and guarantee as is the custom in the oath of fealty, and

* Lit. "chins."

to its reiterated conditions and commands and its binding asseverations, that he would render obedience to this Imám to whom obedience is obligatory and would not separate himself from the commonwealth, nor appeal from the council of the Faithful to *another* assembly,* and the like which are contained in the records of oaths in which are written the names of those who swear, set down in the writing of those who can write among them and the signatures of trustworthy witnesses. for those who cannot write and who allow them to sign for them, according as they testify to it one for the other and the dwellers on earth and in heaven acting in concert therein. A covenant, the accomplishment of which hath been perfected by the will of God, and whose clouds are surcharged with abundant rain, and the people cried out, praise be to God who hath caused sorrow to depart from us, and hath given us good. And praise unto God who sufficeth His servant, and is abounding unto him who joineth His praise to His every gift. Again praise unto God for a blessing, the increase of which the prince of the Faithful desireth, and cautiously feareth, unless he combat the enemies of the Lord by its assistance, and by it discipline those who ascend the pulpits in his dominions throughout what interveneth between the divergence of their opposite extremes. We praise him and praise be to God and again praise unto God, a sentence which one wearieth not in repeating, and which doth not so descend that arrows can surpass the just directness of its course, and which cannot be discontinued save after observance of what compelleth the frequency of its repetitions, increase of dignity to those that love it, and the diminution of irreverence not of affection to what resembleth it.

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A. D. 1341.

And we testify that there is no God but one, who hath no copartner, a confession of which the replenishing of its ink-flow resembles the blood drops of the martyrs, and the *dark* locks of youths and shining clouds contend for its favour, whose broidered letters are like unto that which the House of A'bbás weareth of its symbols, the nights of their covering, and enemies of their mourning vesture. And we testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle, upon whom be the blessing of God, and upon the congregation of his family and those who succeed him of his posterity and who have gone before him of his ancestors. And may the Lord be well pleased with his companions and those that immediately followed them, and be merciful unto them till the Day of Requital.

Now since the Lord hath granted to the prince of the Faithful what had belonged to his grandsire, of the prophetical heritage, and bestowed upon him of the sovereignty of Solomon what is not meet for any one after

* I am not sure that the reduplication of الجماعة is not a copyist's error, though the text and MS. are in accord. If it be so, the translation would run "nor quit the congregation."

A. H. 741. him, and taught him the language of birds, in what is borne to him of
A. D. 1341. remarkable events, by carrier pigeons, and subjected to him couriers upon the backs of steeds, as He subjected the wind to Solomon, and recompensed him through *Muḥammad* the Seal of the prophets, with what his father Sulaymán acquired and possessed, and bestowed upon him a greatness which brought all creation under his obedience without contention, and appointed for him in the robes of the House of A'bbás that which fulfilleth in him its sable symbols and its lordliness of ancestry, and scattereth of its swarthiness upon the shade of eyelashes what rendereth superfluous the dark profundity of the heart and the blackness of the eye, and extendeth his shadow over the earth and every part of the capital and the whole city of Baghdad, (he being one who worshippeth at night, and by day is like A'skarí and in liberality like Jaa'far the most munificent), he is therefore in perpetual supplication to the Lord for his grace, and in joy, forasmuch as he hath choked every enemy in his own spittle. And he hath begun this day of fealty with what is most important among the interests of Islám, and with such virtuous works as adorn mankind, and he maketh the fear of God his guide, and baseth his commands upon it, and followeth the holy law and abideth by it and maketh the people to abide thereby, and whoso will not receive his commands with voluntary obedience must submit to them by compulsion. And the prince of the Faithful hasteneth to set about what will pacify all minds, by which he may repel the machinations of the devil who is verily in despair, and captivate the hearts of his subjects though he be independent of it, yet because he ruleth them. And the prince of the Faithful calleth God and his people to witness that he hath confirmed every holder of an office among the administrators of affairs, in his present position, that he may continue to repose under the protection of his shadow, according to the various classes of the rulers, and the courses of the provinces and and marches, on land and sea, plain and mountainous country, east and west, far and near, gentle and simple, few and many, little and great, lord and slave and governor, and the soldier before whom glanceth his glorious sword and his trusty spear, together with those whether ministers, judges or secretaries, or such as possess judgment in composition, and knowledge of accounts, and are conversant with affairs of postal service or collection of revenue, and such as are necessary and unnecessary, engaged in teaching, and in the colleges, in Ribáts, cells and convents, those who have weighty engagements or whose attachments *to the world* are but slight, and all possessors of offices and holders of stipends, and such as have of the Lord's bounty a determinate portion, and a claim whether unknown or recognized. And everything shall remain in its present state, so that he may ask the blessing of God, and it may be made clear to him what is before him, for he who increaseth his worthiness, his merit is

augmented. For the prince of the Faithful seeketh but the glory of God, and maketh no distinction of persons in the religion of the Lord, nor favoureth one right in preference to another, for partiality in *the administration of* justice is a deception towards the Muslims. Everything that hath continued up to the present, shall remain established according to the commands of God, as God hath taught him, and *his father* Sulaymán hath instructed him. Nor shall the prince of the Faithful make in this nor in any portion of it, any alteration, in gratitude to God for His bounty, and thus shall be rewarded he who giveth thanks. Nor shall he disturb unto any one his watering place, and may God purify His clear bounty to him free from all defilement. And no expositor can affect to comment upon this save one who disowneth favours and is ungrateful, nor an objector find an evasion, for the prince of the Faithful seeketh protection from God and let us fly to his reign for defence against all change. The prince of the Faithful, may the Lord exalt his power—hath commanded the preachers to proclaim the mention of him and that of the present Sulṭán, from the pulpits throughout the provinces, and that the coinage shall be stamped with the impress of their names and become freely current, and the robes of night and day be girdled with a prayer for them both, and that there shall be made manifest therewith that which shall illumine the face of the dirham and the dínár.

A. H. 741.
A. D. 1341.

And verily the prince of the Faithful hath proclaimed in this full assembly what every preacher hath to announce and what will be repeated by all that are far and near, the purport of which is, that the Lord hath issued commands and prohibitions, and He is the Watcher *from whom nothing is hidden*, and the intelligent should apply their faculties to them, and the preachers deduce therefrom the courses of their precepts, and excellencies will be perfected by them, and the hidden *thoughts* of the holy in their retirements will be elicited through them, and those who hold discourse at night shall speak of them, and the camel driver and the mariner shall chant them, and their magic shall be sweet in the moonlit night and be inscribed upon the brow of the morn. The stony vallies of Mecca shall hear them in exhortation, and by their vehement urging shall Ḳafáh* be revived, and every father shall instruct his son therein, and every generous son shall question his father. And it is for you, O ye people on the part of the prince of the Faithful who hath furnished† you with an evident demonstration, and upon you is obligatory that by which he hath called you to the way of the Lord in wisdom and excellent admonition, and obedience to the prince of the Faithful is your duty, and were it

* I cannot explain this name if it be a name. Yaḳúṭ does not give it. The MS. appears to have Fanáh which Yaḳúṭ places in Nejd.

† شد MS.

A. H. 741. not for the sake of the preservation of the people, the Lord would not have
A. D. 1341. accepted the works of those *commandments*—nor restrained the waters by them, nor spread out the earth nor rivetted the mountains thereof, nor would voices have been unanimous upon one who is worthy—nor the Caliphate have advanced towards him trailing its robes. He hath therefore possessed himself of it to the exclusion of the *other* descendants of his father, and it hath been found meet for him alone, and he only is meet for it.

And verily the prince of the Faithful hath sufficed you *against any occasion of* solicitation, through what the Lord hath opened unto you of the gates of provision and means of maintenance, and he hath rewarded you according to your merit and taught you commendable virtues, and maintained you in the benefits you possess, and hath not been niggardly through fear of expense. And you have now no claim left against the prince of the Faithful, but that he should cause to pass freely among you the book of God and the traditions of His apostle, and act according to what He hath sent, who hath gratuitously bestowed. May the Lord vouchsafe unto the prince of the Faithful a long reign, and augment *His mercies* upon those who have gone before and preserve the obligations of the pilgrimage and warring for the faith, and cause the people to slumber peacefully in their beds by reason of His all-comprehensive justice.

The prince of the Faithful will establish the pilgrimage every year according to the custom of his fathers, and his favour will include the dwellers in the Sacred Cities and the ministers of the holy house of God, and he will show the right path unto him who is astray, hoping that he will return to the state that was his in past times, and his swelling waters shall be poured forth upon those two temples, and he will send unto the third of them in Jerusalem, a streaming cloud, and by his justice he will set up the sepulchres of the prophets—upon whom be peace—wherever they may be, and the greater number whereof are in Syria. And the Friday prayers and congregations, these shall continue with you according to their ancient traditions and right course, and in the reign of the prince of the Faithful, whoso joineth him shall receive increase from what may be received of the provinces of the infidels and be delivered of them into his hands. As regardeth fighting for the faith, let the warring of him suffice who is so appointed by the prince of the Faithful in his behalf, invested by him with authority over all that is beyond his throne. And the prince of the Faithful hath appointed in him—may the Lord cause his kingdom and sovereignty to endure—an eye that slumbereth not, and hath girded a sword, of which were the lightnings to sleep on any night, heedless of enemies, the dreams of these would unsheath its image against them. The prince of the Faithful will presently arrange for the restoration of all that hath

been captured by the enemy and indeed the order hath already gone forth A. H. 741.
for the continuance of hostilities by land and sea against the prostrate foe. A. D. 1341.
And he will not abstain from either slaying or making prisoners those whom he subdueth, nor will he free them from fetters and bonds, and he will not cease from sending against them by land his eagle steeds and by sea his raven *ships*, bearing each of them in its rider, a bird of prey. And he will guard his dominions from such as venture to disturb its confines or traverse its borders with their footsteps. And he will look to the welfare of the forts and fastnesses and the frontiers, and what is needful for them of implements of war, and the principal cities which are the stations of the troops and the lairs of the lions, and the nobles, the forces and legions, and their disposition on the right and the left and on the extended wings. And he will inspect their condition in review as to their horses closely compacted between heaven and earth, and their wealth of twisted mail, and swords covered with liquid gold as though they were beautiful maidens hidden from view, and cutting blades, and lances dyed by reason of being long bathed in blood, and arrows cleaving to the bows and leaving them yearning with the yearning of she camels* that have lost their young, and bows resounding with the clamour of the wrathful.

All this the prince of the Faithful desireth to cheer your hearts and to extend a lengthened train over your desires. Your lives and property and honor shall be preserved from exposure to danger, save in what the holy law permitteth. And an increase of bounty shall be given to you in the measure of what is kept hidden by you or manifested. To proceed to particulars of affairs, verily ye know that he who separates himself from the prince of the Faithful excludes himself from remembrance such as this, and according to the difference of your degrees, you are all a charge *from God committed* to the prince of the Faithful, and all of you are equal in truth before him, and upon you rests the fulfilment of his precepts and showing obedience with a sincere heart. For verily every one of you hath entered under the protection of the prince of the Faithful and under his obedience, and the obligations of the oath of fealty are incumbent upon him and its conditions binding upon his neck. And each one of you will be known by his fulfilment of that which he hath learnt, "but whoever shall perform that which he covenanted with God, He will surely give him a reward that is great," (Ḳur. XLVIII). These are the words of the prince of the Faithful.

The writer goes on to say, "He will so act in all this, that the issue of his deeds may merit praise, and on this condition the covenant is made with him and for it he covenanteth. And over and above this, as to

* The word مفارق should be more properly written مفاريق which is the true plural of مفرق See Lane, art. فرق.

A. H. 741. injustice, the witness of it hath not been borne against him, now will it
A. D. 1341. be borne. And the prince of the Faithful supplicateth the Lord for His mercy under every condition, and seeketh His protection against remissness, and He prayeth Him to help him to the attainment of the hopes that he desireth, and not to extend to him the cord of delay. And the prince of the Faithful will seal his words with the justice and benevolence that the Lord hath commended: and praise be to God that he is one of most to be commended* of his creatures, for the Lord hath bestowed upon him the kingdom of Sulaymán. May the Lord permit him freely to enjoy what he hath bestowed, and give him to rule over the ends of the earth and after a long life, cause his posterity to succeed him. May his seat never cease to be on the threshold of eminence, and the splendour of majesty through him, be united to the supreme rule of the Caliphate, as though its Manṣúr had never died nor its Mahdi or its Rashíd passed away."

Ibn Ḥajr says in his Durar that he was first surnamed al Mustanṣir and afterwards al Ḥákim. The Shaykh Zaynu'ddín al I'ráḳi states that the Caliph heard traditions from some of the later traditionists and that he himself related them. He died of the plague about the middle of the year 753. Among events of his days, Sulṭán al Manṣúr was deposed in the first year of his reign on account of the depravity of his life and his drinking of wine;—it was even said that he did not hold inviolate his father's wives. He was banished to Ḳús and there assassinated. This was a chastisement from God for what his father had done to the Caliph, and such is the way of the Lord with those who set themselves to do evil unto one of the posterity of A'bbas. He was succeeded by his brother al Malik al Ashraf Kujuk (21*st Safar*—6*th August*, 1341) who was deposed the same year and his brother Aḥmad elected and surnamed an Náṣir (3*rd Shaa'bán*—11*th January*, 1342) and Shaykh Taḳiu'ddín as Subki Ḳádhi of Syria who had accompanied him, arranged the covenant of allegiance between him and the Caliph.

In the year 743 an Naṣir Aḥmad was deposed and his brother Iṣma'il was raised to power and surnamed as Ṣáliḥ (22*nd Muharram*,—27*th June* 1342). In 746 as Ṣáliḥ died (4*th Rabíi' II*—3*rd August*, 1345), and the Caliph invested his brother Shaa'bán who was surnamed al Kámil. In 747 (3*rd Jumada II*—20*th September*, 1346) al Kámil was put to death and his brother Amír Ḥáj† was elected and surnamed al Mudhaffar. In 748, al Mudhaffar was deposed and succeeded in power (14*th Ramadhán*—18*th December*, 1347) by his brother Ḥasan who was surnamed an Náṣir.

* Aḥmad "worthiest of praise" was one of the names of the Caliph.

† Weil names him Zaynu'ddín Ḥáji. He received the name of Ḥáji or Ḥáj (*pilgrim*) as he was born in 732 while his father Sulṭán Muḥammad an Násir was on the pilgrimage. Weil, p. 470.

In 749 occurred the universal plague* the like of which was never heard of. A. H. 749. A. D. 1348.

In the year 752 an Náṣir Ḥasan was deposed and his brother Ṣaliḥ elected (*28th Jum. II—22nd August* 1351), and surnamed al Malik as Ṣáliḥ, who was the eighth who reigned of the descendants of an Náṣir Muḥammad-b-Ḳiláwun, and Shaykhú was made his Atábek. He was the first, as Ibn Fadḥl i'llah adds in the supplement of the Masálik, who was named in Egypt the Great Emír.

Of personages of note who died during the reign of al Ḥákim were the Ḥáfidh Abu'l Ḥajjáj al Mizí, at Táj A'bdu'l Báḳi al Yamani, as Shams A'bdu'l Hádi, Abu Ḥayyán, Ibn u'l Wardi, Ibn u'l Labán, Ibn A'dlán, ad Ḍahabi, Ibn Fadḥli'llah, Ibn Ḳayyim al Jauzíyah, al Fakhr al Miṣri the Sháfi'ite Shaykh in Syria, at Táj al Marákashi and others.

AL MUA'TAḌHID BI'LLÁH ABU'L FATḤ.

Al Mua'tadḥid bi'lláh Abu'l Fatḥ Abu Bakr the son of al Mustakfi was acknowledged Caliph after the death of his brother in the year 753 according to his covenant. He was virtuous and complaisant and a friend to men of letters. He died in Jumada I, 763. Among the events of his reign occurred the deposition in 755 of al Malik as Ṣáliḥ (*2nd Shawwál,—20th October*, 1254) and an Náṣir Ḥasan was reinstated. In the year 756 orders were issued for the coining of new *copper* pieces of the size and weight of a dínár and four and twenty of these were made equivalent to a dirham. Before this the old copper pieces were a ratl and a half to the dirham, and from this may be known the value of the silver dirhams struck by Shaykhú and the Emir Ṣurghitmish for the salaried officials of their colleges, for their dirhams signified two-thirds of a ratl in copper pieces.

In the year 762 an Náṣir Ḥasan was put to death and Muḥammad the son of his brother al Mudhaffar was raised to the throne (*9th Jum. I—17th March* 1361) and surnamed al Manṣúr.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of al Mua'tadhid were Shaykh Taḳiu'ddin as Subki, as Samín (*Shiháb u'ddín Aḥmad-b-Yusuf al*

* This was the great plague or black death which spread over Europe in 1348 and desolated Florence. According to Arabic sources it took its rise in China in A. H. 742 and spread over Tartary; thence to Constantinople, Asia Minor and Syria on one side, and Greece, Italy, Spain, France and the north of Europe on the other. In old and new Cairo in the months of Shaa'bán and Ramaḍhán 900,000 beings perished. In Aleppo the deaths were 500 a day and in Gaza 22,000 died in 33 days. For its further details, consult Weil, p. 479, from Makrizi, and Abu'l Mah.

A. H. 753. *Halabi*) author of the Ii'rab (*treatise on inflexions in the Kurán*), al
A. D. 1352. Kawám al Itkáni, al Baha-b-A'kíl, as Saláh al A'láii, al Jamál-b-Hishám the Háfidh Maghlatáii, Abu Imámah-b-u'n Nakkásh and others.

AL MUTAWAKKIL A'LA'LLÁH ABU A'BDU'LLÁH.

Al Mutawakkil a'la'lláh Muhammad the son of al Mua'tadhid, the father of the Caliphs of the present age, assumed the Caliphate by the covenant of his father, after his death in Jumáda I, 763. His reign extended over forty-five years throughout the depositions and imprisonments that disturbed it, as we shall presently relate, and he left many children. It is said that he had one hundred children including those still-born, of whom many, male and female, died. Five among them held the Caliphate which is unprecedented, *viz.*, al Musta'ín al A'bbás, al Mua'tadhid Dauúd, al Mustakfi Sulaymán, al Káim Hamzah, and al Mustanjid Yusuf. Of his children at the present time but one is left called Músa, much resembling Ibráhím the son of al Mustakfi, and of the posterity of A'bbás now remaining, all are of the stock of this al Mutawakkil—may the Lord increase their number and give them increase of His aid. The following were among the events of his reign. In the year 764 al Mansúr was deposed (*14th Shaa'bán—29th May*, 1363) and Shaa'bán-b-Husayn-b-Násir-b-Kilawun succeeded to power and was surnamed al Ashraf.

In 773 the green badge on the turbans of the descendants of the prophet was introduced by command of the Sultán that they might be thus distinguished and this was its first introduction. Abu A'bdu'lláh-b-Jábir* the blind grammarian, author of the commentary on the Alfíyah *of Ibn Málik*, known as al Aa'ma wa'l Basír (*the blind and the discerning*) says regarding this—

"They have given the descendants of the apostle a badge,
But a badge is a distinction for one who is unknown.
The light of prophecy is on their noble features,
The nobly born needeth no green decoration."

In this year began the irruption of the tyrant Tamarlang (*Tamarlane*) who devastated the provinces and destroyed the inhabitants and continued his depredations on the earth until he perished under the curse of God in the year 807.† And it has been said regarding him :

* The text has Jabiz erroneously. Ibn Jábir died in 780 (1378). His commentary though a work of great merit, did not escape the criticism of as Suyúti whose indefatigable pen was employed in exposing its errors. See Háj. Khal.

† The text has here a gross error, giving the year as 873. The MS. has a blank for the unit. Timur died according to Ibn Arab Sháh on Wednesday the 17th Shaa'bán 807, (*17th February*, 1405). D'Herb. places his death on the 10th Shaa'bán.

A. H. 773.
A. D. 1371.

"The Tartars worked evil yet had they but witnessed
The deeds of Tamarlang how much more terrible!"

And his omen upon the people of greater ill boding!

He was in his origin one of the children of the peasantry and bred to theft and highway robbery. Subsequently he joined the service of the Sulṭán's* master of the horse and was established in his place after his death, and he never ceased to rise until he attained to what he reached. A certain person was asked in what year occurred Tamarlang's irruption. He replied, "in the year of the Chastisement." (*A'ḍáb*), that is according to alphabetical enumeration 773.†

In the year 775 the reading of al Bukhári was begun in the citadel during the month of Ramadhán in the presence of the Sulṭán, and the Ḥáfidh Zaynu'ddín of I'ráḳ was appointed reader, but later, Shiháb u'l'Uryáni was associated with him on alternate days.

In the year 777 eggs became so dear at Damascus that a single one sold for three dirhams at the calculation of sixty *dirhams* to the dínár.‡

In the year 778 al Ashraf Shaa'bán was put to death and his son A'li surnamed al Manṣúr succeeded to power (*3rd Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah—14th March*), and *it happened* thus. Al Ashraf was making the pilgrimage with the Caliph and the Ḳádhis and nobles, when the nobles conspired against him and he fled back to Cairo. The Caliph likewise returned and some others and they purposed to make the Caliph Sulṭán, but he declined. They therefore raised the son of al Ashraf to the throne and al Ashraf concealed himself, till they seized him in the month of Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah.

In the same year the sun and moon were both eclipsed. The moon was under eclipse on the 14th Shaa'bán, and the sun on the 28th of the same month.

In the year 779 on the 4th Rabíi' I, I'nbak al Badri the war minister summoned Zakaríya son of Ibráhím, son of al Mustamsik, son§ of the Caliph al Ḥákim and bestowed on him a robe of honour and made him Caliph without *the formality of* the oath of allegiance and without the concurrence of the Faithful, and surnamed him al Musta'ṣim bi'lláh. He

* Al Malik Ḥusayn of Herát.

† The beginning of his rise and power is fixed by most historians in 771 when he received from Sulṭán Surghatmish Chaghtai the succession to the satrapy of Samarkand and Transoxiana, and as he died in 807, this would make his reign 36 years. He was born in 736. D'Herb.

‡ The MS. has here a marginal note عشرون بيضة بدينار (20 eggs for a dínár).

§ The word بن is inadvertently omitted both in the MS. and Text, and in the latter ايبك is written by a misprint for اينبك.

A. H. 779 further ordered al Mutawakkil to be banished to Ḳús for certain things*
A. D. 1377. which he resented as having been done by him at the time of the assassination of al Ashraf. The Caliph set out but returned the next day to his house and to the Caliphate on the 20th of the month, and al Musta'ṣim was deposed, the duration of his Caliphate having been fifteen days. Al Mutawakkil was the sixth of the Caliphs residing in Egypt who were reinstated after some interruption of their Caliphate. This deposition therefore was in accordance with custom.

In the year 782 a letter came from Aleppo stating that an Imám was reading public prayers when a person made sport of him during his praying, but he did not interrupt the prayers until he came to the end and when he pronounced the benediction, the face of the jester was turned into that of a hog and he fled to a forest in the neighbourhood. The people were in wonder at this affair and a deposition was taken of it.

In the month of Ṣafar (23*rd*) 783 al Manṣúr died and his brother Ḥáji son of al Ashraf succeeded him and was surnamed as Ṣáliḥ. In Ramadhán (19*th*) 784 (26*th November*, 1382) as Ṣaliḥ was deposed and Barḳúḳ assumed the government and was surnamed ad Dháhir, and he was the first Sulṭán of the Circassian race. In Rajab of 785, Barḳúḳ arrested the Caliph, deposed him and imprisoned him in the fortress on the hill. Muḥammad son of Ibráhím, son of al Mustamsik son of al Ḥákim was then acknowledged Caliph and surnamed al Wáthiḳ bi'lláh and he continued in the Caliphate till he died on Wednesday the 17th Shawwál, 788. The people then petitioned Barḳúḳ to reinstate al Mutawakkil, but he refused and summoned the brother of Muḥammad Zakariya, he who had been appointed for a short period,—and swore fealty to him and he was surnamed al Mu'taṣim† bi'lláh. He continued in office until the year 791. Barḳúḳ then repented of what he had done to al Mutawakkil, and brought him out of confinement, restored him to the Caliphate and deposed Zakaríya. Zakariya continued to dwell in his private residence till he died while under deposition; and al Mutawakkil remained Caliph till his death.

In the month of Jumada II, of the same year as Ṣáliḥ Ḥáji was restored to the dignity of Sulṭán and his surname was changed to al Manṣúr. Barḳúḳ was imprisoned at Kark.

* I'nbak desired the Caliph to pronounce the deposition of the Sulṭán in whose place he sought to elect his own step son Aḥmad. To justify this course he asserted that Aḥmad's mother was with child by the Sulṭán Ḥasan an Náṣir before her second marriage with Yelboga al Chaski. The Caliph's refusal resulted in his deposal. Weil, p. 533.

† Weil says that according to the best MS. he was surnamed al Mu'taṣim (*having recourse to God*) not al Musta'ṣim, (p. 122, Vol. II). The MS. has this reading but the text, Musta'ṣim, which is therefore incorrect.

In the month of Shaa'bán of this year the Muazzins after the summons to prayer, introduced the prayer and the salutation upon the prophet, and this was the first time it was introduced. It was done at the instance of the Market inspector Najmu'ddín at Ṭumbuḍí. In the month of Ṣafar 792 Barḳúḳ was taken out of confinement and restored to power in which he continued till his death (14*th*) Shawwál 801, (19*th June*, 1399). He was succeeded (15*th*) by his son Faraj who was surnamed an Náṣir and he remained in power till the 6th* Rabíi' I. 808 (1*st September*, 1405) when he was deposed from office and succeeded by his brother A'bdu'l A'zíz surnamed al Manṣúr. He was subsequently deposed on the 4th† Jumada II, of the same year and an Náṣir Faraj reinstated. In this year died the Caliph al Mutawakkil on Tuesday night the 28th of Rajab, 808, (18*th January*, 1406.) A. H. 791. A. D. 1389.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mutawakkil were as Shams-b-Mufliḥ the doctor of the Ḥanbalites, as Ṣaláḥ as Ṣafadí, as Shiháb b-u'n Naḳíb, al Muḥibb the Commissary of the Forces, as Sharíf al Ḥusayni the Ḥáfidh, al Ḳuṭb at Takhtáni, the chief Ḳáḍhi I'zzu'ddín-b-Jamáa'h, at Táj-b-u's Subki and his brother Shaykh Baháu'ddín, al Jamál al Asnawi, Ibn u's Ṣáigh al Ḥanafi, al Jamál-b-Nubátah, al A'fíf al Yáfi'í, al Jamál as Sharíshi, as Sharaf-b-Ḳáḍhi u'l Jabal, as Siráj al Hindí, Ibn Abi Ḥajalah, the Ḥáfidh Taḳiu'ddín-b-Ráfi', the Ḥáfidh I'mádu'ddín-b-Kathír, al U'nábi the grammarian, al Baha Abu'l Baḳa as Subki, as Shams-b-Khaṭíb Birúd, al I'mád al Ḥusbáni, al Badr-b-Ḥabíb, ad Ḍhíya al Ḳarami, as Shiháb al Aḍra'í, as Shaykh Akmal u'ddín, as Shaykh Saa'd u'ddín at Taftazáni, al Badr az Zarkashi, as Siráj-b-Malḳán, as Siráj al Balḳíni, and the Ḥáfidh Zaynu'ddín al 'Iráḳi.

AL WÁTHIK BI'LLÁH OMAR.

Al Wáthik bi'lláh Omar-b-Ibráhím son of the heir al Mustamsik son of al Ḥákim, was acknowledged Caliph on the deposition of al Mutawakkil in the month of Rajab, 785, (*September*, 1383), and continued in the Caliphate till he died on Wednesday the 19th‡ Shawwál 788, (11*th November*, 1386.)

* According to Weil, the 25th.

† 8th, Weil.

‡ The date has already been given (*see page* 532) as the 17th. The MS. and Text both have the discrepancy. Weil does not give the date and I am unable to determine which of the two is the correct one. According to the Calendric scales for verifying dates published by the Asiatic Society, the 19th of Shawwál 788 fell on a Tuesday.

A. H. 788.
A. D. 1386.

AL MU'TAṢIM BI'LLÁH ZAKARÍYA.

Al Mu'taṣim bi'lláh Zakaríya. The son of Ibráhím the son of al Mustamsik was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother al Wáthiḳ. He was deposed in 791 (*10th Jumada I—5th June*, 1389) and remained at his residence in deposition until his death, and al Mutawakkil was restored as has been previously mentioned.

AL MUSTA'ÍN BI'LLÁH ABU'L FADHL.

Al Musta'ín bi'lláh Abu'l Fadḥl al A'bbás son of al Mutawakkil whose mother was a Turkish slave named Bái Khátún, was acknowledged Caliph according to his father's covenant in the month of Rajab, 808. The Sulṭán at the time was al Malik an Náṣir Faraj.

When an Náṣir set out to engage the Shaykh* in battle and was defeated and fled, the Caliph was acknowledged as Sulṭán in addition to the Caliphate. This took place on (25th) Muḥarram 815, (*7th May*, 1412). He did not, however, assent to this, save after opposition and continuous protest and receiving the engagement of the Emirs on oath.† He then returned to Egypt accompanied by the Emirs and occupied himself in appointing and removing *ministers*. The coinage was struck in his name but his title remained unaltered.

The Shaykh u'l Islám Ibn Ḥajr wrote his famous poem on him which is as follows—

" The kingdom is on a sure foundation among us,
Through al Musta'ín the Just the A'bbáside.
The dignity of the descendants of the uncle of Muḥammad
Hath returned to its place after a long oblivion.
On the 2nd of the second Rabíi' the auspicious,
On Tuesday, rejoicings were made,
For the coming of the people's guide, their trusted one,
Preserved from defect, pure in his utterances.
The lord of a house round which men circle. Hath it been ever known
That he who sought it, hath been turned back disappointed ?

* Shaykh Mahmúdi named by Faraj to the government of Damascus. He afterwards became Sulṭán under the title of al Malik al Muayyad.

† He bound them in the event of his deposition from the Sulṭánate to maintain him as Caliph. Weil, p. 126.





A branch sprung from Hashim, in a garden A. H. 815.
Of holy plantations and goodly shoots A. D. 1412.
Of the approved and selected of God,—the purchasers
Of praise, ornamented by and robed in it,
Among chiefs who have led calamities captive and purified
Themselves from contamination with the base.
Lions when present in fight, and when retired
In their social gatherings are as deer in their coverts.
And his star-like radiance amongst them
Is like the full moon that riseth in darkness.
And in his hand when attaching the sign *manual*,
A pen that irradiates like the flash of a spark.
And in his countenance, for such as approach, are smiles
That are sought, and for the honour of al A'bbás.
Then praise be to God who hath exalted His religion
After it had been in desolation,
By noble chiefs the pillars of greatness,
Between seekers of retaliation and the beneficent.
They rise with the burdens of noble qualities and ascend
To lofty dignities, the lordly, the steadfast.
They have left their enemies prostrate on the field of ruin,
And may God guard them from the temptations of the evil one.
And their Imám through his greatness precedeth them,
Like the precedence of the name of God upon a document.
And were not the ordering of the kingdom under his guidance,
The condition of men in the kingdom would not endure.
And how many a prince before him hath sought eminence,
Which, notwithstanding his exertions, cast him back in poverty.
Until he *alone* attained dignities, being meet for them,
Which have yielded to him after much refractoriness.
The hands of princes are submissive to him and are obedient
The fingers of the Meter of the Egyptian Nile.
For it is he who hath repelled evil from us,
In the world would evil abound were it not for him.
He hath effaced tyranny which embraced all princes
In every part and of all kinds.
By *the deposition of* the recreant* called, in opposition to his deeds,
The Defender, (*an Násir*) insecure of foundation.
How many gifts of God were his
Which were as though remote or in oblivion.
The mystery of evil never ceaseth to be within his sides

* The Sulṭán Faraj al Malik an Náṣir.

A. H. 815. As fire, or his companionship with the sepulchres.
A. D. 1412. What wickedness hath he not done, the sins of which are upon him
Till the day of resurrection? He shall have none to mourn *for him.*
He built its pillars in deceit, yet
In fraud were they built without foundation.
Every man is forgotten or remembered but once,
But he shall not be forgotten for evil.
The God of nations prolonged his days, so that
When they seized him, the bitterness of the cup *of death* did not pass him by.
And the Lord hath given us instead of him, a prince
Whose days are exalted beyond computation.
Mecca and the earth have heard the good tidings,
From the East unto the West, from U'ḍayb* to Fez.
The signs of his glory none shall seek to disown
Among men, but the wicked fool.
The virtues of al A'bbás have never been united
Save in his descendant, the A'bbaside, king of men.
And the sway of al Musta'ín, shall renounce
No more in his kingdom, the thankless, the forgetful.
For after the sons of Umayya
In past times, came the sons of A'bbás.
And he of the Scar† of the sons of Umayya came raising up
Justice, after the destroyer,‡ the base.
My prince, thy servant hath come to thee, hoping
For thy acceptance, let it not be accounted ill.
And were it not for awe *of thee*, his praises would be longer,
Wherefore hath he brought them in a balance.
May the God of mankind cause thy glory to endure
Guarded in justice by the God of mankind.
And mayest thou live to hear praises from thy servant,
For were it not for thee he would endure sorrow.
A servant, pure in affection who chants as he drives his camel
And runs *from zeal* upon his eyes before his head.§
His praises of the posterity of the house of Muḥammad
Are words of fragrant musk among men."

* Sweet waters belonging to the Banú Tamím, four miles from Ḳádisíyah, which is 15 parasangs from Kúfah.

† Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz.

‡ A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán.

§ The words in this line have nearly all double meanings, being plays upon the Meccan pilgrimage.

When al Musta'ín reached Egypt he took up his residence in the A. H. 815.
fort, and the Shaykh (*Mahmúdi)* in the stables, and al Musta'ín consigned A. D. 1412.
to his care the administration of the sovereignty throughout the land of Egypt and surnamed him Nidhám u'l Mulk. The nobles when they were released from duty at the palace, used to attend the Shaykh at the stables and their respects were next paid to him, and in his presence the business of administration was carried on. Then his Chancellor waited on al Musta'ín where the signature was attached to royal mandates and letters. It was then represented that the Caliph was not empowered to attach the sign manual *to a document* except after it had been shown to the Shaykh. The Caliph was now in trepidation and his heart was straitened and his disquietude increased. Now when it was the month of Shaa'bán, the Shaykh demanded of the Caliph that he should resign the Sulṭánate into his hands according to custom. The Caliph assented on the condition that he might come down from the citadel into his own residence (*1st Shaa'ban*, 815—*6th November*, 1412) but to that the Shaykh would not consent, and usurped the Sulṭánate and assumed the title of al Muayyad, and he publicly proclaimed the deposition of al Musta'ín and acknowledged as Caliph his brother Daúd (*16th Ḍul Ḥijjah*, 816—*7th March*, 1414). Al Musta'ín was transferred from the palace to one of the houses of the citadel, and his people with him, and guards were appointed to prevent his access to the people. When this reached Nauruz, governor of Syria, he assembled the judges and the doctors and asked their judicial decision regarding what al Muayyad had done in deposing the Caliph and imprisoning him. They gave sentence that it was unlawful, and it was agreed to give battle to al Muayyad. The latter set out against Nauruz in the year 717 A. H. and despatched al Musta'ín to Alexandria. He remained there imprisoned until the reign of Ṭaṭar* when he was released and permitted to proceed to Cairo, but he preferred to reside in Alexandria which *place* was agreeable to him and where he received considerable sums from the merchants and he continued to reside there until he died, in the cause of God,† of the plague in Jumáda II, 813. *The following* were among the remarkable events of his reign. In the year 712, the Nile began its rise on the first day of *the month of* Masuri,‡ and it reached a maximum of twenty-two

* According to Weil, until the reign of Barsabai (825).

† The term شهيد a martyr, is applied by the Prophet to such Muslims who die of colic, or who are drowned, or killed by a falling building, or die of pleurisy, or pestilence, and to a woman dying in pregnancy.

‡ The Coptic month, answering to August, beginning on the 26th July. The rise of the Nile begins in the month of Abíb or July and continues till September. At that period, Egypt, as its historian Abu'l Maḥásin says, glitters like a white pearl. The following three months it appears like black musk, as the waters disappear. The next three months, it is like a rich emerald from the sprouting of the vegetation, and during the

A. H. 815. cubits.*

A. D. 1412. In the year 714, Ghiyathu'ddín (*Mahmúd Tughlak*) Aa'zam Sháh-b-Sikandar emperor of Hindustán sent to the Caliph for his investiture *of sovereignty* and sent him a large sum and a present to the Sultán.

Among the remarkable personages who died during his Caliphate *were* al Muwaffik an Náshiri the poet of Yaman, Nasru'llah of Baghdad a doctor of the Hanbalites, Shams u'l Mu'íd the grammarian of Mecca, Shiháb u'l Husbáni, Shiháb u'n Náshiri the jurisconsult of Yaman, Ibn u'l Háim author of the law of Inheritances and their computation, Ibn u'l A'fíf, the poet of Yaman, and al Muhibb Ibn al Sháhnah the Hanafi jurisconsult, father of the Kadhi of the troops.

AL MUA'TADHID BI'LLÁH ABU'L FATH.

Al Mua'tadhid bi'lláh Abu'l Fath Dáuúd-b-u'l Mutawakkil, whose mother was a Turkish slave named Kazal, was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother in the year 815† A. H: the Sultán being al Muayyad who continued *such* till his death in Muharram 824.‡ His son Ahmad was then invested with the Sultánate and surnamed al Mudhaffar who appointed Tatar§ his first minister. In the month of Shaa'bán (29*th August*, 1421) Tatar arrested him, whereupon the Caliph invested Tatar with the Sultánate and he was surnamed ad Dháhir. In Dul Hijjah (4*th*) of the same year Tatar died, and his son Muhammad was invested and surnamed as Sálih who appointed Barsabai|| his first minister. Subsequently Barsabai fell upon as Sálih and deposed him, and the Caliph

last three months from the ripening of the crops it is like molten gold. Abu'l Maha' Tom I, p. 32, The names of the Coptic months and the Syrian that correspond with them will be found here.

* A'bdu'l Latíf in his account of Egypt gives 13 cubits as the minimum height requisite for the wants of Egypt, 19 cubits is rarely reached, and 20 is an excessive rise. Lib. II, Cap. I.

† According to Weil, 16th Dul Hijjah, 816, 7th March, 1414.

‡ 8th Muharram, 823, 13th January, 1421, Weil.

§ A Circassian, educated in theology and jurisprudence by a slave dealer. He was purchased by the Sultán Barkúk for 12,000 dirhams, He was given his freedom by Sultán Faraj and thus gradually rose to power. See Weil, Gesch. A'bb. Khal. Egypt, Vol, II, p. 161.

|| Also a slave originally of the Emir Dokmak governor of Malatya who made a present of him to Sultán Barkúk. All the Sultáns since the last, with the exception of al Musta'ín had been Circassians. Weil writes the name, I think incorrectly, Bursbai. It is of Chaldaic origin signifying the son (*Bar*) of Sabai.

invested him with the Sultánate in (*8th*) Rabíi' II, 825 in which he continued till his death (*16th*) in Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 841 (*7th June*, 1438), whereon his son Yúsuf received the investiture and the title of al A'zíz who named as his first minister Jaḳmaḳ; the latter then fell upon al A'zíz and arrested him in Rabíi' I. (*19th*) 842 and the Caliph gave him the investiture and he was surnamed ad Dháhir in whose reign the Caliph died. A. H. 841. A. D. 1438.

Al Mua'tadhid was one of the first of the Caliphs in merit, acuteness and sagacity. He courted the society of men of letters and genius, and profited much by them and associated himself with them in their works. He was extremely liberal and munificent. He died on Sunday the 4th of Rabii' I, 845 (*22nd July*, 1441), being according to Ibn Hajr, nearly seventy years of age, but his brother's daughter informed me that he lived 63 years.

The following are among the remarkable events of his reign.

In 816 Sadru'ddín-b-al Ádmi held the inspectorship of markets in addition to the office of Ḳádḥi and he was the first who held the two together. In the year 819 Mankali Bugha assumed it and he was the first among the Turks in the world who held the post of inspector. In the same year a man appeared in Egypt who pretended that he had ascended into heaven and had seen the Most High and spoken with him, and many of the common* people believed in him. A meeting was therefore convened regarding him, and he was asked to retract but he refused to retract: then the Máliki *jurisconsult* posted an order for his death on the testimony of two persons that he was of sane mind, but a number of doctors of medicine asserted that he was of unsound mind; he was therefore confined in the hospital.

In the year 821 a buffalo at Bilbays gave birth to a young one with two heads and two necks and four forefeet, and the two connecting portions of the back and quarters in one, and two legs only, and the tail divided in two which was a wonder of creation. In the year 822 a great earthquake occurred at Arzankán† in which a number of people perished. During the same, was completed the Muayyadíyah College and Shams-b-al Mudíri was appointed head professor; the Sultán attended his lectures and Ibráhím the son of the Sultán arranged the spreading of the Shaykh's praying carpet with his own hand. In the year 823 a camel was killed at Ghazzah and its flesh shone as shines a candle, and a piece of it was thrown to a dog but it would not eat it. In the year 824 the Nile continued at its full till the end *of the month* Hatúr‡ and thus many of the sown fields were submerged. In the year 825 Fátimah daughter of the Ḳádḥi Jalál-

* The text has عوالم the MS. عوام.
† Erzinján, in Armenia.
‡ November.

A. H. 825. u'ddín al Balkíni gave birth to a child with two extra hands to his palms
A. D. 1422. and horns on its head like the horns of a bull, but it died after a little while. During the same, Cairo was shaken by a slight earthquake, and also the Nile began its rise on the 28th of Abíb.*

Among the remarkable personages who died during his reign *were*, as Shiháb-b-Ḥaji the jurisconsult of Syria, Burhán-b-Rifáa'h the scholar, az Zayn Abu Bakr al Marághi the jurisconsult of Medina and its professor of tradition, al Ḥusám al Abiwardi, al Jamál-b-Dhahírah Ḥáfidh of Mecca, al Majd as Shirázi author of the Kámús, Khalaf an Naḥríri one of the greatest of the Máliki doctors, as Shams-b-u'l Rabbáni one of the greatest of the Ḥanafites, Abu Hurayrah-b-u'n Naḳḳásh, al Wánúghi, 'Izzu'ddín-b Jamáa'h the preceptor, Ibn u'l Hishám al A'jami, as Ṣaláḥ al Aḳfashi,† as Shiháb al Ghazzi one of the doctors of the Sháfi'ites, al Jalál al Balḳíni, al Burhán al Bíjúri, al Wali al' I'ráḳi, as Shams-b-al Mudíri, as Sharaf al Rabbáni, al A'la-bu'l Mua'lla, Badr b-u'd Damamíni, at Taḳi al Ḥaṣíni the commentator of Abu Shujáa', al Harawi, as Siráj reader of the Hidayah, an Najm-b-Ḥaji, al Badr al Bushtaki, as Shams al Barmáwi, As Shams as Shaṭanúfi, at Taḳi al Fási, az Zayn al Ḳimani, an Nidhám Yahya as Síráfi, Ḳara‡ Yaḳúb ar Rumi, as Sharaf-b-Mufliḥ the Ḥanbalite, as Shams-b-al Ḳushayri, Ibn al Jazri, a teacher of reading of the Ḳurán, Ibn u'l Khaṭíb ad Dahashah, as Shiháb al Abshíṭi, az Zayn at Tafihni, al Badr al Muḳaddasi, as Sharaf-b-u'l Muḳri the scholar of Yaman, author of the U'nwán u's Sharaf,§ at Taḳi-b-Ḥijjah the poet, al Jalál al Murshidi the grammarian of Mecca, al Humám as Shirázi the pupil of as Sharíf, al Jamál-b-u'l Khayyáṭ the scholar of Yaman, al Buṣíri the traditionist, as Shiháb-b-al Muḥammirah, al A'la al Bukhári, as Shams al Bisáti', al Jamál al Kázrúni, the scholar of Medina, al Muḥibb al Baghdadi al Ḥanbali, as Shams-b-A'mmar and others.

AL MUSTAKFI BI'LLÁH ABU'R RABÍI'.

Al Mustakfi bi'lláh Abu'r Rabíi' Sulaymán-b-u'l Mutawakkil assumed the Caliphate by the covenant of his brother *al Mua'tadhid*, who was his uterine brother. My father, may God have mercy upon him, drafted the

* De Sacy writes this word ابيب Epiphi. See his L' Egypte. A'bdu'l Laṭif.

† The text has Afkahsi which is incorrect. Aḳfahs is a town in Upper Egypt.

‡ Not قرا as in the text.

§ U'nwán us Sharaf al Wáfi (*a title of ample nobility*) a work on jurisprudence, grammar, history and prosody. Ḥáji Khalífah has a short notice of this work.

original covenant which was in this form. "This is the deed whereby testifieth upon his noble person, which may God preserve, defend and protect and guard from afflictions, our lord and prince, in whom are centred dignities, princely, pure, stainless, pontifical, sublime, of the line of A'bbas, the prophetical, the *God* strengthened, the prince of the Faithful, the descendant of the Chief of the Apostles, and the heir of the orthodox Caliphs, al Mua'tadhid bi'lláh Abu'l Fatḥ Dauúd, may the Lord exalt the faith through him and prosper Islám and the Muslims by his long life,—that he hath made this covenant in favour of his uterine brother, the sublime seat *of dignity*, the learned doctor, the noble, the princely, high in rank and birth, of royal descent, my lord Abu'r Rabíi' Sulaymán al Mustakfi bi'lláh, may God increase his dignity, for the sublime Caliphate and hath appointed him Caliph after him, and placed him as an Imám over the Muslims, according to covenant, legally, with full trust and approval, to counsel the faithful, and for the fulfilment of what is obligatory upon him for the due government of the affairs of those who believe in one God, and to follow the traditions of the orthodox Caliphs and rightly-guided Imáms; and this, because of what he knoweth of his faith, and goodness, and rectitude and sufficiency and fitness, and capability, forasmuch as he hath tested his condition, and become acquainted with his heart and verily he is one through whom one serveth God* for he is the most God-fearing† of any he hath seen and verily he knoweth of nothing that hath emanated from him which impaireth his claim thereunto: and verily were he to leave the State uncontrolled without committing it to the care of the above referred to, he would thereby bring trouble upon those who *have authority* to loose and bind in the choice of whom they should appoint to the Imámate and approve for that office: he hath, therefore, hastened to *the execution of* this covenant out of compassion to them and for the purpose of freeing them from this charge and that the supreme authority might fall to one worthy of it, because of his knowledge that this covenant is not in need of the approval of the whole of the people concerned in it: but it is incumbent upon him who heareth it and it is a charge upon him, that he should become acquainted with it and enjoin obedience to it at such time as it may be required, and summon the people to submit to it. Those, therefore, that have been present at it by his gracious permission, have ratified this respecting it, and previous to this, my lord al Mustakfi Abu'r Rabíi' Sulaymán who is mentioned in it—may God increase his dignity—hath written his full acquiescence according to law, at his command."

A. H. 845.
A. D. 1441.

* Compare the tradition of Ali مَحَبَّةُ العُلَمَاءِ دِينٌ يُدَانُ اللهُ بِهِ "The love of the learned is a religion through which God is served."

† The MS. has اتقى الله a better reading than the text. اتقي ثقة.

A. H. 845. He was one of the most virtuous of the Caliphs, pious, devout,
A. D. 1441. religious, constant in worship and prayer and reading the Ḳurán given to silence, shunning the society of men, of excellent disposition. His brother Al Mua'ta'dḥid said of him "I have never known a serious fault in my brother Sulaymán since he grew up:" and al Malik ad Dháhir had full confidence in him and recognised his worth. My father was his Imám and held a distinguished position *in his regard*, intimate with him and extremely honoured by him. As for us, we were brought up in his house and under his bounty, and his family are excellent in faith, devotion and virtue, and I do not think that there will be found on the face of the earth a Caliph, after the descendants of Omar-b-A'bdi'l A'zíz, more virtuous than *those of* the house of this Caliph.

He died on Friday the close of Ḍu'l Ḥijjah* 854, being sixty-three years old: my father outlived him by forty days, and the Sulṭán attended the funeral to the grave and carried the bier in person.

Among the distinguished persons who died during his reign *were* at Taḳi al Maḳrízi, as Shaykh I'bádah, Ibn Kamíl, the poet, al Wafái, al Ḳáyáni, and the Shaykh u'l Islám Ibn Hajr.

AL ḲÁIM BI'AMRI'LLÁH ABU'L BAḲÁ.

Al Ḳáim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l Baḳá, Ḥamzah-b-ul Mutawakkil, was acknowledged Caliph in succession to his brother, who had not however, bequeathed it to him or to any other. He was hardy and intrepid, and restored somewhat of the pomp of the Caliphate, and he possessed a haughtiness of manner unlike his brothers. During his time, died al Malik al Dháhir Jaḳmaḳ in the beginning of the year 857, and his son Othmán was invested and surnamed al Manṣúr, and he so continued for a month and a half. Then I'nál† fell upon al Manṣúr and seized his person, whereupon the Caliph invested him in Rabii' I (*3rd—14th* March 1453) and he was surnamed al Ashraf. Shortly after a rupture occurred between the Caliph and al Ashraf on account of a rising‡ of the troops against him, he therefore deposed him from the Caliphate in the month of Jumáda II, 859 (*June* 1455) and sent him to Alexandria and there imprisoned him till his death

* Muḥarram 855. Weil.

† The text has انيال which is incorrect. The MS. has اينال and Weil's authority confirms it.

‡ An outbreak of the Mamelukes on account of a sufficient number of camels of transport not being allowed them for the expedition to the Delta, which was favoured by the Caliph, occasioned the rupture.

in 863,* and he was buried near *the tomb* of the sister of al Musta'ín. A. H. 859.
What is strange regarding these uterine brothers, is that they were both A. D. 1455.
deposed from the Caliphate, both imprisoned at Alexandria, and both there buried.

My father and al A'la al Ḳalaḳshandi were the only ones of note who died during the reign of al Ḳáim.

AL MUSTANJID BI'LLÁH, THE REIGNING CALIPH. ABUL MAḤÁSIN.

Al Mustanjid bi'lláh Abul Maḥásin Yusuf-b-u'l Mutawakkil succeeded to the Caliphate on the deposition of his brother, the Sulṭán at the time being al Ashraf Ínál. The *Sultán* died in the year 865 (15*th Jumada I*—26*th February* 1461) and his son Aḥmad was invested and surnamed al Muwayyad. Subsequently Khushḳadam† set upon al Muwayyad and seized him and *the Caliph* invested him and he was surnamed ad Dháhir, and continued *in power* till his death in Rabíi' 872 (10*th*—9*th October*, 1467), Balbái‡ was next invested with office and surnamed ad Dhábir, but the army rebelled against him after two months and seized him, whereupon Timurbugha was raised to power and surnamed ad Dhábir, and they set upon him likewise after two months when the present Sulṭán Ḳáitbai was invested (6*th Rajab*—31*st January* 1468) and surnamed al Ashraf and his authority became established and his administration has attained a vigour and firmness equalled by no Sultan before him since the time of an Náṣir Muḥammad-b-Ḳiláwán, for he journeyed from Egypt to the Euphrates with a very slender escort of the troops, there not being among them a single one among his trusty commanders. As an instance of his excellent conduct, he never appointed a holder of a religious office, such as the judges and elders and professors except from the most worthy at the time, after long thought and deliberation, so that an office remained vacant for many months, and he never appointed a Ḳadhi or a Shaykh on any occasion, for a bribe. When Khushḳadam first assumed power, Jánim§ governor of Syria advanced *to Egypt* under a private understanding between him and the troops regarding his assumption of the Sulṭanate When *news of* his approach reached ad Dháhir, he ordered the Caliph and

* 17th Shawwál 862—28th August 1458. Weil.

† He was first of the Mameluke Sulṭáns, among whom he was the thirty-eighth, whose origin is known to be undoubtedly Greek.

‡ Weil has Jelbai, but the MS. is in accordance with the text.

§ The text has inaccurately حاتم.

A. H. 872. the four Ḳáḍhis and the troops to mount to the citadel, and he sent to
A. D. 1468. the governor of Syria insisting on his departure, who departed after making certain conditions.* The Ḳádhis and the troops returned to their quarters, but the Caliph remained a resident in the citadel, and the Sulṭán would not permit his return to his accustomed residence. He therefore remained there till he died on Saturday the 24th of Muḥarram, 884 (21*st April*, 1479) after suffering for about two years from paralysis. Prayers were read over him in the citadel, and he was then borne to the sepulchre of the Caliphs in the vicinity of the Nafísi shrine.† He had reached the age of ninety and perhaps passed it.

AL MUTAWAKKIL A'LA'LLÁH ABU'L I'ZZ.

Al Mutawakkil a'la'lláh Abu'l I'zz A'bdu'l A'ziz-b-Yaḳúb-b-i'l Mutawakkil a'la'lláh was born in the year 819. His mother, whose name was Ḥáj Malik, was the daughter of a soldier. His father never succeeded to the Caliphate. He grew up, reverenced, popular, beloved by gentle and simple, for his admirable qualities, and commendable virtues, and meekness and kind behaviour and geniality to every one, and for his manifold accomplishments. He also employed himself in acquiring knowledge and read with my father and others. His uncle al Mustakfi married him to his daughter, and he had by her, a virtuous son, a Hashimite son among the descendants of Háshim. Now when the sickness of his uncle al Mustanjid had continued some time, he bequeathed the Caliphate to him, and when al Mustanjid died, he was sworn fealty to on Monday the 26th of Muḥarram (23*rd April*) in the presence of the Sulṭán and the judges and the nobles.

He first desired the title of al Musta'ín bi'lláh; then he hesitated between al Musta'ín and al Mutawakkil, and al Mutawakkil was finally decided upon. He then rode from the citadel to his accustomed residence, preceded by the judges and administrative officials and nobles, and it was a "day upon which witness was borne" (Ḳur. XI). Then he returned at the end of the day to the citadel where al Mustanjid used to dwell.

In this year the Sulṭán al Malik al Ashraf journeyed to Ḥijáz to perform the pilgrimage, which was a function that had not been witnessed in a Sulṭán for more than one hundred years. He began by visiting Medina the noble, and spent there six thousand dínárs; he then proceeded to Mecca, and there spent five thousand dínárs, and appointed for the

* These were that the Sulṭán should support Jánim against a religious faction of the Emirs at Damascus which the Sulṭán promised and performed, p. 293, Weil.

† See note ‡ p. 509.

college which he founded at Mecca, a Shaykh, and a Ṣúfi, and he performed A. H 885.
the pilgrimage and returned, and the city was decked out for some days in A. D. 1480.
honor of his arrival.

In the year 885,* an army, at the head of which was the Chancellor Yeshbek, left Egypt for I'rák, and there encountered the troops of Yakúb Sháh b-Ḥasan† near Ruha ; the Egyptians were defeated and there were slain of them, those that were slain, and the rest were taken prisoners: the Chancellor was captured and his head struck off. This occurred in the latter half of the month of Ramadhán.

It is a strange coincidence that a great rupture had taken place between him and the Ḥanafite Ḳádhi Shamsu'ddín al Amsháṭi in Egypt, and each of them desired the fall of the other, and the beheading of the Chancellor on the banks of the Euphrates and the death of al Amsháṭi in Egypt occurred on the same day.

In the year 886, the earth was convulsed on Sunday the 17th of Muḥarram late in the afternoon with a severe shock, and the earth and the mountains and the edifices rose and fell, and it continued for a short time *and* then ceased, praise be to God for its ceasing. From this cause, a pinnacle of the Ṣáliḥíyah College fell upon the chief Ḥanafite Ḳádhi Sharafu'ddín-b-A'bd, and he was killed. "Verily we belong to God and verily to Him shall we return." In Rabii' I of this year, a man arrived in Egypt from India called Kháki who asserted that his age was two hundred and fifty years. I went to see him and lo! he was a robust man, his beard all black ; reasonable conjecture would not admit that his age was seventy, far *less* anything beyond it, and he could bring no proof in support of what he asserted, and what I concluded *was* that he was a liar. As to what I heard from him *it was this*: he said that he had made the pilgrimage when he was eighteen years old: he then returned to India and *there* heard of the advance of the Tartars on Baghdád to capture it; and then he travelled to Egypt in the reign of Sulṭán Ḥasan, before he had founded his college, but he never brought forward anything which *satisfactorily* explained his statement.

During the same year came the news of the death of Sulṭán Muhammad-b-Othmán, the lord of Asia Minor, and that his two sons disputed

* According to Weil, 887.

† He was one of the sons of Usun Ḥasan, first ruler of Diarbekir and who subsequently extended his authority over a great part of Persia. He was of the dynasty of the White Sheep, defeated and slew Sháh Jahán the chief of the Black Sheep, took Azarbiján and the western portion of Khurasán and measured swords even with Muhammad II. He sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Turkish Sulṭán in the spring of 1473, the victory being mainly due to the Turkish artillery. Weil Tom. II, p. 340.

A. H. 886. the sovereignty with each other. One* of them was victorious and
A. D. 1481. established himself in the kingdom and the other set out for Egypt. The Sulṭán received him with great honor and entertained him. He afterwards proceeded from Syria to Ḥijaz, making the pilgrimage.

In the month of Shawwál letters arrived from Medina the noble, stating that on the night of the 13th of Ramadhán, a thunderbolt fell from heaven upon the city and set it on fire, and burnt the roof of the holy mosque and all the treasures and books in it and nothing was left of it but the walls, and it was a terrible calamity.†

The Caliph died on Wednesday the last day of Muḥarram 903, (*29th September* 1497) and bequeathed the Caliphate to his son Yáḳúb and gave him the title of al Mustamsik bi'lláh. This is the conclusion of what has been obtainable for compilation in this history, and verily for the events *thereof*, I have relied on the history of ad Ḍahabi which ends with the year 700: after that *date*, on the history of Ibn Kathír which ends with the year 738: then on the Masálik and its supplement, to the year 773: then on the Inbá u'l Ghumr (*teaching of the unlearned*) of Ibn Ḥajr to the year 850: but for other *matters* than these events, I perused the history of Baghdád by al Khaṭíb in ten volumes, and the history of Damascus by Ibn A'sákir in fifty-seven volumes, and the Awráḳ of as Súli in seven volumes, and the Tayyúriyát in three volumes, and the Ḥulyah of Abu Nuaym in nine volumes, and the Mujálasat of ad Dinawari, and the Kámil of al Mubarrad in two volumes, and the Amáli of Thaa'lab in one volume and others. A former author has written a poem in the metre called Rajaz, containing the names of the Caliphs and *the dates of* their deaths up to the reign of al Mua'tamid, but I have composed a poem still better than it, and I think it advisable to conclude the book with it.

Note.

I have not thought it necessary to translate this rhythmical memoria technica, which is a bald repetition of names and dates with here and there an incident recalling an event in the life of a Caliph. As a piece of doggerel by which to recollect the

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* Bajazet II, who succeeded to the sovereignty in 1481, his elder brother Mustafa having died. Jam, the third son, was twice defeated by Bajazet and forced to fly to the Sulṭán of Egypt for succour on the pretence of pilgrimage. Assisted by his new ally, he again tempted fortune, was again routed and took refuge with Pierre D'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta at Rhodes. Bajazet concluded a treaty with the latter, paying him an annual sum of 40,000 crowns of gold on condition of his safe custody of his brother. See D'Herbelot. Art. Gem.

† Kaitbai, though of a fiercce and brutal disposition, who had no hesitation in mangling and flaying the objects of his anger, burst into tears when he heard of this conflagration. See his character in Weil, Vol. II, p. 357.

succession of the Caliphs, it might be of some use to a Muhammadan student, but no English reader would care to learn by heart what an Index will readily supply him with, in a form which no poetry could render tolerable to the ear and which must be tedious in the most poetical of prose.

The Umayyad Dynasty in Spain.

The first of these *monarchs* was A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Mu'áwiyah-b-Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-Marwán. Allegiance was sworn to him as Caliph when he fled to Andalusia in the year 138 A. H. (755 A. D.) He was a man of learning and justice. He died in Rabii' II, 170 (786). His son Ḥishám Abu'l Walíd succeeded him and died in the month of Ṣafar 180. (796). He was succeeded by his son al Ḥakam Abu'l Mudhaffar, surnamed al Murtadḥa who died in Ḍu'l Ḥijjah 206, (821). After him came his son A'bdu'r Raḥmán, and he was the first of the Umayyads who exalted the monarchy, and clothed it with the splendour of the Caliphate. During his reign the wearing of embroidered garments was first introduced in Spain, and the coinage of dirhams, for no mint existed in it since it was conquered by the Arabs, and they used to employ the dirhams that were brought to them from the East. He resembled Walíd-b-A'bdu'l Malik in his haughtiness, and al Mámún the A'bbasside in his search for books on philosophy. He was the first who introduced *the study of* philosophy into Spain. He died in the year 239, (853). His son Muḥammad succeeded him, and died in Ṣafar 273 (886). His son al Munḍir followed him, dying in Ṣafar 275. Then arose his brother A'bdu'llah, who was the most eminent of the Caliphs of Spain for his wisdom and virtue. He died in Rabíi' I, 300 (912). He was succeeded by his grandson A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Muḥammad, surnamed an Náṣir and he was the first who assumed the Caliphate in Spain and the *title of* prince of the Faithful. This took place when the A'bbasside power in the reign of al Muḳtadir was on the wane: those before his time calling themselves prince (*Amír*) only. He died in Ramadḥán 350 (961). He was succeeded by his son al Ḥakam al Mustanṣir who died in Ṣafar 366 (976). Then came his son Hishám al Muayyad, who was deposed and imprisoned in 399 (1008-9). Next followed Muḥammad-b-Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Jabbár-b-i'n Náṣir A'bdu'r Rahmán and he was surnamed al Mahdi, *continuing in power* sixteen months, when the son of his brother, Hishám-b-Sulaymán-b-i'n Náṣir A'bdu'r Rahmán rebelled against him and was acknowledged Caliph and assumed the title of ar Rashíd. His uncle, however, defeated and slew him, but the people conspired to depose his uncle who concealed himself, but was afterwards put to death. They then swore allegiance to the son of the brother of the murdered Ḥishám, Sulaymán-b-u'l Ḥakam al Mustanṣir, who was surnamed al Musta'ín. Subsequently they rose up against him,

and he was imprisoned in the year 406 (1015). Then A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-i'n Náṣir succeeded and was surnamed al Murtaḍha, but he was put to death at the close of the year. At this period the Umayyad power began to wane and the A'liide family of Ḥasan arose, and an Náṣir A'li*-b-Ḥamúd assumed the sovereignty in Muḥarram of the year 407, (1016). He was slain in Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah 408. Then followed his brother al Mamún al Ḳásim: he was deposed in the year 411. Next arose his nephew Yahya-b-u'n Náṣir A'li-b-Ḥamúd, who was surnamed al Mustaa'li and he was put to death after a year and seven months.

After this the Umayyad dynasty was restored and al Mustadhir A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-Hishám-b-A'bdi'l Jabbár assumed the sovereignty: he was slain after fifty days, and Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'r Raḥmán-b-U'baydi'llah-b-i'n Náṣir A'bdu'r Raḥmán rose to power, and was surnamed al Mustakfi. He was deposed after a year and four months. Then came Hishám-b-Muḥammad-b-A'bdi'l Malik-b-i'n Náṣir A'bdu'r Raḥman, who was surnamed al Mua'tamid, (A. D. 1027). He continued in power for some time, but was afterwards deposed and imprisoned till he died in Ṣafar of the year† 400 and (*here a blank in the MS.*)—(428). At his death perished the Umayyad dynasty in Spain.

The impious dynasty of the House of U'bayd.

The first of them that arose in Africa was al Madhi U'baydu'lláh in the year 296 (908-9): he died in 322. Then came his son al Ḳáim bi'amri'lláh Muḥammad: he died in the year 333 (944). Then arose his son Isma'íl who died in the year 341 (952). Next came his son al M'uizzli'dini'lláh Saa'd, who entered Cairo in the 362 and died in 365 (975-6). Then succeeded his son al A'zíz Nizár,‡ who died in the year 382 (992), he was followed by his son al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh Manṣúr who was slain in 411 (1020). Then came his son ad Dháhir li' I'záz-i-dín i'lláh A'li: he died in 428 (1036). His son al Mustanṣir Maa'd succeeded him and he died in 487 (1094). He was thus Caliph for sixty years and four months. Aḍ Ḍahabi says that

* The founder of the short-lived Ḥamúdite dynasty. He was a descendant of Ḥasan son of A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib but his family had been settled in Africa for 200 years and had become "berberised," and he himself spoke Arabic extremely ill. Our author here is not quite in accordance with M. Dozy who makes A'li succeed directly after Sulaymán, after having put him, his father and brother to death. To the reader who cares to follow the fortunes of the Caliphate in Spain, I recommend the perusal of M. Dozy's interesting volumes.

† December 1036. With his death also closes the history of M. Dozy.

‡ So the MS. The printed text has Bazár which is an error; see his life in Ibn Khall.

he knows of no Caliph or Sulṭán in Islám who reigned for this period. After him reigned his son al Mustaa'li bi'lláh Aḥmad and he died in 495 (1101-2). After him was elected his son al A'mir bi aḥkámi'lláh Manṣúr, a boy of five years of age and he was put to death in 524 (1130), leaving no children to succeed him. Next followed his cousin al Ḥáfidh li dín i'lláh A'bdu'l Majíd-b-Muḥammad-b-i'l Mustanṣir, who died in 544 (1149). Then came his son ad Dháfir bi'lláh Isma'íl and he was assassinated in 549, and he was succeeded by his son al Fáiz bi Naṣri'lláh I'sa, who died in 555 (1160). Then followed al A'ádhid li díni'lláh A'bdu'llah-b-Yusuf-b-i'l Ḥáfidh li díni'lláh, who was deposed in 567 (1171-2) and died the same year, when the A'bbaside claim was set up in Egypt and the dynasty of the house of U'bayd became extinct. Aḍ Ḍahabi says "Thus there were fourteen violaters of covenants not successors* to the vicegerency."

The Dynasty of Ṭabaṭaba,† descendants of Ḥasan and A'li.

Among them, Abu A'bdullah Muhammad-b-Ibráhím Ṭabaṭaba assumed the Caliphate in Jumáda I, 199 A. H. (814); and about this period, there arose in Yaman, al Hádi Yahya-b-u'l Ḥusayn-b-i'l Ḳásim-b-Ṭabaṭaba for whom dominion over the Muslims was claimed: he died in Ḍu'l Ḥijjah 208 (823). His son Murtaḍha Muḥammad succeeded him and died in 320 (932). Then came his brother an Náṣir Aḥmad who died in Ṣafar 323. Al Muntakhab‡ al Ḥusayn his son followed and died 329 (940-1). Then his brother al Mukhtár al Ḳásim who was slain in Shawwál 344 (955). Then his brother al Hádi Muḥammad: then ar Rashíd al A'bbás, and the dynasty became extinct.

THE ṬABARISTA'NI DYNASTY.

Six persons governed in succession: three *of them*, the descendants of al Ḥasan, and three, from among the descendants of al Ḥusayn. Hishám al Dáa'i ila'l Ḥaḳk al Ḥasán-b-Zayd-b-Muḥammad-b-Isma'íl-b-i'l Ḥusayn-b-Zayd i'l Jawwád-b-il Ḥasan-b-il Ḥasan,§ b-A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, in the year 250 (864) in Rai and Daylam. Then arose his brother al Ḳáim bi'l Ḥaḳk, Muḥammad, who was slain in 288, (901). Then came his grand-

* The MS. has مخلفا instead of مستخلفا.

† Ibráhím 6th in descent from A'li was surnamed Ṭabaṭaba from his pronouncing the guttural Ḳ like a T. Calling for his waistcoat one day wishing to say Ḳaba, Ḳaba he said Ṭaba, Ṭaba, and was so nicknamed. According to Abu'l Maḥásin it was in Jumáda' II, 199 the rebellion took place.

‡ Not Muntajab, as in the text.

§ Incorrectly الحسين in the text.

son al Mahdi al Ḥasan-b-Zayd-b-i'l Ḳáim bi'l Ḥaḳk ; and after him*—(*the MS. is here a blank*).

Observation.—Ibn Abi Ḥátim in his commentary, says, that he heard a tradition on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b-A'mar-b-i'l A'áṣ who said, "Since the world has been, a century has never closed, but a *great* event occurred at the close of it." I observe that at the end of the first century, of *the history of* this nation, there was the calamity of al Ḥajjaj,† and what shall make thee understand what al Ḥajjaj *was?* In the second century, were the troubles of al Mamún and his wars with his brother, when the beautiful places of Baghdád were demolished and its people destroyed: then his assassination *of his brother;* then the inquisition of the people concerning the creation of the Ḳurán, and this was one of the greatest calamities on this nation, and the earliest, relative to a *distinct* call to heresy, for no Caliph before him ever invited *the people* to any thing approaching heresy. In the third century *occurred* the irruption of the Carmathians, and that will suffice for thee: then the revolution against al Muḳtadir, when he was deposed and Ibn u'l Mua'tazz acknowledged and al Muḳtadir restored next day, and the assassination of the Ḳáḍhi and a number of the learned, for a Ḳáḍhi had never been put to death before him in Islám. Then the disorganization of the empire and the predominance of the conquerors over the provinces which had continued up to this time. Among which also *is to be counted* the beginning of the sovereignty of the U'baydites and enough for thee is their wickedness and infidelity and slaughter of the learned and the pious. In the fourth century was the calamitous *reign* of al Ḥákim bi'amri' Iblís not bi'amri'lláhi,‡ and let what he hath done suffice thee. In the fifth century the Franks took Syria and Jerusalem. In the sixth century was the famine, the like of which had never been heard of since the time of Joseph and *then* it was that the Tartar ascendancy began. In the seventh century occurred the great Tartar disaster, the like of which was unheard of and which caused seas of Muslim blood to flow. In the eighth century was the irruption of Timurlang before the tremendous nature of which the Tartar misfortune was comparatively insignificant, and I implore of the Almighty that He will take us into His mercy before the occurrence of the calamity *to come* in the ninth century, through the glory of Muḥammad, may God bless and preserve him, and his posterity and all his Companions. Amen.

* For the Arabian dynasties consult the al Kámil of Ibn u'l Athír under the proper year.

† See the life of A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán.

‡ The ruler by the command of the devil not by the command of God. See his deeds under "al Ḳadir bi'lláh."

LINE OF THE CALIPHS.

Names.	Date of Accession.	Deposal or Abdication.	Restoration.	Death.
Abu Bakr, ...	A. H. 12th Rabíi', I, 11. 7th June (A. D.) 632.	...	...	22nd Jumáda, II, 13. 23rd August, 634.
Omar, ...	22nd Jumáda, II, 13. 23rd August, 634.	...	...	26th Ḍu'l Hijjah, 23. 3rd November, 644.
Othmán, ...	29th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 23. 6th November, 644.	...	...	18th Ḍu'l Hijja, 35. 17th June, 656.
A'li, ...	19th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 35. 18th June, 656.	...	...	17th Ramadḥán, 40. 21st January, 661.
Ḥasan, ...	18th Ramaḍhán, 40. 22nd January, 661.	Rabíi' II or. Jumáda I, A. H. 41.	...	...
	House of Umayyah.			
Mu'áwiyah-ibn Abi Sufyán,	Rabíi', 41. August, 661.	...	...	Rajab, 60. April, 680.
Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyah, ...	Rajab, 60. April, 680.	...	...	15th Rabíi', I, 64. 11th November, 683.
Mu'áwiyah-b-Yazíd, ...	15th Rabíi', I, 64. 11th November, 683.	...	...	About forty days after his accession.

LINE OF THE CALIPHS.—*Continued.*

Names.	Date of Accession.	Deposal or Abdication.	Restoration.	Death.
A'bdu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, ...	A. H. Rabíi' II, 64. December, 683.	...	...	17th Jumáda, I, 73. 3rd October, 692.
A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán,... ...	17th Jumáda, I, 73. 3rd October, 692.	...	...	14th Shawwál, 86. 8th October, 705.
Al Walíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik, ...	14th Shawwál, 86. 8th October, 705.	...	...	15th Jumáda, II, 96. 23rd February, 715.
Sulaymán-b-A'bdi'l Malik, ...	15th Jumáda, II, 96. 23rd February, 715.	...	...	10th Ṣafar, 99. 22nd September, 717.
Omar-b-A'bdi'l Azíz, ...	10th Ṣafar, 99. 22nd September, 717.	...	...	20th or 25th Rajab, 101. 5th or 10th Feb. 720.
Yazíd-b-A'bdi'l Malik, ...	20th or 25th Rajab, 101. 5th or 10th Feb. 720.	...	...	26th Shaa'bán, 105. 28th January, 724.
Hisham-b-A'bdi'l Malik, ...	26th Shaa'bán, 105. 28th January, 724.	...	...	6th Rabíi, II, 125. 6th February, 743.
Al Walíd-b-Yazíd-b-A'bd'il Malik,	6th Rabíi', II, 125. 6th February, 743.	...	...	27th Jumáda, II, 126. 16th April, 744.

Yazíd an Náḳiṣ, ...	27th Jumáda II, 126. 16th April, 744.	...	...	7th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah 126. 19th September, 744.
Ibráhím-b-A'bdi'l Malik, ...	7th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 176. 19th September, 744.	14th Ṣafar, 127. 25th November, 744.	...	...
Marwán al Ḥimár,...	14th Ṣafar, 127. 25th November, 744.	...	...	26th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 132. 5th August, 750.
	House of A'bbás.			
As Saffáḥ, ...	3rd Rabíi' I, 132. 8th October, 750.	...	...	13th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 136. 9th June, 754.
Al Manṣúr,...	13th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 136. 9th June, 754.	...	...	6th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 158. 7th October, 775.
Al Mahdi, ...	6th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 158. 7th October, 775.	...	...	22nd Muḥarram, 169. 4th August, 785.
Al Hádi, ...	22nd Muḥarram, 169. 4th August, 785.	...	...	16th Rabíi' I, 170. 15th September, 786.
Harún ar Rashíd, ...	16th Rabíi', I, 170. 15th September, 786.	...	...	3rd Jumáda, II, 193. 23rd March, 809.
Al Amín, ...	3rd Jumáda II, 193. 23rd March, 809.	...	...	24th or 25th Muḥarram, 198. 24th or 25th Sept., 813.
Al Mámún, ...	24th or 25th Muḥarram, 198. 24th or 25th Sept., 813.	...	...	18th Rajab, 218. 9th August, 833.

LINE OF THE CALIPHS.—*Continued.*

Names.	Date of Accession.	Deposal or Abdication.	Restoration.	Death.
	A. H.			
Al Mua'taṣim, ...	18th Rajab, 218. 9th August, 833.	...	...	19th Rabíi' I, 227. 5th January, 842.
Al Wáthik bi'lláh, ...	19th Rajab, 227. 5th January, 842.	...	...	24th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 232. 11th August, 847.
Al Mutawakkil ala'lláh, ...	24th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 232. 11th August, 847.	...	...	5th Shawwal, 247. 10th December, 861.
Al Mustanṣir bi'lláh, ...	5th Shawwal, 247. 10th December, 861.	...	...	5th Rabíi' II, 248. 7th June, 862.
Al Musta'ín bi'lláh, ...	5th Rabíi' II, 248. 7th June, 862.	11th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 252. 4th January, 866.	...	...
Al Mua'tazz bi'lláh, ...	Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 252. 4th January, 866.	Rajab or Shaa'bán, 255. July, 869.	...	...
Al Muhtadi bi'lláh, ...	29th Rajab, 255. 13th July, 869.	15th Rajab, 256. 18th June, 870.	...	...
Al Mua'tamid bi'lláh, ...	15th Rajab, 256. 18th June, 870.	...	...	19th Rajab, 279. 14th October, 892.

Al Mua'tadhid bi'lláh, ...	Rajab, 279. October, 892.	...	...	22ndRabíi' II, 289. 5th April, 902.
Al Muktafi bi'lláh,...	19th Rabíi' II, 289. 2nd April, 902.	...	...	12th Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah, 295. 18th August, 907.
Al Muḳtadir bi'lláh, ...	13th Ḍu'l Ḳaadah, 295. 14th August, 907.	...	...	27th Shawwál, 320. 31st October, 932.
Al Ḳáhir bi'lláh, ...	28th Shawwál, 320. 1st November, 932.	6th Jumáda I, 322. 23rd April, 934.	...	...
Ar Rádḥi bi'lláh, ...	6th Jumáda I, 322. 23rd April, 434.	...	...	15th Rabíi' I, 329. 18th December, 940.
Al Mutaḳki li'lláh, ...	15th Rabíi' I, 329. 18th December, 940.	20th Ṣafar, 333. 12th October, 944.	...	...
Al Mustakfi bi'lláh, ...	20th Ṣafar, 333. 12th October, 944.	22nd Jumáda II, 334. 29th January, 946.	...	...
Al Mutíi' li'lláh, ...	22nd Jumáda, 334. 29th January, 946.	13th Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah, 363. 5th August, 974.	...	...
At Ṭáii' li'lláh, ...	13th Ḍu'l Ḳaa'dah, 363. 5th August, 974.	19th Shaa'bán, 381. 1st November, 991.	...	...
Al Kádir bi'lláh, ...	19th Shaa'bán, 381. 1st November, 991.	...	...	11th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 422. 29th November, 1031.
Al Ḳáim bi'amri'lláh, ...	11th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 422. 29th November, 1031.	...	...	13th Shaa'bán, 467. 2nd April, 1075.

LINE OF THE CALIPHS.—*Continued.*

Names.	Date of Accession.	Deposal or Abdication.	Restoration.	Death.
	A. H.			
Al Muktadí bi'amri'lláh, ...	13th Shaa'bán, 467. 2nd April, 1075.	...	...	15th Muharram, 487. 4th February, 1094.
Al Mustadhir bi'lláh, ...	15th Muharram, 487. 4th February, 1094.	...	...	16th Rabíi' II, 512. 6th August, 1118.
Al Mustarshid bi'lláh, ...	16th Rabíi' II, 512. 6th August, 1118.	...	...	16th Du'l Kaa'dah, 529. 27th August, 1134.
Ar Ráshid bi'lláh, ...	16th Du'l Kaa'dah, 529. 27th August, 1134.	16th Du'l Kaa'dah, 530. 16th August, 1135.	...	...
Al Muktafi li'amri'lláh, ...	16th Du'l Kaa'dah, 530. 16th August, 1135.	...	...	2nd Rabíi' I, 555. 12th March, 1160.
Al Mustanjid bi'lláh, ...	2nd Rabíi' I, 555. 12th March, 1160.	...	...	8th Rabíi' II, 566. 22nd December, 1170.
Al Mustadhi bi'amri'lláh,... ...	8th Rabíi' II, 566. 22nd December, 1170.	...	...	2nd Du'l Kaa'dah, 575. 31st March, 1180.
An Násir li'dín'lláh, ...	2nd Du'l Kaa'dah, 575. 31st March, 1180.	...	...	30th Ramadhán, 622. 6th October, 1225.

Ad Dháhir bi'amri'lláh, ...	30th Ramadhan, 622. 6th October, 1225.	...	...	13th Rajab, 623. 10th July, 1226.
Al Mustanşir bi'lláh, ...	13th Rajab, 623. 10th July, 1226.	...	...	10th Jumáda II, 640. 5th December, 1242.
Al Musta'şim bi'lláh, ...	10th Jumáda II, 640. 5th December, 1242.	...	...	14th Şafar 656. 20th February, 1258.
Al Mustanşir bi'lláh Aḥmad, ...	13th Rajab, 659. 12th May, 1261.	...	...	3rd Muḥarram, 660. 28th November, 1261.
Al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l A'bbás,	8th Muḥarram, 661. 22nd November, 1262.	...	...	18th Jumáda I, 701. 18th January, 1302.
Al Mustakfi bi'lláh Abú'r Rabíí',...	Jumáda I, 701. January, 1302.	...	...	5th Shaa'bán, 740. 5th February, 1340.
Al Wáthiķ bi'lláh, Ibráhím, ...	6th Ḍu'l Ķaa'dah, 740. 4th May, 1340.	21st Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 741. 7th June, 1341.	...	...
Al Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh Abú'l A'bbás,	21st Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 741. 7th June, 1341.	...	...	Jumáda II, 753. July-August, 1352.
Al Mua'tadhid bi'lláh Abú'l Fatḥ,	Jumáda II, 753. July-August, 1352.	...	...	Jumáda I, 763. March, 1361.
Al Mutawakkil ala'lláh A'bdu'lláh,	Jumáda I, 763. March, 1361.	Rajab, 785. September, 1383.	...	...
Al Wáthiķ bi'llah Omar, ...	Rajab, 785. September, 1383.	...	...	19th Shawwál, 788. 12th November, 1386.

LINE OF THE CALIPHS.—*Continued.*

Names.	Date of Accession.	Deposal or Abdication.	Restoration.	Death.
Al Mua'ta'ṣim bi'lláh Zakaríya, ...	A. H. 19th Shawwál, 788. 12th November, 1386.	10th Jumáda, I, 791. 5th June, 1389.	...	...
Al Mutawakkil ala'lláh A'bdu'lláh, (*2nd time*), ...	...	...	10th Jumáda, 791. 5th June, 1389.	28th Rajab, 808. 18th January, 1406.
Al Musta'ín bi'lláh Abu'l Fadḥl, ...	Rajab, 808. January, 1406.	16th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 816. 7th March, 1414.	...	...
Al Mua'tadḥid bi'lláh Abu'l Fatḥ, ...	16th Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 816. 7th March, 1414.	...	...	4th Rabíi' I, 845. 22nd July, 1441.
Al Mustakfi bi'lláh Abu'r Rabíi', ...	4th Rabíi' I, 845. 22nd July, 1441.	...	...	2nd Ḍu'l Hijjah, 854. 3rd February, 1451.
Al Ḳáim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l Baḳá,	Ḍu'l Ḥijjah, 854. February, 1451.	Jumáda II, 859. June, 1455.	...	...
Al Mustanjid bi'lláh Abu'l Maḥásiṇ,	Jumáda II, 859. June, 1455.	24th Muḥarram, 884. 21st April, 1479.	...	...
Al Mutawakkil ala'lláh Abu'l I'zz,	26th Muḥarram, 884. 23rd April, 1479.	...	...	31st Muḥarram, 903. 29th September, 1497.

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES.

A.

B.

D.

F.

G.

ERRATA.

Page 44 line 22 place a comma after "said."
" 45 note * *for* "al A'ḳabah" *read* "at al A'ḳabah.'
" 76 line 8 *for* "Ákhir" *read* "Ákhirah."
" 76 note * after "70" *read* "thousand."
" 78 " * *for* "لفاف has" *read* "has لحاف."
" 113 " * *for* "words" *read* "word."
" 170 line 18 *for* "As" *read* "Aus."
" 191 " 9 semicolon after "prophet;"
" 191 " 10 comma, not full stop, after "Shaybán."
" 194 " 33 *for* "Awwal" *read* "Úla."
" 220 " 18 *for* "Caliph" *read* "Caliphate."
" 417 " 27 & 27 *for* "Muṭii'bíllah" *read* "Muṭii'lilláh."
" 304 " 7 *for* "enjoyed" *read* "enjoined."
" 363 " 13 *for* "ratis" *read* "ratls."
" 431 " 11 *for* "Támanni" *read* "Tamanni."
" 445 " 13 *for* "Bíbars" *read* "Baybars."
" 537 " 33 *for* "712" *read* "812."
" 538 " 2 *for* "714" *read* "814."



